### **AN APPEAL** TO ALL COMMUNISTS

FROM MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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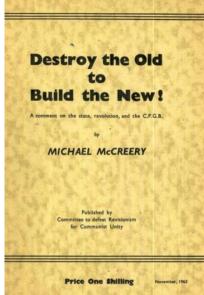
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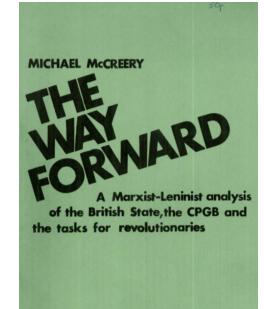
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# **Research note** - Fracturing of the CDRCU



## **Research note – Fracturing of the CDRCU**

In the early days of the anti-revisionist movement one might ask : Why the time lag between the degeneration of the CPGB, who had adopted *The British Road to Socialism* as its programme in 1951, and the development of the anti-revisionist movement a decade later?

Most post-mortems would reference the view that

" the Comintern continually exerted some influence to keep the CPGB leadership from plunging into serious theoretical errors – but in 1943 with its final dissolution, the petty-bourgeois tendencies within the CPGB began to take firm hold." <sup>i</sup>

There had been a general sense of empirical discontent developing as Muriel Seltman recalls in her memoirs<sup>ii</sup>, yet few could clarify their analysis of the overall situation until the international dispute heightened and focus. The Marxist Leninist opposition within the Party to the leadership's revisionist trend had been conducted within the Party on individualistic terms.

It was not until the early 1960s was there the attempt to build a revolutionary organisation to challenge the revisionist-controlled CPGB in public, and, in part, this was forced upon the anti-revisionist Marxist Leninists. 'Factional activity' such as communicating across branches and district structures was not a common occurrence and subject to official sanction. One participant, Jim Strong thought the abysmally low-level of political consciousness even among so-called militants" partly responsible for the delayed political response to events within the party. Arguing the lack of systematic political education among the rank-and-file in the face of the "ceaseless bombardment" of anti-marxist material contributed to that state of affairs. Others, as discussed by G. Lee<sup>iii</sup>, through the culture of party loyalty played a great factor in the reluctance to write-off and publically break with the Party in a full blown two line struggle. Party loyalty operated in the leadership's favour as individuals tolerated the political drift they perceived.

The analysis of a prominent dissident, Mike Baker equally emphasised the deliberate actions of the CPGB's revisionist leadership,

The point to be grasped here, however, is that it has been this long-drawn out and carefully concealed history of betrayal which has resulted in the relatively small numerical size of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain, its relative immaturity and lack of theoretical clarity, the absence from its of ranks of leading members of national standing - above a clear perspective of struggle towards the working-out of a Marxist-Leninist alternative programme based on class struggle and working class power." <sup>iv</sup>

The importance of the emergence of the dispute in the International Communist Movement was that it emboldened what had been a "general sense of empirical discontent developing amongst many comrades who realised that revolutionary theory and practice was being abandoned." The Albanian and Chinese material helped individual anti-revisionist clarify their own analysis of the overall situation and focus on what needed to be done as a nuclei of dissident took form in a vague desire for the resurgence of Marxism-Leninism within Britain. In the autumn of 1963, John Gollan, secretary of the CPGB, intervention in the international dispute described the leadership of the Communist Party of China as being 'racist' and 'warmongers', and reaffirming the programmatic strategy of the British Road.

Publication on September 18th, 1963, of the Resolution of the E.C. of the CPGB on the International Communist Movement, in which the Communist Parties of Albania and China were publicly attacked and slandered, and the immediately ensuing steps taken by the revisionist leadership of summoning aggregate meetings at Branch and District level to ratify this resolution, that finally compelled action upon the Marxist-Leninists.

The public attacks and slanders triggered defiant opposition from anti-revisionists to answer the leadership with a public statement of adherence to Marxism-Leninism and solidarity with those Communist parties who upheld it in the international polemic.

Consequently, in November 1963, representatives of anti-revisionist groups in Britain met at a Conference in London to discuss the publication of the "Appeal to All Communists from Members of the C.P.G.B." This Conference was convened by the largest of the then-existing groups, an ad hoc London Committee of Marxist-Leninists, and, was attended by some 35 delegates and individuals. A draft "Appeal" was prepared and presented and the main political reports were given by the London-based Michael McCreery and Peter Seltman.

