

More On Nehru's Philosophy In the Light of The Sino-Indian Boundary Question

We start in this issue the first part of an article which appeared in the "Peking Review" No. 44 of November 2, 1962. While the revisionists of the world led by Khrushchev and aided by Tito and Co. have taken the traitorous position of supporting Nehru's imperialist inspired adventure against People's China, the American revisionist leadership of the CPUSA has vainly tried to cover-up Nehru's guilt by referring to the "brother" Indians. In the "Vanguard" of May 1962 we quoted the "N. Y. Times" editorial of Feb. 28, 1962 which attacked Krishna Menon's expose of U.S. imperialism's attempts to maneuver India into attacking People's China:

"In his election campaign V. K. Krishna Menon achieved the extraordinary mental feat of blaming the United States in connection with the dispute between India and Communist China over their Himalayan frontier. He charged that the United States had tried to pull India into war with Communist China and asserted that he would not be a party to putting Indian troops where they cannot defend themselves. He further claimed that Britain and America, 'tied up with big business' in India, were behind efforts to defeat him at the polls."

Krishna Menon revealed the facts then which today he tries to hide, and neither he nor Nehru, nor Khrushchev nor Gus Hall can cover-up these damning facts. The Peking Review articles throw much more light on this subject by deepening our understanding of the role played by Nehru and the Indian big bourgeoisie which he faithfully represents.

The January 2, 1963 "Christian Science Monitor" reports that Yugoslav Vice-President Kardelj agreed with Nehru's slanderous statement, during a recent visit, that China "attacked" India to discredit Khrushchev. The same paper reported that "S. A. Dange, chairman of the Indian Communist Party... said the Soviet Union is sending top officials to Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia to explain its new attitude toward the Sino-Indian crisis."

By The Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao"

Following is a translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao" on October 27. Subheads and emphases are ours. — Ed

For several years past, Nehru has obstinately rejected the Chinese Government's proposals for settling the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully through negotiations, and has moved troops to make incursion after incursion into China's territory. On October 12, 1962, haughtily disregarding the consequences, he publicly ordered Indian troops to "free" the Chinese frontiers of the Chinese troops stationed there. Soon afterwards, aggressive Indian troops launched large-scale armed attacks in the east-

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RECOMMENDED
READING
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THE MARXIST-LENINIST

VANGUARD

"Without a Revolutionary Theory
There can be no Revolutionary Practice!"



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Polarization and The Struggle for Marxist-Leninist Unity

In the statement of the National Committee of the POC analyzing the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, in Vanguard in the January-December 1961-1962 issue it correctly observed that:

"It has been evident for some time that the struggle against revisionism was acquiring world-wide proportions. What was not so evident was the degree of involvement and ideological polarization of the Soviet CP and the Chinese CP."

Eleven months later, the process of polarization had so accelerated and matured that we were compelled to state in an editorial published in the October-November 1962 issue of Vanguard that: "The process of revolutionary regrouping and the development of a new relationship of forces has already begun. New revolutionary energies are being infused in the national liberation struggles, while the reformists' currents have been weakened."

"The polarization in the Communist movements has been tremendously accelerated. Two centers, one revolutionary, anti-imperialist, genuinely Marxist-Leninist is rapidly emerging and crystallizing under the leadership

of the great Communist Party of China. The other, a counter-revolutionary one, a revisionist, collaborationist center led by the Khrushchev-Tito cabal."

DECISIVE STAGE

And barely three months later we can state that the polarization process has reached its decisive stage. The main purpose in this article is to present the social roots of this obvious historical phenomena.

The main points in the historical process of polarization are as follows:

1. In the above mentioned editorial it was stated:

"But above all, these growing differences were made apparent

over the past few years, not so much by diametrically opposed statements as by differences in emphasis in the presentation of major propositions to which all were formally committed."

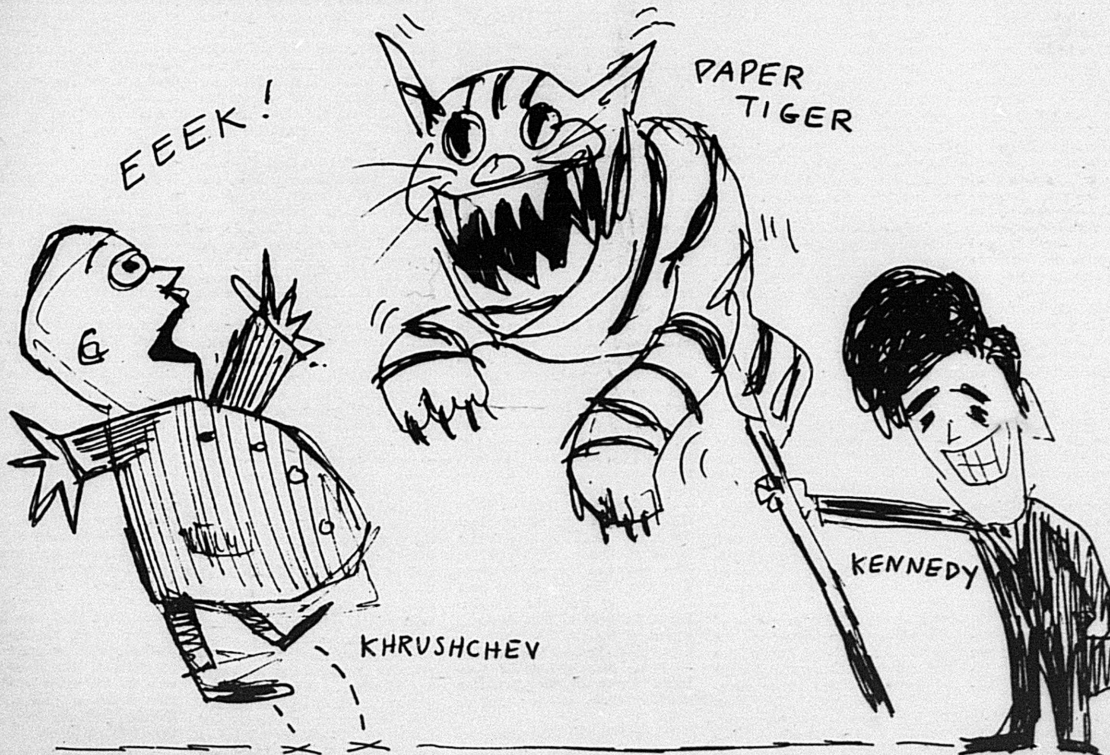
Today it is no longer a matter of "emphasis;" the entire range of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism is being fought for and against in an open war between Marxist-Leninists and Revisionists. Furthermore it is no longer the "peripheral" areas, but the very centers of the two positions who are involved in the struggle.

2. The full identification of the Korean Peoples Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam with the revolutionary center, as well as the definite closing of India's CP.

3. The clear process of polarization within the Cuban Revolution itself, which has led to definite motion of the Revolutionary forces towards the center led by the Chinese Communist Party, and on the other hand the eclipse and isolation of the Blas Roca-Escalante group of Khrushchevite revisionists.

4. The actual emergence of Marxist-Leninist organizations in

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Polarization

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Brazil and Santo Domingo, (in opposition to the Khrushchev brand of revisionism) which have already developed into full-fledged Marxist-Leninist parties.

5. At a lower level, the same struggles are taking place in every CP in the world as can be seen in India, Japan and Colombia.

WHAT IS BASIC POLARIZATION?

The conception of basic polarization must be clearly understood. It must be differentiated from inner-Party struggle, which is a normal and healthy feature of the Marxist-Leninist Parties by which they purge themselves of alien elements and ideology and advance their development. Polarization is a historical concept; it is not local, not even national but international in character and scope. It represents a quantitatively and qualitatively different magnitude of ideological and political struggle. It signifies the fundamental as well as a massive break-away from reformism and collaborationism. It is not an everyday occurrence but represents a definite stage in the development of the world revolutionary forces.

Polarization means the emergence and development of two poles, two centers in the world revolutionary movement; one advancing and developing to new heights in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, and the other degenerating ever further into the morass of class collaboration and reformism.

The nature of the present polarization is indicated in the two "units" being advocated in the present movement.

One is the "unity" of Khrushchev, Tito, Gas Hall, Togliatti, Ulbricht, Gomulka, Kadar, (and Tin Buck too) — a "unity" that insists on the legitimacy of anti-Marxist principles on questions of theory, a "unity" with class collaboration on questions of practice, a "unity" based on formal, artificial, temporary "majorities", rather than on the interest of the working class and oppressed peoples.

UNITY BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM

The other is the real unity called for by the Communist Party of China and the Cuban Revolution's leadership — a unity based, above all, on Marxist-Leninist principles, and concretely on the collective agreement of the world Communist movement contained in the 12-Party Statement of 1957 and the 81-Party Declaration of 1960. A unity that rejects collaboration with imperialism and its revisionist servitors, and forcefully projects the need to combat imperialism and all those, concealed as well as open, servitors. These calls for unity have nothing in common with the hypocritical and unprincipled "unity" of the revisionists, despite attempts to pass off the two as identical.

In reporting on the outcome of the proceedings of the recent congress of the CP of the German Democratic Republic, the Christian Science Monitor of Jan. 24, 1963 stated:

"Never let it be said that Nikita Khrushchev is not a polished politician and tactician. His approach to the hassle with the Peking Communists shows it again. 'Officials here who live with the split' assess the Khrushchev 'act' in these terms:

● The Soviet Premier's rather mild treatment of the Chinese did not slow up the almost inexorable momentum of the Moscow-Peking argument.

● His apparent effort not to antagonize the Chinese unduly is thought to be a tactical move.

He would still like to avoid a formal break if possible, and of course may still hope the Chinese will reform and buy coexistence with the West as a policy."

Here we witness the frank admiration of one bourgeois politician for the shrewd maneuvers of a "socialist" one. This reminds us of another article, incidentally also signed "Monitor" appearing in Germany in 1915, and quoted in Lenin's work *Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International*:

"The view of these opportunists of all countries of the world were expounded with a frankness worthy of gratitude by a German Social-Democrat in an article signed 'Monitor'. Monitor thinks it would be very dangerous for the bourgeoisie if Social-Democracy moved still further to the Right; it must preserve its character as a labor party with socialist ideals; for on the day it gives this up a new party will arise, which will adopt the programme that the old, previous party had abandoned and give it a still more radical formulation."

HISTORICAL PARALLEL

The present process of polarization finds its historical parallel in the emergence of Bolshevism from the body of the old Socialist Parties of the Second International, especially during the period of the First World War and immediately afterwards. At that time, almost the entire official body of leaders of the Second International, including the German Social-Democratic Party, the leading Party at that time, consummated their opportunism by abandoning all semblance of revolutionary internationalism and going over to the side of their respective imperialists during the First World War. Lenin wrote:

"Official German Social-Democracy, which was the strongest and the leading party in the Second International, struck the heaviest blow at the international workers' organization." (*Socialism and War* p. 55)

It is not the same today, with almost the entire bunch of leaders in some Communist Parties, including the CPUSA?

Lenin wrote:

"The split in the present-day socialist movement has been most strikingly revealed within German Social-Democracy. Here we very distinctly see three trends: the opportunist-Chauvinists, who have nowhere sunk to such a degree of renegacy as they have in Germany; the kautskyan "Centre", which has here proved to be incapable of playing any other role than that of servitors of the opportunists; and the Left — who are the only Social-Democrats in Germany." (*Socialism and War* p. 56)

Again we see the phenomena repeated; the Right (Tito, Gomulka, Togliatti); the "Centers" (Khrushchev, Hall), and the Lefts — the Marxist-Leninist forces of China, Albania and elsewhere — the true Marxist-Leninists.

There is also contrast in the relative strengths of the opportunists now and then. Think how "weak" and "isolated" were the Bolsheviks when placed alongside the "mighty" parties of the Second International, led by such "world renowned" figures as Kautsky, Spargo, Turati, Legien and Plekhanov, etc. Today, however, the revisionist can boast of no such strength. Two examples of Khrushchev's "majority" are the Communist Party of Puerto Rico and the PSP (Communist Party) of Santo Domingo whose membership, combined, is less than 20! The inflated membership figures for the CPUSA issued jointly by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover,

and revisionist chief Gus Hall cannot conceal the fact that the "Party" here is nothing but a dwindling sect of one or two thousand inactive members, mostly old, lily-white, and petty-bourgeois. Or we might mention the CP of South Africa, composed of a few "Left" liberals from among the European population, without roots among the black Africans. And there must be many other such phantoms "Parties" that Khrushchev includes in his revisionist camp!

REVISIONISTS FEARFUL

The speed with which Khrushchev and Co. moved to "crush all opposition", and the bitterness of their attacks indicate that they are fearful! And well might they be, as indicated by the following items appearing in the bourgeois press. First, *Look* magazine of Feb. 12, 1963 states:

"Lately, the Chinese have exerted increasing control over the Communist parties of Asia, Latin America and Africa. Red China is also competing with the Russians for control of the Castro movement in Cuba. (This struggle may explain the failure of Anastas Mikoyan's mission to Havana late last year.)

"For the present, the Soviet Union has managed to keep the Communist parties in Eastern Europe under control, but even there, China is making secret inroads."

While this represents an obvious exaggeration, it points to the growing ideological and political influence of the CPC in the world Communist movement.

Then the *Christian Science Monitor* of Jan. 17, 1963 reports: "A long speech by Yumshagin Tseedenbal, Mongolian first party secretary, before a two-day conference of more than 1,000 on Jan. 8, which Pravda two days later summarized over six columns, marked a turn in the intra-Communist discussion. It shows that:

"1. Peking has been busy building factions in almost every other Communist Party and that its methods have been variegated and subtle.

"2. The Chinese Communist line of thinking has sunk in more deeply among Communists than Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev and his supporters may like to admit."

U.S. REVISIONISTS ATTACK CPC

And then the statement of the revisionist leaders of the CPUSA appearing in the Jan. 13, 1963 issue of the *Worker* complains that:

"The CPUSA cannot be indifferent to the fact that the Chinese Communist Party seeks converts for its dangerous policies in our country, and that the open promulgation of its policies can only spread confusion and disruption. It rejects the line of the Chinese Communist Party and, in the interest of peace and peaceful coexistence, energetically opposes it."

These "news items" reflect, in a distorted fashion, an element of truth. It is a fact that opposition to the revisionists is growing everywhere. Furthermore, the fact that the revisionists everywhere have come out openly in an attempt to "once and for all" put their policies across, is a sign, not of strength, but of desperation and weakness.

However, the three articles share the same lie: namely, that the opposition to revisionism is a result of Chinese "intrigue" in other countries. The record shows that this is not so. As far back as December 1956, the Marxist-Leninist caucus, at that time still a part of the CPUSA, published a pamphlet *Against Opportunism — For a Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party of the American Working Class*, which stated on p. 13:

"In reading the 1956 pronouncements of Dennis, Wilkerson,

Gates, Norman, and practically all the present Party leadership, one would think that they regret their rejection of Browderism in 1915 and would like to get back to the 'good old days' of 1944 when Browder's theories of class collaboration succeeded in liquidating our Party."

POC grew directly out of the Marxist-Leninist caucus. So you see POC has been at this a while. And what the three articles mentioned above really reflect is the rapid pace of polarization that is taking place in the Communist movement with the Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups like the POC rallying around the new revolutionary center in the world, the CPC.

Our attitude toward the Chinese CP is of deep respect and appreciation for the contributions they have made and are making to the struggle against revisionism and imperialism, as well as the valuable lessons they have taught us in the building of socialism in their country. We recognize the leading role played by the Chinese comrades, due to their unequalled experience and maturity. However, it was not "Chinese intrigues" that led us into the struggle against revisionism; it was our own class consciousness and devotion to Marxist-Leninist principles steel-ed by our experiences in the inferno of capitalist America that did it!

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE UNDER LENIN AND STALIN

The revisionists of the world, led by Khrushchev, have falsified and adulterated the Leninist conception of peaceful coexistence and have turned it into a gimmick rationalizing collaboration with the imperialists. Historically, peaceful coexistence was always a policy of the Soviet State, a tactical projection of policy first enunciated by Lenin.

But the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence didn't stop the Soviet state from crushing the imperialist invaders in 1919. And while it signed treaties with capitalist states such as Germany, Poland, U.S., Turkey and others it didn't stop the Soviet leaders from branding and exposing imperialist aggression, or of giving direct aid to the colonial nations fighting imperialism. While it was a member of the League of Nations, it led the struggle for "Collective Security" and at the same time the Soviet Union didn't hesitate to call that "august body" "hypocritical" for not stopping the aggression against China (1931), or against Ethiopia (1935), or against Spain (1936).

In conducting the tactical struggle for peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union never gave-up its Marxist-Leninist principles, and rushed to the aid of China, Ethiopia and Spain in their struggle against imperialist aggression, just as it was the eternal champion of the Chinese revolution. Contrast Litvinov's position in the League of Nations with the groveling of the Khrushchevite representatives in the UN:

"The USSR took and takes the question of the preservation of peace quite seriously. It really has no desire for war. That is not because it was in its essence so peaceable an organization. The USSR with its ideology, the Marxist-Leninist outlook, makes no attempt to hide the fact that it is a militant organization. But the war which is of its very essence takes other forms. It is the war of classes, as the result of which toiling humanity must shatter its chains. The best road to victory in this war is the enormous peace construction which the great workers' state is developing throughout all its length and breadth. . . It is that, consequently, which enables the Soviet Government insistently and boldly to defend the cause of peace." (*The Soviet's Fight For*

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Box 137
Planetarium Station
New York City
Box 996 - Chicago 90, Illinois

Box 6604 Cleveland 1, Ohio

Box 8442, Philadelphia, Pa.

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Disarmament 1932 speeches —)

In the late 1930's the Soviet Union led the struggle for "collective security" against the fascist powers, yet it didn't prevent them from signing a non-aggression pact with Germany, and of militarily preventing the Germans, when war broke out, from occupying all of Poland and the Baltic states. When the Nazis were about to spring their invasion of England, it was the Soviet occupation of Bessarabia which made them pause and ponder about the vulnerability of their "rear".

After the war, when American imperialism boasted of atomic weapons monopoly the Soviet Union rejected their policy of atomic blackmail and gave decisive help to the Eastern European revolutions as well as the Chinese Revolution. After the death of Stalin, this correct policy of peaceful coexistence was perverted by Khrushchev and his gang of revisionists. Never did the Soviet Union, until Khrushchev, sacrifice the vital interests of the Soviet people or any other people

the contrary, it always rendered unselfish aid to all peoples fighting against imperialism

CONDITIONS FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

What are the conditions that make for the peaceful coexistence policy of socialist countries? They are two. The first of these is the nature of socialism itself. Under socialism there is no surplus value created, no existence of exploiting and exploited classes. Exploitation of man by man is eradicated. Since it does not depend on colonial exploitation it does not need to export capital, it has no need of predatory wars for the division of the world's resources and markets. Socialist construction is a peaceful process, and therefore a peace policy is the normal and logical one for a socialist state.

The second condition making possible the policy of peaceful coexistence is the law of uneven development of capitalism. This law is not transitory, but fundamental; it means that developed capitalist states, in the epoch of imperialism, because of their rivalries and antagonisms for raw materials and markets, and their different stages of development are unable to unite firmly over a long period of time to crush the socialist nations. Winston Churchill once called upon the capitalist states to "strangle the infant in the cradle!" They were unable to do this, not because it was not to their liking or long range interests, but because their imperialist character that did not permit them to form a solid bloc against the socialist state. History has not recorded, nor will it ever record such unity among the imperialists. Each one is always striving to get the other one to "belle the socialist cat." Concrete examples of this rivalry can be seen in the attitude of France toward the admission of Great Britain (actually the U.S.) to the Common Market.

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Polarization

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There are two general principles which describe the nature of the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence.

CLASS STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Firstly, peaceful coexistence presupposes the continuation of the class struggle, and within that context, the struggle against imperialism. It never signifies collaboration with imperialism. Secondly, peaceful coexistence can apply only to relation between states with different social systems, that is, between capitalist and socialist states.

The three lines of foreign policy of socialist states was aptly stated by the Albanian Communists as follows:

"Consequently, the foreign policy of the socialist countries, besides the peaceful coexistence between the countries with different social systems, which is one of its fundamental fronts, includes two more aspects: the relations between the socialist countries, which are based on the principles of friendship, cooperation and the fraternal aid and support, on the principles of socialist internationalism; and the support of the national-liberation struggle for national independence, which is being waged by the peoples enslaved by imperialism, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries for the overthrow of capital and the passage of power into the hands of the people." (Hodxa, "Ever Deeper in the Dregs of Anti-Marxism" 1962)

REVISIONISTS UNDERMINE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

How do the revisionists deal with these two principles, the principle of struggle against imperialism and the principle of peaceful coexistence being applicable only to states with different social systems?

First, by advancing the revisionists' variant of atomic blackmail and presenting to the world the bugaboo of "total human annihilation" they convert the struggle for peace which has always been a tactical question into the "strategic aim" of the working class. Now, they are ready to offer full collaboration with the imperialists. Now, in the name of saving humanity from "total extinction" they're ready to "join" the imperialists in "saving the peace of the world."

The whole reactionary, predatory, war-oriented nature of imperialism is distorted and imperialism becomes the "peace partner" of the "socialist" revisionists. The struggle against imperialism comes to an end. The millennium of "peaceful coexistence" is at hand.

As a matter of fact, the very center of this "peace shangrila" is the U.S., according to the native brand of revisionists.

"The fate of world peace today depends in the first place upon the improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two most powerful countries, with their immense economic, technological and military potential. If the relations between our country and the Soviet Union are normalized, if they cooperate in the maintenance of peace, then the peace of the world can be kept inviolate." (Political Affairs Feb. 1960, p. 3)

Secondly, peaceful coexistence a-la-Khrushchev is extended to the relations of nations within one system — the capitalist system — and lo and behold, to the relations between the oppressor imperialist nations and the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial nations. Applying this concretely

to the national and colonial question Khrushchev stated at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU:

KHRUSHCHEV ON IMPERIALISM

"The problem of the full abolition of colonial tyranny in all its forms and manifestations must be solved in accordance with the vital interests of the peoples. At the same time real, not verbal aid must be rendered to the peoples, and the consequences of colonialism must be remedied. The peoples must be helped to reach, as speedily as possible, the level of the economically and culturally developed countries. We see the way to achieve that goal first of all in making the colonial powers restore to their victims at least part of their loot."