The stage had been reached where the need for a new party had arisen through their struggle with modern revisionism. However insufficient degree of political cohesion prevailed amongst the delegates: the lack of preparation and with the inadequate political unity at the Conference, the first national meeting of dissidents to formulate a common policy failed to reach agreement. A small majority of delegates finally voted for publication of the "Appeal". McCreery went on to lead the CDRCU while Seltman was associated with the inner party discontents producing *Forum for Marxist-Leninist Unity*.

According to the recollection of one supporter of the CDRCU's position: "...certain anti-revisionist comrades were not 'ready' for the break with the CPGB, through ideological immaturity, and they vacillated. They did not understand the <u>overdue</u> need for the Reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist party... they did not realise that this reconstitution could only occur through <u>public</u>, independent struggle. Instead they insisted that inner-party struggle was the key factor and the CPGB could be transformed by such struggles from within, or at least a new party could be built by these inner party activities." <sup>v</sup>

The perception that the anti-revisionist movement had from its inception consisted of a number of separate and genuine Marxist-Leninist groups hampered the development of a unified party-building organisation. The original division of the movement at the London Conference saw two poles of attraction, those who advocated open struggle through an open journal like *Vanguard* and an open centre, and those who advocated concealed, clandestine work through *Forum* as a clandestine journal and no identifiable centre, had far - reaching and serious consequences for the Marxist-Leninist Movement.

The growth of separate groups of anti-revisionists in the various localities, industries, and spheres of mass work, were partly consolidation into a national cadre force in the CDRCU, while those loosely organised around an oppositional position within the Party were increasingly subject to the bureaucratic grip held by the party leadership and eventually expelled or left unable to mount a challenge to the revisionist hegemony within the Party.

The point was correctly made that the CPGB leadership had virtually completed the transformation of the Party into a "left" type of social-democratic party, had virtually integrated it into the capitalist political agenda and infrastructure.

In its brief existence the CDRCU, despite of its public stance, straddled the strategic question of to rebuild anew or transform the old. Perhaps with an eye towards winning the Forum supporters the CDRCU remained chiefly concerned with the inner party CPGB struggle and according to some "It behaved as an oppositional group rather than as a Marxist Leninist nucleus." (Strong 1966)

"The real trouble was that the bulk of CDRCU (just like 'Forum', the SACU group, and all the subsequent splinter groups which derived from them) were overoptimistic about the possibility of winning large chunks by simply explaining things to them and engaging in polemics, rather than in developing a mass revolutionary line and in setting a Marxist Leninist example in practical work". <sup>vi</sup>

The young anti-revisionist movement took from the struggle against revisionism the position that it was essentially a fight for the ideological orientation of the group, and , later drawn from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, embraced the two-line struggle with an intensity and drama not comparable to their own endeavours, disputes and differences to formulate policies and tactics related to conditions in Britain. They did not handle contradictions well.

Defenders of McCreery described the inner-party transformists as having unjustly "accused McCreery of having a 'leader-complex' and said he wanted to form a Marxist-Leninist party 'at once' – they degenerated so much that in public and in private they tried to make out that Cde McCreery was a 'police spy' and 'state agent' or 'trotskyist agent'. <sup>vii</sup>

Too often the struggle within organisations, let alone between components of the ML movement, took on a crude fundamentalism, mirroring a singular notion that it was always reflective of class struggle rather than a non-antagonistic struggle within a shared class perspective. Everything was antagonistic, conducted (too quickly and too often) in a heightened righteous manner with an exaggerated sense significance – underpinned by leadership pretensions – so that the political focus became submerged by the actuality of struggle. An illustration of this was in the first split from the CDRCU, when *Vanguard*'s editor and feature editor left the organisation in the summer of 1964.

#### Arthur Evans leaves the party

"It is not that I am an ultra-leftist, it is that Michael McCreery is a rightist opportunist." -Evans

Disputes among comrades are not uncommon.

A bitter dispute took place over a contribution written by Arthur Evans, and its rejection for publication in Vanguard, even though as Evans acknowledges, he agreed the polemical piece "By Their Deeds Ye Shall Know" was "for tactical reason it should be laid aside."

An account of the incident was left by Arthur Evans in the pamphlet, 'Once Again, Truth will Out' "which recounts the break with the CDRCU "over the Chinese attitude to Africa – "which I considered rotten with opportunism" and the 'political degeneration of McCreery".