What better service could be rendered to the neo-colonialist policies of the imperialists than this rotten concept of "unity" of nations! Dealing with subject of colonialism Lenin stated:

LENIN ON IMPERIALISM

"England, France and Germany have invested capital abroad to the amount of no less than 70,000 million rubles. The function of securing a 'legitimate' profit from this tidy sum, a profit exceeding 3,000 million rubles annually, is performed by the national companies of millionaires, termed governments, which are equipped with armies and navies and which 'place' the sons and brothers of 'Mr. Billion' in the colonies and semicolonies in the capacity of viceroys, consuls, ambassadors, officials of all kinds, priests and other leeches.

"This is how the plunder of about a billion of the earth's population by a handful of Great Powers is organized in the epoch of the highest development of capitalism. No other organization is possible under capitalism. Give up the colonies, 'spheres of influence', export of capital? To think that this is possible means sinking to the level of some mediocre person who preaches to the rich every Sunday about the lofty principles of Christianity and advises them to give to the poor, well, if not several billions, at least several hundred rubles yearly." (p. 415 Lenin Selected Works Vol. 1 Part 2)

Did Lenin ever even infer or suggest of the remotest possibility of collaboration or the possibility of "mutual interests" between imperialist nations and colonial and semi-colonial nations? He certainly did not! It is obvious that Khrushchev and Kennedy can "cooperate in the maintenance of peace" only by sacrificing the liberation struggles of the peoples oppressed by imperialism. Exposing this cowardly and treacherous service to imperialism the Chinese comrades state:

CHINESE CP EXPOSES TREACHERY

"But Togliatti and those attacking China extend their idea of 'peaceful coexistence' to cover relations between the colonial and semi-colonial people on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other. They say, 'the problem of starvation which still afflicts a billion people, and the problem of developing the productive forces and democracy in the underdeveloped areas' must be solved through negotiations, seeking reasonable solutions and avoiding actions which might worsen the situation

and cause irreparable consequences'. They do not like sparks of revolution among the oppressed nations and peoples. They say that a tiny spark may lead to a world war.

"Such a way of speaking is really asking the oppressed nations to 'coexist peacefully' with their colonial rulers, and asking them to tolerate colonial rule rather than to resist or wage struggles for independence, much less to fight wars of national liberation. Doesn't this kind of talk mean that the Chinese people, the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Cuban people, the Algerian people and the people of other countries who rose in revolution have all violated the principle of 'peaceful coexistence' and done wrong? It is very difficult for us to see any real difference between such talks and the preachings of the imperialists and colonialists." (Peking Review No. 1, 1963)

Palmiro Togliatti has evolved into a full-fledged social-democrat, into a modern Turati. See how distant Togliatti is from the Marxist-Leninist Fidel Castro.

CASTRO DEFIES U.S. IMPERIALISM

"If what the imperialists want is to make peace dependent on our ceasing to be revolutionists, we will not stop being revolutionists; we will not haul down our colors for we are an example to the brother people of Latin America, because, Mr. Kennedy, the captive people you mentioned are not the Cubans; the captive people are the millions of Indians and Latin Americans exploited by the Yankee monopolies, exploited by Yankee imperialism in Latin America." (Speech of Jan. 2, 1963)

On July 12, 1960, Khrushchev

stated,

"We brand with ignominy... actions of the Belgian government, which violates legal rights and intervenes in the internal affairs of the Republic of the Congo."

And three days later, he said, "The demand of the Soviet Union is simple — hands off the Republic of the Congo... the Soviet Government will give the Congo Republic the necessary help..."

Sounds militant enough, doesn't it. But it's just plain demagoguery and double-talk.

It is now known that the rape of the Congo and the murder of its patriotic leaders was carried out by the United Nations forces operating in the interests of U.S. imperialism.

KHRUSHCHEV AIDS IN RAPE OF CONGO

In the Christian Science Monitor of Jan. 4, 1963, we read the following:

"UN Secretary - General U. Thant may have found in his showdown with the break-away Congolese province of Katanga further confirmation of one of his fundamental tenets: The United Nations can act effectively in crisis only on condition that it is supported or not hampered by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union... thanks to the attitude taken by both the United States and the Soviet Union, diplomatic circles do not doubt that a rapid solution of the Congolese crisis would enhance United States prestige throughout Africa."

What is this but criminal collaboration with imperialism to betray the interests of the oppressed colonial peoples!

The setback given to the nation. (Continued on page 4)

Main Report

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al and propaganda efforts that laid bare the nature of present American society and its criminal ruling class, the American imperialists. And of course this appears in sharp contrast with the class collaborationist policies of the revisionist and Social Democrats. Those forces have in fact aided in creating among the masses of the American people a false "democratic" image of American imperialist society and the American ruling class.

Significant as well as logical is the fact that while the revisionists, the Social Democrats and the Trotskyites have made a beeline for the "conveniently accessible" college campus, we have rushed over to the areas where the most exploited and the most oppressed is centered. And the concrete issues around which POC fought points to a diametrically opposed position from that taken by those forces, in relation to the problems affecting the masses of the people.

We did not adopt a "do-gooder" position in relation to the increased attacks against the Negro people and the minorities. We raised the fundamental question of freedom for the Negro people based on the struggle for the right of self-determination of the Black Belt. We identified the struggle of the Negro people as basically similar to that of all colonial and semi-colonial nations and peoples fighting for national liberation, such as the Puerto Rican, the Algerian or any other colonial and semi-colonial nation. And for that reason we rejected the solution, which includes the previously established limits of that struggle, demanded by the ruling class — integration. Integration, the political will-o'-the-wisp so dear to liberals and reformists, both white and Negro. Mr. Charley and Uncle Tom just love to dream about integration as a solution which does not, in the least, disturb the relationship of a super-exploited, oppressed nation and people.

We fought for the independence of Puerto Rico and indeed for the freedom of all Latin American peoples. We supported the colonial peoples' struggles in Asia and Africa.

Even in the struggle for democracy and reforms (which, contrary to all the slanders and lies of those who call us left-sectarian) that we conduct, we steer clear from that "will-o'-the-wisp." We didn't fight for rights for the Negro people by merely petitioning the "administrators" of the imperialist state. We let the revisionist and Social Democrats do that. Instead we exposed the increase in police brutality as a specific feature of national oppression in present-day U.S. We brought before the American people the bloody, legal murders of Negroes, represented by the Campiglia case in Philadelphia. We exposed the imperialist-white ruling class justice involved in the Hester case in Chicago and the Agron-Hernandez case in New York.

While the revisionists spoke about the "heaven" of integration we exposed the hell of mass persecution in the South, in the East, in the West and in the North. POC had leaflets, protest meetings, open meetings and in VANGUARD distributions, assiduously and relentlessly trying to expose the criminal American ruling class.

THE PEOPLE WILL FIGHT!

These things which the comrades from all the areas will discuss in detail we have done and done quite well. But we cannot remain static, we must not feel complacent and bask in yesterday's

sun. We must increase our efforts to establish this contact with a mass which has not for a moment ceased to fight and struggle. The cynic that says that the people won't fight is, in fact, merely hiding his own inability to struggle, is, in fact, establishing a rationale for retreat.

The bourgeoisie cannot stop the constant attacks against this most exploited and oppressed mass. They cannot help but fight back. Perhaps they do with methods of struggle that may be inadequate or incorrect, but fight they must and do. That's where POC comes in with its clear line of struggle, with its fearless leadership, to unite the spontaneous struggles of the masses of people with the struggle for socialism. To give direction to those mass struggles and in the process instill class consciousness and a socialist perspective in the working class.

To master the POC united front line is an indispensable feature of our mass line. To learn how to make contact with, how to work with, how to advance with, different sectors of the spontaneous mass movement is something that merits not just our attention but the most serious study. This is not simple. It is indeed quite complex. It requires the fullest utilization of our theoretical and political understanding, and then some. One must master the dialectical method so as to be able to perceive and react ideologically and politically to social motion. Our main political task in the united front is to lift the masses to a higher level of consciousness. But is this done by coming down like gods from the heights of Olympus to disseminate "wisdom" to the "ignorant masses?" The petty-bourgeois intellectuals in the leadership of the CP thought so. We do not! We are armed with a science that had its origin and source in the myriad of experiences of the masses. A science that becomes a living force only and only when it becomes the ideology of the masses. A science whose validity finds its practical test only and only in the crucible of the struggles of the masses.

POC'S APPROACH TO THE MASSES

For the movement for socialism (POC) to unite with thousands of expressions of the spontaneous movement of the masses the POCer must understand —

1. That he is neither a demi-god nor heaven's gift to the masses. He is just one of the masses who has been trained and organized in a revolutionary detachment precisely to act as the unifying link between the vanguard and the masses.

2. That he is to carry out this role and responsibility with sincere proletarian humbleness and humility. Without even an iota of a show of petty-bourgeois intellectual affectation of superiority. Every member of POC should constantly remind himself of the ignorance and confusion which was his lot before joining the ranks of Communism; the bourgeoisie "organizes" that state of ignorance among the masses of workers. It's not lack of intelligence either individually or collectively that the workers suffer from but precisely "organized, institutionalized ignorance" and especially and most important, ignorance of social reality.

3. That he is to meet the masses at their level—with everything that this implies — taking into account their values, their experience, their prejudices and even their lexicon.

4. Meeting them at their level does not mean tailing the spontaneous movement. It only means that reality has to be accepted, that is so, but only to transform it. The task of imparting class consciousness begins at the first moment of the contact and mass line; if it means anything, it means the concrete way in which the POCer transfers systematized knowledge, that is theory, to the

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tional liberation movement of the Congo, the emergence of U.S. imperialism as the dominant colonial oppressor, the mass murder and starvation of the Baluba people — do these exist in the realm of "theoretical differences, differences in manner of expression"? The setback given to the Congolese national liberation movement affects all of Africa, as can be seen in the use of reaction in Rhodesia, Guinea, and elsewhere.

We point to the murders of the patriotic heroes of the Congolese people — Lumumba, Okito, Mpolo, Major Jean-Pierre, Finant, Jacques Fataki, Pierre L. Elenge, Major Joseph Sataki and Anton Nzuzi — the responsibility for their deaths can also be traced to the revisionists led by Khrushchev, without whom the affair could never have been carried off by the U.S. imperialists.

And these are not the only heroes and revolutionaries whose suffering can be traced directly to the revisionists. Let's remember something that Khrushchev has forgotten.

"It would be a good thing if the Yugoslav leaders, with their penchant for disquisitious about the withering away of coercive agencies, were to release all Communists now in prison for having disagreed with the new programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and for holding dissenting opinions on the building of socialism and the role of the Party." Those words were spoken by none other than Khrushchev at the 21st Congress of the CPSU.

INDIAN REVISIONISTS AID IN JAILING MARXIST-Leninists

And now we have the recent disgraceful example of revisionist chairman of the Indian CP — Shripat Amrit Dange — collaborating in the jailing of the Marxist-Leninists in India as revealed in the Reporter of Jan. 3, 1963.