Evans' condemn Nelson Mandel's conduct at the Rivonia Trial, "he kow-towed to save his skin", arguing that Mandel "attempted to turn the revolutionary movement into harmless parliamentary channels", predicting "he will follow the road now being taken by such as Kenyatta". <sup>viii</sup>

Evans' unpublished article reflected his general strategic view and hostile attitude to the nonaligned movement. While Evans advocated the road to socialism in Africa, the dominant view, reflected in China's foreign policy, was that in a neo-colonial society the main enemy (and political target) was imperialism and necessitated the building of a broad united front of vacillating classes for a national democratic struggle.

McCreery, responsible for the final printers' page-proof of *Vanguard*, objected to Evan's advocating "introducing socialism" at the present time, before imperialism had been ousted and the national democratic tasks completed. Ken Houlison, secretary of the Scottish Committee supported the rejection of Evan's article arguing that such veiled attacks on China's attitude to the newly-formed states in Africa should be discussed within the organisation.

McCreery commented that left-sectarianism tends always to ignore stages through which the revolution must develop, and that "Evans basic leftist tendencies has led to endless arguments, often extremely bitter, between Evans and McCreery in recent months".

In a statement to the CDRCU London Committee, Evans, amidst the political accusation of McCreery's "right opportunism" and being "an incurable factionalist, an intriguer", levelled the charges against McCreery of editing his copy and having "fought to prevent article after article of mine from appearing in *Vanguard*". Furthermore, he had rifled through Evans' files at home and engaged in splittist activities consorting with individuals, including overseas communists.

The personalising of the dispute continued with Evans describing his former comrade as "a product of a dying, rotten bourgeoisie", disparaging McCreery's 'revolutionary experience' as "limited to eight years membership in the revisionist British communist party".

...."he believes himself to be the Marxist of Marxists amongst us, that he has secretly abrogated to himself the position Marxist watchdog. There can be no other interpretation on my mind." <sup>ix</sup>

Evans believed "this polemic [was] against a man who has in such a short time turned traitor to Marxism-Leninism." It was his perception of McCreery's "opportunism and downright dishonesty in front of other comrades" that had riled Evans. In a letter (dated September 11th 1964) Evans isolation was expressed in the plaintiff comment that, "the terrible thing is that hardly a comrade seems to see the issue involved, that of going into a comrade's room and stealing material in order to copy it."<sup>x</sup>

A spilt could not be avoid: Evans departure from the CDRCU was accompanied by *Vanguard*'s feature editor Ron Jones. Evans abilities were not contained within the boundary

of another anti-revisionist group and remained a prolific polemicist self-publishing pamphlets.

#### Challenges and Division

The struggle unleashed saw others raise challenges, writing to Paul Noone, who joined *Vanguard*'s editorial board after he left, Evans wrote;

"There has been a split in the Committee with the majority of the London group in opposition to McCreery. However, McCreery has organised a 'national Committee' which has taken over from the old committee."<sup>xi</sup>

Early September, in a CDRCU London meeting, McCreery was in a minority of three opposing decisions taken at a national meeting of August 1964. Ivor Kenna had moved to accept the decisions and the vote was carried six in favour, three against – McCreery, Cross and Siefert – with one abstention, that of Peggy Pinckheart who chaired the meeting. McCreery said he would not continue with a rump meeting when Pinckheart left the meeting, and wanted all present to leave his flat. According to the majority account, after foul language and threatened violence they decided to reconvene the meeting on September 6<sup>th</sup> and remove McCreery as organization secretary for "factionalism".

This split was an empty gesture as McCreery retain control of the CDRCU's asset, so in a more effective counter-move, the October edition of *Vanguard* reported McCreery, Johnny James, Dave Volpe and J.Seifert as comprising the Secretariat to co-ordinate the CDRCU's work.