"In return for his pledge to help swing the Communist Parties and governments of other countries to India's side, Dange . . . was assured that his party might function as long as it behaved and that only members of the 'China lobby' would be arrested. Dange, delighted with the agreement, could not have asked for a better way to get rid of his leftist enemies and solidify his own rightist leadership. Practically every pro-China Communist was caught in the wave of arrests."

How about the dead, imprisoned, and exiled members of the Dominican Peoples Movement, killed fighting U.S. imperialism while Khrushchev's revisionist PSP (Dominican Communist Party) support imperialist stooge Juan Boach? Or the Peruvian victims of the new wave of terror unleashed by U.S. imperialism in the wake of the "victory" in the Cuban "crisis"?

"SAFELY ENSCONCED"

It takes real gall for the revisionist leaders of the CPUSA to question the courage of the Communist Party of China, yet in the Jan. 13, 1963 Worker they remark:

"It certainly does not seem responsible for these leaders safely ensconced in Peking, many thousands of miles away from the seat of the crisis, to be critical of moves that barred actions that would have meant the death of 150 million American and Soviet people and the complete destruction of the Republic of Cuba in the first 18 hours."

This is said of the glorious and heroic Communist Party of China by revisionists such as Gus Hall with his \$30,000 house,

his 1962 convertible, his \$100 suits. This slander is leveled at the CPC by such revisionists as Claude Lightfoot who, according to a recent issue of Jet magazine owns a "summer home, a farm, and a \$30,000 conventional home (plus a new automobile)," and adds that "Lightfoot has become a lavish party-giver at the three locations, a night club frequenter."

Nor are the other revisionist critics of the CPC free of corrupt living. There's the example of Tito's special Brioni retreat, and Cortanovi — the playland of Yugoslav bureaucrats which became so corrupt and vice-ridden that it became a world-wide scandal (N.Y. Times, Aug. 16, 1962). And John Gunther reveals in Inside Russia Today that "Khrushchev likes to live well, by Soviet standards, and . . . when he was running the Ukraine he had four houses at his disposal — one in Kiev, one in Moscow, a dacha in the country, and a vacation place in the Crimea. When he gave a dinner party, it was elaborate, with each guest being served individually by a waiter in livery."

Further evidence of Khrushchev's "class mentality" was his boast that if Mikoyan had been born in the United States he would have become a millionaire. (N.Y. Times Nov. 1, 1962) Evidently Khrushchev believes that U.S. millionaires got that way by their "wits" and "talents", not by soaking the soil of the earth with the blood of workers and peasants slaughtered in the battlefields of imperialist wars, and in the factories, mines and plantations of the United States and its colonies and semi-colonies.

What a boast — A leader of the Soviet Union would be an enemy of the people in a capitalist country! This corruption is the inevitable product of revisionism in theory and class collaboration in practice. And these are the gentry who call the Chinese Communists "safe" in Peking!

In a period when the very existence of U.S. imperialism is daily challenged by the national liberation movements sweeping throughout the world, when the oppressed masses are winning more confidence in their own strength, the revisionists rush to their master's aid by painting U.S. imperialism as "too powerful" to topple. Added to this is

the revisionists attempt to "democratize" imperialism, to beautify it, to picture it as "benevolent." Pravda states, as quoted in the Worker of Jan. 13, 1963:

CPUSA REVISIONISTS CRINGE BEFORE PAPER TIGER

"Imperialism has often been called a 'paper tiger' by the Albanian leaders and their supporters. Pravda did not refer to the Chinese Communist leaders when it discussed this term. But it said that 'the expression 'paper tiger' actually leads to the demobilization of the masses, because it conditions them to the thought that the strength of imperialism is a myth and it must not be taken into account. Such phrases can sow only complacency among the peoples, and blunt their vigilance.'"

Let us see whether the description of imperialism as a paper tiger disarms the masses. In Peking Review No. 1, 1963 we read:

"In comparing imperialism and all reactionaries to paper tigers, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists are looking at the problem as a whole and from a long term point of view and are looking at the essence of the problem. What is meant is that, in the final analysis, it is the masses of the people who are really powerful, not imperialism and the reactionaries."

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward this proposition in August 1946, in his talk with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong. That was a difficult time for the Chinese people. The Kuomintang reactionaries, backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism and enjoying immense superiority in men and equipment, had unleashed a nation-wide civil war. In the face of the frenzied enemy and the myth of the invincibility of U.S. imperialism, the most important question for the Chinese revolution and the fate of the Chinese people was whether we would dare to struggle, dare to make a revolution, and dare to seize victory. It was at this crucial moment that Comrade Mao Tse-tung armed the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist proposition that 'imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers.' . . ."

"This scientific proposition of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's was confirmed long ago by the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution; and it has inspired all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples engaged in revolution."

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united front contacts and movements.

Obviously, Marxist terminology which is so essential in Marxist-Leninist theory turns into its opposite when projected abstractly to the masses. Terms like bourgeoisie, proletariat, opportunism, comprador, revisionist, left-sectarian and others only serve to confuse the workers when unidentified, unexplained terminology is used.

"Crisis of plethora" means nothing to the average worker and "general crisis" means less. We don't mean to say that we must baby talk to the workers. We have often seen how the petty-bourgeois intellectual who believes that the workers are so dumb that they cannot learn our science constantly baby talk to the workers, many times in obscene or cuss language which the petty-bourgeois intellectual (in his abysmal ignorance) feels is the most characteristic mode of expression of the working class.

We certainly do not mean that. What we emphasize is the need to utilize the real vernacular of the working class as the vehicle to acquaint them with Marxist-Leninist thought. The definition of terms and concepts must be simplified and popularly defined.

5. That the petty-bourgeois conception of "leaders and masses" which permeated the old Party must be totally discarded. Not only does the Communist need to learn from all the workers but special attention must be given to the serious study of the concepts, methods and other expressions of knowledge among the leaders of the spontaneous mass movement. Scoffing at a crude formulation does not make us any wiser and besides, if there is objectivity, political honesty and sincerity in us we will discover an enormous source of necessary knowledge that only our own ignorance and arrogance can make us overlook or miss.

POC'S STYLE OF WORK IN UNITED FRONT

Since we are dealing here with an unfinished task we would do well to repeat at least part of what we stated last year in regards

to the POC style of work in the united front.

"Mass line means concretization of our general line in terms of these living struggles of the masses. It means leading and participating in the task of helping to solve the myriad of problems that weigh heavy upon the people and especially upon the workers: housing, unemployment, civil rights, national liberation, youth, education, etc. The forms of struggle also could be diverse and countless. . . struggles for adequate unemployment benefits, adequate welfare aid, for low-cost housing, for decent and adequate services in housing; struggles for civil rights and defense of the rights of minorities, against police brutality; to eradicate the legal lynchings and official pogrom which victimize the Negro people and all minorities. We must fight for the break-up of the ghettos and at the same time expose the fallacy of 'integration' as a basic solution to the problems of the Negro people. We must expose the changes in the forms of Jim Crow and other forms of segregation and show that only Socialism can bring about 'full integration' for the minorities and national freedom for the Negro and Puerto Rican nations.

"Any one of these struggles could be a special concentration depending on the particulars of the given area.

"Insofar as methods of work is concerned, we must thoroughly master the POC line of the united front. Our united front line has one main purpose — to lift the consciousness of the masses to a higher level, to help in choosing the path of struggle as against the line of least resistance in the mass movement, to help the masses in the fight for their immediate needs while preparing them for the final class goal. It's in our united front line that we discern the ability or lack of it, of establishing in life the link between tactics and strategy. Methods of work in the united front entails a thorough grasp of the 'line of compromise.'

"Any united front relationship means that we have chosen a common goal with persons that may differ with us in tactics and methods of achieving that goal. We, the POC Communists, must realize that this entails a form of struggle in itself. This struggle is not nor should it be antagonistic in character. Nevertheless, we should not hide the fact that different if not opposing opinions and proposals for the solution of the problem or for the direction of the struggle will occur and that it depends on the POCer whether the united front is strengthened or weakened. To refuse to give one's opinion for fear of antagonizing the other forces involved in the united front is an old vice, inherited from the old Party. We can and must disagree especially when we are sure that we are correct, but not in an arrogant fashion, but with humility and respect that we owe those that fight together with us. I've never met any decent person in united front relations who took offense because an honest Communist had an opinion on a given subject. But, of course, we must prove, and do this constantly, that for us political honesty is not just a general principle, but also a constant practice. On the other hand, weigh seriously and attentively the proposals of others; practice self-criticism.

"Our lack of arrogance must be shown not as a studied effort to win over and to please, but as a spontaneous attitude which stems from sincere respect and recognition of the true value of those persons with whom we are together in united front struggle.

"We must teach and learn in a comradely manner and with the spirit of mutual respect. Reject any senior-junior relations, and don't practice it either."

"Also, the role of POC as a movement not interested in controlling anything but very much interested in helping to develop the movements of the people must be made crystal clear. And when I say made clear, I don't mean just promising to respect the integrity of that movement and its leadership. I mean proving it every day in everything we say or do. We must prove that we regard trust in us as a sacred Communist possession. When we disagree, we'll say so. When we can't continue a united front relations we will openly and honestly terminate it. But while we remain in a united front relation we will live up to every commitment to the minutest detail on our part."

(Main Report to the Fourth POC Conference, published in Vanguard, December 1961-January 1962)

All of these things remain as valid today as they were last year.

THEORETICAL TRAINING — A POLITICAL TASK

Education looms as one of the most important tasks for our POC at this moment. Perhaps the main aspect of our cadre policy right now is the theoretical training of our members. Also, the need to carry out an intensive agitational and propagandistic drive among the masses of workers raises the question of the political responsibility for grounding our whole membership on the firm base of the theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Then there is the question of the tempo of development of our POC which demands a faster pace for our cadre development. For all of these reasons we are impelled to take a sharp and critical look at the educational work in our POC.

Before we begin to raise some concrete questions in regards to the problem under discussion we would like to examine the Marxist-Leninist conception of theory.

As all of us know, it was Engels in his preface to *The Peasant War in Germany* that first emphasized the important role that theory plays in the revolutionary working class struggle. Referring to the three distinct planes of the class struggle he said:

"For the first time in the history of the labor movement, the struggle is being so conducted that its three sides, the theoretical, the political, and the practical economic, form one harmonious and well-planned entity."

THE DECISIVENESS OF THEORY

The great importance, — more, the decisiveness, of theory is something we dare not underestimate. We in POC have always paid serious attention to our theoretical tasks and of course within the context of its perspective and its limitations, as pointed out by Engels as a "guide to action."

When we take the trouble to probe deeply into that vast reservoir of knowledge which exists in Lenin's works we can borrow from his great genius the understanding of the real nature of the social and political role of knowledge. Marxism-Leninism teaches that knowledge is an indispensable weapon in our struggle. Can knowledge have a negative application? Are there wrong methods of extracting knowledge from society in general, including Marxist-Leninist theory? It is for the purpose of answering these questions that we will let Lenin guide us.

Speaking about the use and purpose of knowledge given by the ideologists of the ruling class Lenin stated:

"Yesterday's slaveowners and their stooges, the intellectuals,

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ary struggles."

HOW REVOLUTIONARIES TRAMPLE PAPER TIGER

Life itself, bears out this contention of the Chinese comrades. Thus we see in U.S. News and World Report of Jan. 21, 1963

"Out here, thousands of miles from the United States, there is a 'hot war' that the U.S. and its ally, South Vietnam, certainly are not winning and seem, at this point, to be losing. . .

"The American people at the same time are putting up more than 1 billion dollars a day to fight the war. . .

"In the most recent fighting, the Communists have been the winners. They have won in spite of a large increase in American equipment and the greater manpower resources available to the South Vietnamese. . .

"In spite of its superior equipment, absolute control of the air, and greater manpower, the Vietnamese Army is barely able to hold its own against the tough, wily guerrillas. In fact, the hungry and hunted Communists actually control more of the countryside than the well-fed, well-equipped Vietnamese soldier."

This is the real answer to the revisionist charges of "demobilizing the masses."

"TWO CENTERS" MYTH

The main maneuver to prettify U.S. imperialism is the hoax of the "two centers" of power. One in the Pentagon ("reactionary") and the other in the White House ("progressive"). This was expressed fully by Khrushchev himself as far back as Jan. 1961 when he stated in the World

"Two trends can be observed in the policy of the capitalist camp in relation to the socialist countries — one bellicose and aggressive, the other moderate and sober. . . The more reactionary circles are displaying a growing nervousness and tendency towards reckless practices and aggression, by which they hope to mend their fences. At the same time, there are also among the ruling circles of these countries those who know the danger to capitalism of a new war. Hence the two trends: one leaning towards war, the other towards accepting, in one way or another, the idea of peaceful coexistence."

And the revisionists here echo this concept in the Jan. 13, 1963 Worker:

"Powerful, ultra-Right circles — enraged by the peaceful settlement of the crisis — are exclaiming that President Kennedy played a 'sell-out' role, and are pressing for a more adventurous policy for U.S. imperialism in respect to Cuba and all over the world. They have already compelled the Administration to equivocate on the no-invasion promise given by Kennedy when Premier Khrushchev originally agreed to the removal of the missiles. They are pressing for the outright invasion of Cuba."

And in an editorial in the same edition they concretize this dangerous concept further by blaming the "Pentagon generals" for "masterminding" the war in South Vietnam. Imagine, then, their consternation, after disregarding everything Lenin wrote on the nature of the state, to have no less an authority refute the revisionist deceptions than "man of peace" Eisenhower. In an interview in U.S. News and World Report of Jan. 14, 1963 Eisenhower is quoted as follows:

"Of course, military action is only the carrying on by other means, as Clausewitz said — and that statement is correct. You don't fight just to fight. You fight to achieve some political objective. . . .

"MILITARY MEN ARE TOOLS OF POLICY" — IKE

"I think this: If we give the proper respect to our professional military people — if we think of them not only as trained military men but as educated people, as patriotic and dedicated and selfless as any citizens we can find, then their opinions are of the utmost worth. But military men are, after all, a tool of policy — they are not makers of policy."

And if anyone should know the relation between the White House and the Pentagon, Eisenhower should since he's played both roles. But what do the revisionists say after Eisenhower openly admits that "military men are. . . a tool of policy"? In the editorial of the Worker dated Jan. 20, 1963, following the publication of Eisenhower's interview they continue their treachery.

"The cat-and-mouse game the Kennedy administration is trying to play with the sovereign Republic of Cuba and its people is repugnant to all traditions of fair play and democracy which our nation has built up in many generations of struggle, and in sacrifice even unto death."

When has Cuba or the rest of Latin America ever benefited from these "traditions of fair play and democracy"? When the revisionists prattle about these "traditions" do they have in mind the invasion and occupation of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines; or the invasion of Mexico and the robbery of half her territory; the Palm Sunday massacre of Puerto Rican patriots in Ponce, Puerto Rico, etc.

Logically, the editorial concludes exhorting its readers to write to the President and his "muzzles the wamwongers." While they are at it, why don't the revisionists ask Kennedy to send the Marines to Cuba to defend the Cuban revolution against the attacks of the "ultra-Right", and perhaps also chase the Navy out of Guantanamo base?

Comrade Fidel Castro must be one of the "ultra-Left sectarians" because he does not see these "positive" centers in the U.S. He states, very frankly (The Reporter Jan. 17, 1963).

"Adlai Stevenson looked like 'a criminal', and had proven to be a 'complete fraud', 'total deceit', and 'as cynical and unscrupulous as the other members of the Yankee ruling clique.'"

With such "benevolent" rulers, and such "democratic traditions" there should be no trouble in making the "transition" to socialism once the working masses decide on it.

"PEACEFUL TRANSITION" TO SOCIALISM

On the question of peaceful transition to socialism the re-

visionists are characteristically vague on the subject, preferring to deal in generalities and never laying down the concrete conditions under which it can be accomplished. Thus they state in the Worker of Jan. 13, 1963:

"We do not accept the negative attitude of the Communist Party of China on peaceful transition to socialism. We hold that they fail to consider what is the new situation in the world which strengthens the struggle for a peaceful transition. Without elaboration at this time, we also differentiate from their views on the struggle against monopoly capital, and especially as regard to our own country."

All CP's in imperialist countries have adopted a "peaceful transition" policy. The CPUSA has published its pamphlet *The American Road to Socialism*. Similarly, the British, Canadian and Italian Parties have each published works dealing with their specific "road to socialism."

What the revisionists really mean by their "peaceful transition" formula is indicated by John Gunther on page 118 of *Inside Russia Today*.

"One of the things that struck American most in Khrushchev's television interview on CBS was his remark that the grandchildren of his listeners would be living under socialism. . . But this marks a recession in his thinking; a few years ago, he was wont to say that the children not grandchildren of the West would be socialist."

Khrushchev is a piker compared to "our" domestic revisionist, Joe North, who once predicted in the pages of the Worker of a "millennium of peaceful coexistence". Imagine — a thousand years of peaceful, parallel existence of socialism and capitalism — in the epoch of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions!

Perhaps we're hopeless dogmatists, but we are forced to agree he states: "We don't deny the possibility of peaceful transition although we are still awaiting the first case." (Philadelphia Bulletin, Jan. 16, 1963)

This is one of the clearest symptoms of polarization.

ATTITUDE TOWARD YUGOSLAV REVISIONISM

We can gauge a Communist party's acceptance or rejection of Marxism-Leninism by its attitude towards Yugoslav revisionism. The revisionists and imperialists have joined forces in defending, within their respective camps, the Tito clique. While the revisionists attempt to minimize the vicious role of Yugoslav revisionism by pretending that it's just a question of "minor" differences, the Chinese Communist Party places the question squarely by exposing this revisionist maneuver. In the Peking Review no. 5, 1963 we learn that:

"In the international movement of today, one's attitude towards Yugoslav revisionism is not a minor but a major question; it

is a question that concerns not just one detail or another but the whole. It is a question of whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism or to wallow in the mire with the Yugoslav revisionists, whether to take the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement as the foundation of unity or the Yugoslav revisionist program or something else as the foundation of 'unity', and whether genuinely to strengthen unity or merely to pay lip-service to unity while in fact creating a split.

"In the final analysis, it is a question of whether to adhere strictly to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement or to tear them up."

Khrushchev is quoted in the Philadelphia Bulletin of Jan. 16, 1963 as declaring that:

"There are different concepts in various Socialist countries," Khrushchev said. "We are in one phase of development of a Socialist world system. If there are differences of opinion. . . we won't excommunicate people thinking differently."

"We have differences with Yugoslavia, but it is still a Socialist country. . . .

But barely three years ago Khrushchev "agreed" to the unanimous conclusion of the 81-Party Declaration which stated:

"The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form. . . The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under the pretext of extra bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties."

How can these two views be reconciled? Furthermore, Khrushchev's mouthings about not excommunicating anyone are naked hypocrisy. Beginning with the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the Albanian Party of Labor has not been invited to a single Party Congress anywhere that Khrushchev's revisionists were dominant. At the recent Congress of the Party in the German Democratic Republic, Albania was not invited, and the Chinese delegate was booed and jeered, and the delegates of Indonesia and North Korea were not permitted to speak owing to "lack of time." This reminds us of the 16th Convention of the CPUSA where the Marxist-Leninist delegates were denied

"The old school was a school of cramming; it compelled pupils to imbibe a mass of useless, superfluous, barren knowledge, which clogged the brain and transformed the younger generation into bureaucrats regimented according to one single pattern."

(Lenin's Selected Works, Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 477)

But Lenin, the great Marxist theoretician, did not stop at criticizing bourgeois knowledge and bourgeois methods of teaching. He was even more critical of the instances when those bourgeois methods were used in the revolutionary movement, and that is why he stated:

" . . . the first thought that enters one's mind is that learning Communism means imbibing the sum of knowledge that is contained in communist textbooks, pamphlets and books. But such a definition of the study of Communism would be too crude and inadequate. If the study of Communism consisted solely in imbibing what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, we might all too easily obtain communist text-jurglers or braggarts, and this would very often cause us harm and damage, because such people, having learned by rote what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, would prove incapable of combining this knowledge, and would be unable to act in the way Communism really demands."

"One of the greatest evils and misfortune left to us by the old capitalist society is the complete divorcement of books from practical life. . . ." (Ibid., p. 475)

POC REJECTS "JIMMY HIGGINS" AND "EXPERTS"

From this profound criticism of knowledge and theory we must proceed in POC to create, develop and plan a method of acquiring and imparting knowledge to our membership and the masses. In POC we have rejected the detestable, bourgeois conception of the "Jimmy Higgins" so widespread in the old CP. The "Jimmy Higgins" conception was a caricature of a worker, that was all arms and legs and no brains. Good enough to do practical work, and only practical work. We have also rejected the conception of his op-

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say and think, "We have always been organizers and chiefs. We have commanded, and we want to continue to do so. We shall refuse to obey the 'common people', the workers and peasants. We shall not submit to them. We shall convert knowledge into a weapon for the defence of the privileges of the money-bags and of the rule of capital over the people." (Vol. 2, Part 1, Lenin's Selected Works, p. 366)

Lenin is telling us that there is a vast body of knowledge in society that exists as rationales for the system of exploitation and oppression. To learn about these "untruths and distortions" in order to expose them before the workers and the people, such is our only task in regard to this type of knowledge. We must point out here that it is precisely this type of knowledge that the revisionists use as the basis for their pseudo-theories and distortions of the science of Marxism-Leninism.

But the bourgeoisie does not only have a "reservoir" of bad knowledge which its myrmidons and apologists use to create a distorted image of social reality. They also have a system of acquiring knowledge — a methodology which very often finds its way inside the Marxist-Leninist movement. Referring to this bourgeois method of teaching and learning, Lenin stated:

More On Nehru's Philosophy In the Light of The Sino-Indian Boundary Question

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big landlords.

SINO-INDIAN BOUNDARY NEVER FORMALLY DELIMITED

It is a well-known fact that the Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited, but that there is a traditional customary line which was formed long ago in the course of history. While it ruled over India, British imperialism continuously nibbled away at China's Tibet region, and so boundary disputes were of constant occurrence.