Within months McCreery was on leave of absence terminally ill. CDRCU member Paul Noone though the organisation following McCreery's death in 1965 was "an ineffective group, without direction" increasingly fragmented as members migrated on to other political projects. There were changes in the editorial board of *Vanguard* with Paul Noone, also on the editorial team of *Carib* (and later a member of the London Workers' Committee) joining the paper's editorial team after McCreery's death, However Johnny James was no longer on the editorial team by the start of 1966. His comrade Paul Noone was still there but his published article "Some Methods of Work" was headed "Polemic". Noone shortly departs amidst the disintegration of the CDRCU. <sup>xii</sup>

Even when a shadow of its former self, the CDRCU underwent internal struggles that were seen through the prism of the Cultural Revolution. An article in *Vanguard* explained,

"Ideological struggle has never ceased within it....We have experience one split after another and these splits have all reflected the struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideas, methods and practices." Specific splitters were identified as Forum, Hammer or Anvil, Finsbury Communist Association – and the hostility evident in the observation that the CDRCU "do not prettify them by granting them any form of recognition, do not attend meetings called by them in the name of marxism-leninism." xiii

In the absence of McCreery, veteran Scottish communist, Tom Murray, thought the C.D.R.C.U. deteriorated in petty squabbles. <sup>xiv</sup>

Dissention within the London CDRCU Committee, Jim Strong explained, saw various theoretical weakness became exposed in various comrades and this led to a number of splits and new directions:

"... differences arose over aims and methods of work and matured into differences of basic Marxist-Leninist theory, on the nature of imperialism, on the relationship of theoretical and practical aspects of work, on the need for self-reliance especially in financial matters." <sup>xv</sup>

Factionalism had been the subject of the Policy Statement issued by the CDRCU now led by Alf Cross and A. Dover in September 1966 with its claims that collective leadership had been reasserted: in an allusion to Baker, "our big person in command toppled" and "a conspiracy was later smashed that was designed to usurp the Committee of the working class." <sup>xvi</sup>

"These differences within the London CDRCU and the obstacles of revolutionary work thrown up by the 'realists' and the opportunists led to the setting up of the London Workers Broadsheet group." <sup>xvii</sup>

These comrades had been active in the production of *Vanguard* and a prior political relationship in the Caribbean Workers Movement involving Johnny James and Paul Noone, In May 1968, the London Workers Committee formed the **"Working People's Party of England"** [WPPE].

#### Action Centre for Marxist Leninist Unity

Whilst the CDRCU did mark a new stage in the development of Marxist-Leninist politics in Britain, the failure to sustain its existence after McCreery's departure points to major weaknesses in its political life. The organisation's secretary, Mike Baker concluded that:

"Important weaknesses were also present in the political framework and organisational structure of the CDRCU. In particular, the failure to establish correct organisational methods of work and correct relations between the Central Committee and the various CDRCU groups must be noted – an error, which later, was to result in the growth of sectarianism in outlook and in the implementation of policy, and to arbitrariness and spontaneity in methods of work and leadership. Above all, it must be recognized that the absence of principled unity amongst the various ML groups outside the CDRCU framework formed an important negative factor inhibiting the development of the CDRCU's political work and the growth and maturity and organisational stability within CDRCU ranks." <sup>xviii</sup>

In March 1965 Baker had moved to London from Manchester to fulfil the duties of Political Organiser in the CDRCU. His judgement was of an organisation in bad shape, with arbitrariness and spontaneity in methods of work and leadership. The intention to strengthen the political control of the Central Committee at the expense of the powers "usurped" by the Secretariat – a body originally exercising only organisational functions of a day-to-day character – created an antagonistic atmosphere that saw Baker expelled three months later in June 1965.

Subsequently Mike Baker was instrumental in organising the Northern groups of the CDRCU to demand a delegate conference in support of the proposals. The CDRCU disintegrated with

the southern membership largely absent from the re-grouping that saw the formation at a Manchester conference of the Action Centre for Marxist Leninist Unity/ ACMLU.

The London Workers' Committee had a different party-building line from the largest of the groups that emerged from the CDRCU. The ACMLU regarded it as petty-bourgeois dreaming to consider that a Marxist Leninist party could be built from grassroots up at that time. The Baker-led ACMLU argued the need to establish a leadership nucleus to rally both the fragmented anti-revisionists within and outside the revisionist party

The context in which the ACMLU raised the programmatic banner as the way forward was one where the spontaneous growth of the Marxist-Leninist movement, now reached in their estimation close onto 500 cadres, activists and supporters nationally. <sup>xix</sup>

Furthermore, the method of clandestine work purely within the revisionist Party has been tried and found lacking - but so also has the sectarian method of isolating oneself from the C.P.G.B. was said to be renouncing all need to expose through struggle the actions and policies of the revisionist leadership, and to neglect the need to win over the honest militants and cadres in the C.P.G.B., however few these may now number, to Marxist-Leninist ideas and policies. The ACMLU argued that the with the adoption of the programmatic statement, *Turn Left for Progress*, the revisionist betrayal at the 29th National Congress in November 1965 was now complete.