After India's declaration of independence, the Indian ruling circles regarded as India's both those Chinese territories which the British imperialists had occupied and those which they had wanted to occupy but had not yet succeeded in occupying. Taking advantage of the fact that in the period soon after its founding New China had no time to attend to the Sino-Indian boundary and that China's security was seriously threatened by the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Korea, the Indian ruling circles brazenly did what the British imperialists had not dared to do. They forcibly pushed India's northeastern boundary up to the vicinity of the so-called McMa-

Mahon Line which China has never recognized, and occupied more than 90,000 square kilometres of China's territory. Following on this, they further crossed the so-called McMahon Line at several points.

REDRAWING THE MAP

Again and again, the Indian authorities arbitrarily and unilaterally altered their map of the Sino-Indian boundary to incorporate large areas of Chinese territory into India. On March 22, 1959, that is, the fourth day after the reactionary clique of the upper socialist strata of the Tibet region started its rebellion and attacked the People's Liberation Army units in Lhasa, Nehru, hastily wrote to Premier Chou En-lai, making territorial claims on China based on the map arbitrarily altered by the Indian Government. He demanded that there should be incorporated into India not only the more than 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the eastern sector and the about 2,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the middle sector, but also the over 33,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the western sector which had always been under Chinese jurisdiction. The total area so claimed is about the size of China's Fukien Province, or four times as large as Belgium or three times as large as Holland.

Over the past three years and more, Nehru has insisted that China should accept these preposterous demands, and has persisted in the use of force continually to invade and occupy Chinese territory. Nehru's expansionist "philosophy" boils down to this: "The places I have occupied are mine, and so are those I intend to occupy. Since I was able to occupy an inch of your territory yesterday, I certainly can occupy a yard of your territory today." This is

downtight unreasonable, not to say utterly outrageous!

CHINA'S UNREMITTING EFFORTS FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

The Chinese Government has consistently held that, since China and India suffered the common experience of being subjected to imperialist aggression, with India having gained her independence and New China founded, they ought to live together amicably and solve their differences through peaceful negotiation. After the Indian side provoked border clashes in 1959, the Chinese Government on its own initiative proposed that talks be held between the Prime Ministers of the two countries. In April 1960, Premier Chou En-lai visited New Delhi with the desire to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question, held talks with Indian Prime Minister Nehru and made earnest efforts to reach a preliminary agreement that would help settle the boundary question. However, there was no response from the Indian side to the sincere efforts of the Chinese side. The subsequent meeting of Chinese and Indian officials also failed to produce the results as it should.

The Chinese Government has always held that even if the two

sides cannot for the time being achieve a meeting of minds on the boundary question, this should not lead to border clashes. As early as in 1959, it repeatedly proposed that the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres all along the border and stop border patrols so as to disengage the armed forces of the two sides and avoid clashes.

After the Indian side rejected these proposals, China unilaterally stopped patrols on its side of the border in the hope of helping to ease the border tension. The adoption of this measure by China led for a certain period to some relaxation in the situation along the Sino-Indian border. If the Indian side had agreed to the Chinese proposal about the withdrawal of 20 kilometres by each side, it would certainly have been possible to avert the military clashes between the armed forces of the two sides. Even when the Indian side did not agree to withdraw, these clashes would have been prevented if the Indian side had respected the situation of the unilateral Chinese cessation of patrols, instead of taking the opportunity to invade China.

NEHRU SAYS "NO" TO DISENGAGEMENT

Contrary to our expectations, the Nehru government, taking advantage of the unilateral cessation of patrols by the Chinese frontier guards, pressed forward steadily all along the Sino-Indian border, penetrated deep into China's territory, built scores of aggressive strongpoints and continuously provoked armed clashes, first in the western and middle, then in the eastern, sectors. It is easy for everybody to see that China has tried by every means to disengage the armed forces of the two sides along the Sino-Indian border, while the Nehru government, bent on maintaining military contact, has again and again adamantly rejected China's reasonable proposals.

Disengagement of the armed

forces of the two sides would not prejudice the stand of either side on the boundary question; it is a practical and most effective method of avoiding border clashes. In the process of settling their boundary questions, both China and Burma, and China and Nepal, employed different ways to disengage the armed forces of the two sides and thus facilitated the peaceful and friendly settlement of the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese boundary questions. Why can't this method be applied to the Sino-Indian border as it was to the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese borders? For what reason has the Nehru government adamantly rejected the Chinese proposals and insisted on maintaining military contact? Does it not prove that the Nehru government is deliberately prolonging tension along the Sino-Indian border? Does it not prove that the Nehru government intends to provoke armed clashes at any time in order to attain its ulterior aims?

WHIPPING UP ANTI-CHINESE HYSTERIA

While ahead with his policy of expansion into China, Nehru has continually used the boundary question to fan the anti-China campaign. A rough count shows that in the past three years Nehru has made more than 300 speeches on the Sino-Indian boundary question on various occasions. He used the most malicious language in attacking and vilifying China; he talked about Chinese "incursions into Indian territory," creation of "a clear case of aggression," "aggression being added to aggression," "expansion at the cost of India," "trying to flaunt her strength in a crude and violent way," "to keep a foot on our chest," and described China as being "imperialist," "expansionist" and "aggressive," and so on and so forth.

In addition to slandering China noisily on the boundary question, Nehru has mounted a series of attacks on China on much broader terms than the boundary question; he has also tried in the most despicable and sinister way to sow dissension between China and other countries.

LET NEHRU SPEAK FOR HIMSELF

Witness the following statements made by Nehru:

"A strong China is normally an expansionist China. Throughout history that has been the case. [China's] population problem itself, the vast population and the pace of growth greater than almost any in the wide world... is likely to create a very novel and very dangerous situation not so much for India, but for India also. (November 2, 1959)"

"Even if we are a hundred per cent friendly with them, the fact remains that here is a mighty power sitting on our borders. That in itself changes the whole context, the whole picture... So, we face each other there and we face each other in anger at the present moment, and we are going to face each other, not today or tomorrow but for hundreds and hundreds of years. (December 9, 1959)"

"Basically, the truth is that China has been expansionist whenever it is strong. But the present push also comes from rapid developments inside China, in military and industrial fields. (December 12, 1959)"

"A tremendous explosive situation is being created by the rapid growth, industrially, and in the population of China. (May 2, 1960)"

"China is at present affected by bad harvests, which is a terrible thing considering the growing population of China... The continuous failure of harvest has created an explosive situation. (May 2, 1962)"

What was Nehru driving at in these utterances? The meaning

is:

(1) China should not become a strong country, but should remain a poor and weak one with an impoverished people beset with internal and external troubles, as it was under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism before liberation.

(2) China should not develop its industry rapidly, but should continue to be a backward, agricultural China.

(3) China should not have the necessary military strength to consolidate its national defence, though it is faced with aggression and the threat of war by U.S. imperialism.

(4) China should not have so large a population, still less increase its population.

(5) When China develops its industry rapidly, this will create "an explosive situation"; when China is affected by bad harvests, this too will create "an explosive situation."

(6) China should not be India's neighbor but should change its geographical location.

In short, it seems to Nehru that, unless China ceases to exist or moves to some other place, China and India are bound to "face each other in anger... not today or tomorrow but for hundreds and hundreds of years!"

We would like to ask: whose spokesman is Nehru? Is he speaking for the Indian people? By no means. The Indian people, including the Indian workers, peasants, politically conscious intellectuals, oppressed national bourgeois elements and open-minded public men and women, that is the overwhelming majority of Indians, wish to have as their neighbor a powerful, prosperous, industrialized and populous China, where the people are the masters of the country, just as the Chinese people wish to have as their neighbor a powerful, prosperous, industrialized and populous India, where the people are the masters of the country.

SOCIALIST CHINA IS A PEACE-LOVING COUNTRY

The Chinese people have achieved complete emancipation and have taken the great path of socialist construction. A socialist China is, and will always be, a peace-loving country. How is it possible that, who have eliminated the social roots of exploitation and oppression of man by man at home, should go abroad to invade and plunder others?

Our industrialization is socialist industrialization, industrialization for the wellbeing of all the people; besides, we have inexhaustible resources and the world's biggest domestic market. How is it possible that our industrialization should initiate a "push" for expansion?

Our army is a people's army, an army dedicated to a just cause; it regards wars of aggression as crimes. Its purpose is to safeguard the interests of the people and consolidate the national defence. How is it possible that this army should invade other countries? And how is it possible that this army should invade our neighbor India?

NO "OVER-POPULATION" PROBLEM

China is indeed a country with a large population. But why should this constitute a menace to India? As a result of the victory of the people's revolution, China's social productive forces have been liberated completely, and so we can solve the so-called population problem and gradually raise the people's living standards by developing production on a large scale. Under the socialist system the problem of "over-population" simply does not exist. If there should be talk of a "population problem," then India is also one of the countries with the biggest population in the world. Moreover, while the destiny of

the population of China is 67 per square kilometre, that of India is 148, more than double China's. We would like to ask Mr. Nehru: According to your logic, do you or do you not think that India's huge population is also a menace to other countries?

It is true that historically China had been powerful and had invaded other countries, but that occurred under the rule of the feudal landlord class. China today is a people's China, a socialist China; its social system is fundamentally different and its domestic and foreign policies are fundamentally different. A powerful and prosperous socialist China can only benefit peace and the fight against aggression, can only be of benefit to its neighbors and to friendship among nations. It will be a disadvantage only to the imperialists, who are aggressive by nature, and their lackeys. People throughout the world who love peace and uphold justice hold this view, and they believe that the more powerful and prosperous socialist China is, the better. Since Nehru so hates to see a powerful and prosperous socialist China, where does he stand? Has he not put himself in the very position of a lackey of the imperialists?

A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE

China has all along pursued a foreign policy of peace and stood for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles with all countries having different social systems. China has signed treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or treaties of peace and friendship with the Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ghana. Similarly, China has always wanted to live in friendship with India. But Nehru, on the contrary, holds that India cannot live in friendship with China. This runs diametrically counter to the wishes and interests of the Indian people.

China has had boundary questions left over from history with a number of its neighbors. For example, with Burma and Nepal too, China has very long boundaries which were not formally delimited in the past. But on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and through full consultations, boundary treaties have been signed between the Governments of China and Burma and between the Governments of China and Nepal, thus bringing about a reasonable and friendly settlement of the complicated questions left over from history. Why then should it be impossible to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question? If Nehru really wanted to settle the boundary question, it should not have been difficult to do so. And even if it were to remain unsolved for the time being, this should not prevent the two countries from maintaining the status quo of the boundary and living in peace with each other. And what need could there be to slander and attack China endlessly and even to cross swords with China?

NEHRU'S ULTERIOR MOTIVES

Nehru has his ulterior motives for refusing to make it up on the Sino-Indian boundary question over a long period of time and continuously creating tension. To understand this, we must examine the class nature of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords, represented by Nehru, whose interests are closely connected with those of the imperialists; we must examine the needs of the Indian reactionary ruling circles, represented by Nehru, in domestic and international politics; and we must broadly examine the background, both inside India and in regard to its international relations.

(To be continued)

More On Nehru's Philosophy In the Light of The Sino-Indian Boundary Question

(Continued from page 1)

ern and western sectors of the Sino-Indian border, thus bringing about unprecedentedly serious military clashes between China and India.

CHINA'S FORBEARANCE AND SELF-RESTRAINT MISTAKEN FOR WEAKNESS

China has always hoped to avert a conflict. Though we have every time exercised forbearance and self-restraint, what we least wished to see happen has come to pass. China has at no time occupied or intruded into any part of India; but the Indian side, which has occupied vast tracts of Chinese territory, has been using force deliberately to change the state of the boundary and extend its aggression. China has proposed again and again to the Indian Government that negotiations be held at once without preconditions, but Nehru wants the Chinese troops to withdraw from large tracts of their own territory as a pre-condition for negotiations, thereby rejecting negotiations without any reason whatsoever.

Even after Indian troops had intruded time and again into Chinese territory in the western and eastern sectors of the Sino-Indian border, China's frontier guards strictly observed the People's Government's order to avoid conflict. They never fired the first shot even when under their very eyes they saw their territory being occupied by Indian troops, their links with the rear being cut off by Indian troops and strongpoints for aggression being set up by Indian troops only a few hundred metres, a few dozens of metres or only a few metres away. It was in these circumstances that many of our soldiers were killed or wounded by Indian troops. The Nehru government took our forbearance and self-restraint as an indication that we are weak and can be bullied. Indian troops pressed forward steadily and penetrated deep into Chinese territory, set up more and more strongpoints for aggression and advance positions. After completing their dispositions for attack, the Indian troops finally launched a large-scale general offensive on October 20, 1962.

This series of facts, these recent developments in the Sino-Indian border situation, all add up to the inescapable conclusion: the present serious armed conflict is entirely due to deliberate provocations and aggression by the Nehru government.

The whole world is now closely following the Sino-Indian border incidents. It is now more than three years since the ruling circles of India, headed by Nehru, started the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. Why have they balked at a peaceful settlement and insisted on provoking China, going so far as to launch a large-scale armed attack against China? In order to lay bare the essential truth of the matter and elucidate the root cause and background of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, one needs to proceed from an extensive coverage of the facts and make a comprehensive historical analysis of them.

More than three years ago, this newspaper published an article entitled "The Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy" (See Peking Review, No. 19, 1959. — Ed.)

which discussed Nehru's "philosophy" in the light of intervention in China's Tibet by the Indian ruling circles. Now we propose to make a further inquiry into Nehru's "philosophy" in the light of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

I

Just like their interference in China's Tibet, the provoking of Sino-Indian border incidents by India's ruling circles headed by Nehru, leading to their large-scale armed invasion of China, is no accident. Both are determined by the class nature of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords whose interests are closely connected with those of the imperialists.

To explain this point, let us recall some history.

Readers are invited first to read the following passage written by Nehru in his book *The Discovery of India* in 1944.

"... though not directly a Pacific state, India will inevitably exercise an important influence there. India will also develop as the centre of economic and political activity in the Indian Ocean area, in Southeast Asia and right up to the Middle East. Her position gives an economic and strategic importance in a part of the world which is going to develop rapidly in the future. If there is a regional grouping of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean on either side of India, — Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Siam, Java, etc., — present-day minority problems will disappear, or at any rate will have to be considered in an entirely different context.

"... the small national state is doomed. It may survive as a culturally autonomous area but not as an independent political unit." (Meridian Books Ltd., London, 3rd ed., 1951, pp. 510-511.)

NEHRU'S DREAM ABOUT A GREAT INDIAN EMPIRE

This enables one to understand two things clearly:

First, the goal pursued by this ambitious Nehru is the establishment of a great empire unprecedented in India's history. The sphere of influence of this great empire would include a series of countries from the Middle East to Southeast Asia and far surpass that of the colonial system set up in Asia in the past by the British empire.

Secondly, this ambitious Nehru believes that when the "regional grouping" with India as "the centre of economic and political activity" is set up, or, in other words, when the great empire conceived by Nehru comes into existence, "minority problems will disappear" in this region. According to Nehru, "the small national state is doomed," "it may survive as a culturally autonomous area but not as an independent political unit." In a word, it can only be a vassal in Nehru's great empire.

These remarks of Nehru were written 18 years ago. Nehru was

dreaming of a great Indian empire long before India's proclamation of independence. This is a real "discovery" of the expansionism of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords of India!

These reactionary, expansionist ideas of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords form an important part of Nehru's philosophy.

"THE CENTRE OF ASIA"

India was for a long time under the colonial rule of British imperialism. The Indian big bourgeoisie is a parasitic class fostered by British imperialism. Its close relations with the British monopoly capitalist class are clearly seen in Nehru. Nehru said: "In my likes and dislikes I was perhaps more an Englishman than an Indian." (Michael Brecher: *Nehru, A Political Biography*, Oxford University Press, London, 1959, p. 50.) Fostered by the British imperialists, the economic forces of the Indian big bourgeoisie began to develop already under British rule. They developed further, especially after World War I and during World War II. As a large country, India was regarded by British imperialism as the economic and political centre of its colonial system in the East, and was called "the brightest jewel in Britain's imperial crown." This view of India held by the British imperialists was an insult to the great Indian people. However, the Indian big bourgeoisie which depended on British imperialism took over from the British imperialists this concept of India as "the centre of Asia," and this has led to Nehru's idea of a great Indian empire.

CHAUVINISTIC AND EXPANSIONIST POLICY

After India's proclamation of independence, the Indian ruling circles headed by Nehru inherited and have tried their best to preserve the bequests of the British colonialist rulers; they have become increasingly brazen in carrying out their chauvinistic and expansionist policy. India is the only country in Asia that has a protectorate. The Indian ruling circles have used every means to interfere in the internal and external affairs of countries around India, to control their economy and trade and demand their absolute obedience. This is no secret. An article carried recently in the Nepalese weekly *Naya Samaj* says: "Nepal has always been friendly towards India, but India on the contrary has always looked with a threatening eye on the independence of Nepal. India does not favor Nepal's survival and progress as an independent nation. It has been India's wish that Nepal should surrender to India and agree to act in accordance with Indian directions and India is working to this end." It is not an isolated case, or towards Nepal alone, that the Nehru government adopts this chauvinistic and expansionist policy.

It is precisely from the expansionist viewpoint that the Indian ruling circles regard China's Tibet region as an Indian sphere of influence. In 1950, the fourth year after India's proclamation of independence, the Nehru government interfered with the Chinese people's liberation of their own territory of Tibet; later they instigated and backed up the treason and rebellion of the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in the Tibet region. It was from this series of concrete facts that we began to understand Nehru's expansionist "philosophy."

Nehru's policy on the Sino-Indian boundary question and the whole process by which he engineered the Sino-Indian border clashes have shed new light on the expansionist philosophy of the Indian big bourgeoisie and (Continued on page 6)

Main Report

(Continued from page 5)

posite number, the "specialist" so-called, who was also prevalent in the old Communist Party. Usually the "specialist" was a petty-bourgeois intellectual, who was never called to do anything but "brainless" work. In other words, he was the ideologist and theoretician or the political bureaucrat. WE REPEAT, POC REJECTS BOTH.

We need a method that helps us to train and develop political cadres which is theoretically developed as well as thoroughly experienced in practical work and the mass struggle. We seek for the unity of theory and practice in a living way. This is the reason why we are trying to shed all hangovers of the old method which tied us to the "teacher-specialist," to the general and abstract outline which used only basic classical textbooks and skipped the concrete POC theory and practice contained in its pamphlets, periodicals and general literature; a method which failed to extract the test of theory from the practice of the mass work and the mass struggle.

To give you some examples: On a proposed class on Revisionism an "intellectually-minded" comrade proposed an outline for a history of revisionism all the way from LaSalle to Bernstein and on. Another example: On a proposed class on Criticism and Self-Criticism and the Struggle Against Deviations a comrade proposed to use just one single text — "How To Be A Good Communist" by Liu Shao-chi. This is an excellent textbook, but not just by itself, but together with our POC literature and our POC experience.

We have tried to break with all remnants of the old method including that of bourgeois lecturing at classes, which only serves to inflate our ego and swell our heads.

We have insisted on the introduction of the seminar method of conducting Marxist-Leninist classes. This method is without question much more difficult to master, but it does definitely permit an immensely more full training of the membership. With this method the member-in-training does not have to listen to the swell-head "specialist", cramming the pearls of wisdom that fall from his lips.

What he does is carry out his own research, do his own analysis, elaborate his own report with the help of the class collective, including that of the class-leader. Note that even in terminology we are striving to eliminate the old conception of the "professors", even when he used to go under the name of "teacher" or "instructor."

Conversely, this method acts as a head-shrinker for those of us in the leadership who may have developed a superiority complex based on the fact that we have a little more experience on questions of theory.

I am sure that the Comrades from the areas will speak about this subject in a more concrete way. But before I leave this topic I would like to summarize my remarks in the direction of our practical needs and tasks in relation to the theoretical training of our cadre.

LENIN ON CADRE TRAINING

Without trying to equate the conditions or the scope of the problems faced by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in December of 1917, when these remarks were made, I would like to quote the following passage since it stresses not only the real possibility, but the indispensable need to train workers as POC cadre.

"Very often the intellectuals give excellent advice and instruction, but they prove to be ridiculously, absurdly, shamefully 'unhandy' and incapable of carrying out this advice and instruction, of exercising practical control over the translation of words into deeds.

"And in this very respect it is utterly impossible to dispense with the help and the leading role of the practical workers-organizers from among the 'people', from among the workers and toiling peasants. 'It is not the gods who make pots' — this is the truth that the workers and peasants should get well drilled into their minds. They must understand that the whole thing now is practical work; that the historical moment has arrived when theory is being transformed into practice, is vitalized by practice, corrected by practice, tested by practice; when the words of Marx, 'Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs', becomes particularly true — every step in really curbing in practice, restricting, fully registering and supervising the rich and the roguish is worth more than a dozen excellent arguments about Socialism. For 'theory, my friend, is grey, but green is the eternal tree of life.'" (Selected Works, Lenin, Vol. 21, Part I, pp. 374-375)

At one state of POC's development we did nothing else but fight for the theoretical propositions and principles which the revisionist leadership was abandoning but we are far beyond that stage now.

When we stressed the two main tasks, cadre policy and mass work, at the Fourth POC Conference, we didn't mean to imply that one involved mainly theoretical tasks and the other practical solutions. Not at all. We need the introduction of both theory and practice in both tasks. What's more, we must find its concrete, living unity. We are not out to intellectualize our membership.

Our task on the subject of the education and training of our cadre calls for the theoretical and organizational grounding as well as for the practical training of the POC membership, so that they can become well rounded out, experienced cadre.

We want to develop political leaders and activists. Not theoretical "specialists" nor "errand brigades" for potential POC bureaucrats.

We are advancing towards our main goal. We are strengthening our POC in its theoretical, organizational and political content. We are marching with history.

Long Live Socialism!

Long Live China!

Long Live the Soviet Union!

Long Live the lands of Socialism!

Long Live the Communist movement!

Long Live the heroic anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial peoples!

Long Live the working class!

Long live our POC!