"The CPGB has ceased to be a revolutionary Marxist Leninist party of the working class, and has now become just such a "left" type of social democratic party." <sup>xx</sup>

#### Time for a new party.

The ACMLU argued the first step towards the more distant and fundamental aim of a Marxist-Leninist Programme had been achieved, providing an example of successful common work in elaborating a Statement of political principles: the document " In Defence Of Marxism-Leninism" a Resolution adopted by seven Marxist-Leninist Groups and Organisations was the fruit of many months of discussion and consultation and was finally agreed to at a Conference. These were followed in January 1966 with the publication of *Discussion Theses for the Marxist-Leninist Movement in Britain*, addressed to "we, the Groups and Organisations who form the nucleus of the Marxist – Leninist vanguard in Britain [and] succeed in establishing jointly and in unity the independent open centre of Marxist-Leninist leadership". <sup>xxi</sup>

The remnants of the CDRCU had opposed the ACMLU, not least because it "would be liquidators of the Committee of the working class" meaning the CDRCU. As 1967 progressed, preparations for a conference of Marxist-Leninist unity accelerated with a preparatory committee announced in the April. The stress on programmatic work reflected the belief that the essential process of building a united Marxist Leninist party would not consist of the simple quantitate act of mechanically merging existing groups together but rather unity ideologically those who shared the strategic insight and analysis provided by the revolutionary programme.

Between May and September 1967 the ACMLU initiated the Preparatory Committee for a Conference of Marxist-Leninist Unity and, subsequently, the Conference of Marxist-Leninist Unity which culminated in the formation of the <u>Marxist-Leninist Organization of Britain</u>.

With the formation of the MLOB came the confident or arrogant declaration that the leadership of the movement had been established.

Criticism was raised that in establishing the MLOB, "they are simply sliding behind a new screen and hoisting a new banner....for the purpose of hood-winking many Marxist-Leninist into accepting their leadership." <sup>xxii</sup> However aspirations to head the pro-Maoist political trend in Britain were soon abandoned by the MLOB as three months after its founding, the Central Committee of the M.L.O.B. issued the *"Report on the Situation in the People's Republic of China"*. This was quickly followed by a self-criticism. Repudiating a Conference resolution unanimously adopted characterising "the thought of Mao Tse-tung" as a creative development of Marxism-Leninism":

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

#### The Scottish Turn

May 1966 seven anti-revisionist veterans, the Scottish elements of the CDRCU were placed on a separate organizational basis. With this 'defection' of the Scottish comrades, the CDRCU claimed they "acted arbitrarily before fully debating the National Question within this Committee....[Having] severed themselves from the CDRCU they can only be view as deviationists, for the actions." In opposing the formation of what was to become the <u>Workers</u> <u>Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist)</u> the previous stand of the McCreery-led CDRCU were repudiated and independence talk attacked as nationalistic ideas that had been cloaked in revolutionary phrase. Dismissed as ideas which stem from petty-bourgeois nationalism. Previously published statements on the national question associated with Michael McCreery that ambiguously stated "A genuine communist party must be established in England, in Scotland and in Wales" were dropped. The suggestion of a federated organisation was explicitly rejected: "This Committee exists to unite Marxist-Leninists in Britain for a new communist party of Britain." <sup>xxiv</sup>

Scottish activist, Matt Lygate had a different perspective when writing in commemoration of Michael McCreery that clearly signaled the lasting legacy of working within the revisionist CPGB:

It was his misfortune to be surrounded by the weight of opinion still subscribing to the tradition of CBGB policies. This tended to bear him down, cripple the new emergent organisation and drag it back on to the reeking and stale path of revision of the fundamentals of Marx and Lenin. Enemies criticised him for using abrupt and arbitrary methods in his struggle within the CDRCU to keep it on the proletarian course. Since when has the proletariat been bound by the "legality" of parliamentary and social-democratic rules of procedure and debate? To make their allegations stick they would have to prove him wrong in his Class political orientation. This they have signally failed to do. In face of the political incompetence, stalling and sheer inertia of the