Program and Principles For Unemployed Councils

By LUMBERJACK

There is a burning need today — 1963 for a National Union of Unemployed, part time workers, and Pensioners. On the west coast, centered around Eureka, Calif., we set up an unemployed organization in 1957-58 patterned exactly after the old Workers Alliance. The Revisionists told us, "You are living in the past" and withheld any support for the embattled unemployed Lumberjacks of Northern California.

In spite of this, we made considerable gains for the unemployed in gaining immediate relief, stopping evictions, and reversed several rulings of the welfare board. This proved conclusively that the class struggle was just as valid in 1958 as it was in the 1930s. We called our union the "Unemployed Workers of America" and we hoped that we might be able to set in motion a national union of unemployed, and make a historic short-cut by setting up a union with BUILT-IN rank-and-file control. This would automatically cut out the need for GAINING rank-and-file control in a lot of fakir-led organizations the like of which sprang up like mushrooms in the late thirties.

However: History can only be "speeded up" so much — and no more, so with the need being so great, it may be advisable to once again set up "Unemployed Councils", which would in itself be a historic short-cut, as in the 30s the first organizations of unemployed were called, "Unemployed Citizens Leagues" and in many cases for "White only" and in other cases for "Native vicinity of the region" and "Americans only." In altogether too many cases these first unemployed organizations were set up as sort of "Self help" outfits organized by a lot of fakirs, renegades from Communism, social reformers, and the like.

The THEN Militant Communist Party performed the task of finally UNITING all of these dissident groups into a powerful union of Unemployed, by waging a titanic struggle for rank-and-file control. This union was called the "Workers Alliance" and they fought for — and WON, Unemployment Compensation, disability pensions, Social Security, aid to dependant children. The Revisionist members of the CP of TODAY tell us that these tactics are now "outdated." They advance the argument that "It's the duty of the organized labor movement to gain help for the unemployed." They also say that, "The labor movement of today is powerful enough to do this." Let us examine these false statements a bit. It may be the "duty" of organized labor to do this but the fakir-led unions of today care not one iota about the unemployed as they have no "dues money." As to the unions being "powerful enough", let us see. In the 1930's there were approximately 5 million members of organized labor as against some 15 million UNEMPLOYED with

a much smaller work force than today. NOW: there are some 15 million of organized labor with some 67 MILLION JOBS. So: percentage-wise there are probably LESS unionized workers as against the 1930's.

Even if the REVERSE was true, it is STILL up to the unemployed to ORGANIZE their own organizations. The Union leaders of the Organized Steel workers care not a whit for lumber, auto, or maritime workers. Neither do union leaders of today care much for the unemployed. It is simply up to the unemployed to ORGANIZE and fight their own battles, getting what help they can from the unions.

Some good guide lines to follow as to policy of these Unem-

ployed councils are as follows:

1. Membership open to ALL unemployed and part-time workers, and pensioners REGARDLESS of race, creed, color, or political belief.
2. Do not depend on favors, or deals. Don't beg, FIGHT for your rights. We do not ask, or expect gifts from the mighty — we depend on our organized pressure to win — and hold concessions. We gain inspiration and strength from our own unity, and from the struggles of any and every group of workers, against those who would debase our conditions of life.
3. Together with the rank and file of organized labor, we recognize as friends and Allies the toiling farmers and professional

workers. We regard as enemies all who urge us to be patient in our suffering, meek before oppressors, tolerant before traitors, thankful for scraps of charity, and dependent on the glib promises and kind favors of self-seeking politicians.

4. We fight hardest for those who suffer most, realizing that this is the only way to gain permanent benefits for all. We fight for the Negro, other minorities, the foreign born, women, and young workers who are subject to special discrimination and abuse.

5. Our movement depends on our collective effort, and united mass strength, and not on some "great" individual.

6. We shall not cross any picket line established against any employer and any member of this council who violates this rule shall be expelled. We will work for the closest possible unity with all organized workers and farm groups, and we expect them to aid us in our struggle for a better life.

Love Me, Love My Dog

Every worker knows that when the boss prefers one worker over another, that there must be a good reason — and a good reason for the other workers to get suspicious. Here's how President Kennedy expressed his preference in a TV interview last Dec. 17th: "We would be far worse off — the world would be — if the Chinese dominated the Communist movement, because they believe in war as the means of bringing about the Communist world. Mr. Khrushchev's means are destructive, but he believes that peaceful coexistence and support of these wars of liberation, small wars, will bring about our defeat. . . . So we are better off with the Khrushchev view than with the Chinese Communist view quite obviously."

have not proved by some special work or service that they are absolutely reliable, loyal and capable of being Communists.

"The purging of the Party, through the steadily increasing demands it will make in regard to working in a genuinely communist way. . . ."

(Lenin — Selected Works — Vol. II, Part II, pp. 237-238)

POC IS THE TOUGHEST TRENCH

POC is demanding so much from every one of us in terms of sacrifice, discipline and everything else that we don't have to worry about this gentry staying, but at any rate let's make sure and demand that the decision to make 7-day Communists out of us be carried out, that we assign everybody to mass work, to give 'till it hurts and then we will be following Lenin's advice.

POC is being attacked from all quarters. We need all our forces, solidly united to resist the attacks and to mount the counter-offensive. POC cannot afford the luxury of liberalism. POC is the toughest trench there is in the U.S. precisely because it is the only real Communist trench. Membership in POC is voluntary, but the discipline which is required for that membership is not a matter of individual volition. As individuals we can choose to leave POC any time, but nobody is going to establish the conditions for his staying. This the collective has done already. Every one of us must adhere to the general line, the mass line, and the principles, collectively accepted by POC, including democratic centralism, or else leave POC. And when we say leave, we don't mean POC waiting for anyone of us members to make up our individual mind for the time or the condition for departure.

POC will continue to demand more and more of the real Communist way of work which means more work, more sacrifice, more discipline. Let the fellow-traveler fall by the wayside. POC will roll along to the completion of its historic task.

We owe a vote of undeserved thanks to all those petty-bourgeois "swell heads" who taught us so many negative lessons. But a lesson is a lesson whether it has a positive or a negative source. We learn from both constantly. We have solidified and united our membership precisely on the basis of the lessons of how not to be an individualist; how not to be a petty-bourgeois blabbermouth who mouths Marxist formulae and slogans unconnected with the practice and the reality of the class struggle.

We have a membership with lots of fight, fearless and with a well-ingrained sense of responsibility and sacrifice, theoretically and ideologically as well as organizationally, and trained in struggle. We have developed the three age levels which guarantee the dialectical process of development as the POC moves forward. We have the experienced cadre. We are not going to retire this cadre with a pension. We are going to fuse this experienced cadre with the new energies that the new cadre has brought into POC. As a result POC will develop a group of cadre which not only has energy but experience as well.

We are not going to stand idly by and allow any "youth movement" to force its way in POC and there are already developing symptoms of this trend. We are not going to allow the discarding of experienced cadre on the excuse that they are old.

We have a young group which has begun and is quite advanced in its ideological and political training. And this guarantees a constant flow of inexhaustible energy and experience, a veritable reservoir of leadership. From this group, inside of just two or three years, have emerged young POC leaders who are the pride of POC. E, N, R, E, L, and others. Right behind this young cadre and pushing forward we see C, P, Prue, P, R, H; and right behind, B, T, D, G, S, etc.

Observe these young POCers display their potential of leadership and get a big ideological and even psychological boost. Cadre represents our capital as Stalin used to say. We don't have to fear the future, we guarantee it by training our members and developing our leadership. We will continue to do so even more determinedly and energetically.

POC EXPOSES REVISIONISTS COLLABORATE

An objective examination of our work will show that in most areas of POC we made substantial advances in the implementation and development of our policies since the Fourth POC Conference. In the West Coast around the question of housing and unemployment; in Chicago around the question of national liberation and civil rights; in Philadelphia and New York great strides ahead have been made by our POC regions. Without descending to bluster, we can feel quite proud of the successes attained by our movement and by the labors of the leadership and courage displayed by our comrades from east to west.

If we were to contrast our POC mass work with that of other supposedly revolutionary movements in the United States, we could say that what is most distinctive in the ideological and political projections is the fact that POC has been distinguished by agitation-

(Continued on page 3)

Main Report Fifth P.O.C. Conference

(This concludes, in abridged form, the final section of the Main Report delivered to the Fifth POC Conference held September 1st and 2nd, 1962 in New York City)

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that always and everywhere members of the non-proletarian classes find their way into the proletarian revolutionary movement. They bring with them the ideology of the petty-bourgeois individualist, which sharpens the contradiction between the part and the whole, and between the individual and the collective. Every one of those who has gone from POC — that is, conceived. Every one of those who has gone from POC — that is, from the leadership — suffered mainly from petty-bourgeois individualism and subjectivism. Unable to think or act outside of their egocentric premises, they tried to twist POC and the POC line to conform to their notions, their ideas, or their wishes. Whether there was opportunism involved or just petty-bourgeois dilettantism, it made no difference. The collective represented an obstacle to them. Democratic centralism was nothing but the gimmick of some smart bureaucrat to force agreement to his individual policies. That there could be a collective criterion they could not even conceive.

PETTY-BOURGEOIS SWELL HEADS

How could anyone disagree with their intelligent, "self-evident" truths and opinions? Having general contempt for the masses, they expressed in this way their lack of confidence in any collective thinking, in any collective action. It must be this or that smart guy that "fools the rank and file," they thought. Being conscious of his own motives, the petty-bourgeois swell-head feels that everyone else indulges in the game of "fooling the rank and file." Lenin extracted the essential characteristic of the petty-bourgeois fellow-traveler and the need to get rid of him before he contaminates the movement when he stated:

"It is not difficult to be a revolutionary when revolution has already broken out and is at its height, when everybody is joining the revolution just because they are carried away, because it is the fashion, and sometimes even out of careerist motives."

(Lenin's Selected Works, Part II, Vol. II, pp. 425-426)

Further: "Among the intelligentsia, especially that section of it which has 'hitched on' to one or another legal activity, there is developing a complete lack of faith in the illegal Party and a disinclination to spend efforts on a task which is particularly thankless in our time. 'Friends in need are friends indeed,' and the working class, which is passing through the difficult times of attack by the old and new counter-revolutionary forces, will inevitably witness the defection of very many of its intellectual 'friends for an hour,' friends in time of festivity, friends only for the duration of the revolution, but who are yielding to the general depression and are prepared to proclaim the 'struggle for legality' at the first success of the counter-revolution."

"(A bourgeois intellectual, who in the days of his youth joined Social-Democracy (Communist movement), is inclined to give up the struggle in disgust; so it was, so it will be; to defend the old illegal organization is hopeless, to create a new one is still more hopeless.)"

(Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. IV, pp. 57-58)

And what should be done about that vacillating element? And how do Marxist-Leninist movements approach the unavoidable task of getting rid of those elements?

And again Lenin shows us the way. He said:

"We started this work long ago. It must be continued steadily and untiringly. The mobilization of Communists for the war helped us in this respect: the cowards and scoundrels fled the Party's ranks. Good riddance! Such a reduction in the Party's membership means an enormous increase in its strength and weight. We must continue the purging, and that new beginning, the 'communist subotniks,' must be utilized for this purpose; members should be accepted into the Party only after six months, say 'trial', or 'probation', at 'working in a revolutionary way.' A similar test should be demanded of all members of the Party who joined after October 25, 1917, and who

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