London members of the CDRCU, the Scottish members took the necessary and creative step of organising themselves into a Marxist Leninist Party. They caught up the flame from the dying embers, vindicating McCreery and his work. Alas, the subsequent history of the CDRCU was a comic farce with the antics of the remaining handful of London members "expelling", without consulting them, the four Scottish members of the Central Committee. McCreery's CDRCU no longer exists as such. It has done its work, but our Party is proud to carry on where the CDRCU left off. <sup>xxv</sup>

WPS (ML) policy, was described by the CDRCU in a Statement of November 19<sup>th</sup> 1967 in very strong condemnatory terms, it was "anti-marxist, a petty-bourgeois deviation and opportunist". Citing Stalin in support it counterpoised a 'British monopoly ruling class' rather than the terminology of 'English Imperialism' used by the WPS (ML). For both Scotland and Wales its default position was that the remnants of language and culture were the "preserve of the bourgeoisie" and that "Britain has one language and a common culture." A position echoed by the actual Communist Party of Britain (ML) led by Reg Birch that came into being in 1968.

The basic point was that the WPS (ML) were seen as substituting petty-bourgeois nationalism for revolutionary class struggle. In contrast to the rump CDRCU, the forerunners of the Working People's Party of England viewed "the formation of the Workers Party of Scotland is a breakthrough in the revolutionary struggle of the British Working class" and established fraternal relations. Unlike the MLOB who claimed such "disruptive demagogues will be swept from the scene in the course of building a centralised Marxist-Leninist Party of Britain" <sup>xxvi</sup>

Elsewhere, the move by those around the trade union leader Reg Birch, who had abandoned the independent journal, *The Marxist*, to pursue his own party-building agenda, establishing the **British Marxist Leninist Organisation**, was editorial attacked in *Vanguard*.

Referring to the invitation meeting held on Sunday 19<sup>th</sup> November 1967 at Beaver Hall in London, the BMLO was said to be attempting "to erase the history of the true revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain. They laid claim to being the forerunners and originators of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain 'for the first time'." In a prophetic criticism, the warning was,

"They would in effect be doing the type of harm to Marxism-Leninism as the Labour Party has done to socialism, by laying false claims." xxvii

The CDRCU survivors continued to stand on its historical basis as founders of the British Marxist-Leninist movement long after it had ceased to be an effective or relevant group. Activists in the new wave of radicalism, partly inspired by Red Guards in China, gravitated towards different organisations. Although on the cusp of this dynamic political expansion, R.A. Archbold wrote in *Vanguard*:

"[A]fter much investigation, analysis and experience within the anti-revisionist movement, I have finally decided that the 'Committee for the Defeat of Revisionism and Communist Unity is the only Marxist-Leninist body in Britain." <sup>xxviii</sup>

That was a singular and very individual judgement in the autumn of 1967.

#### N O T E S

<sup>i</sup> Jim Strong <u>The Crisis of British Imperialism and Tasks Facing Marxist-Leninists in Britain</u> London Workers' Committee, November 1966

<sup>ii</sup> <u>https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/uk.firstwave/seltman-chapter-6.pdf</u>

<sup>iii</sup> Revolutionary Communist League of Britain (1989) Revisionism: The Politics of the CPGB Past & Present <u>https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/uk.hightide/cpgb-past-present.pdf</u>

<sup>iv</sup> The Communist Party No Longer Exists in Britain Hammer or Anvil Editorial, Vol2 No.I Jan/Feb 1966

- Strong 1966
- vi Strong 1966
- vii Strong 1966 p17
- viii Evans, A. 'Once Again, Truth will Out' 1964
- <sup>ix</sup> Evans 1964
- <sup>x</sup> Evans 1964

<sup>xi</sup> Letter dated September 11th 1964 reproduced in 'Once Again, Truth will Out' 1964. The following paragraphs draws on Lawrence Parker's account *The Kick Inside - Revolutionary Opposition in the CPGB, 1960-1991* (2007)

xii See Vanguard Vol 3 No.1 1966 and Caribbean Workers' Movement Research Note

https://woodsmokeblog.wordpress.com/2018/10/01/caribbean-workers-movement-research-note/

xiii Vanguard Vo.4 No.5 Sept/Oct 1967

- xiv Tom Murray, WPS (ML) 1966-1976 10th Anniversary. Scottish Vanguard Vol.6 No.8 Autumn 1976
- <sup>xv</sup> Strong 1966
- xvi Vanguard Vo.4 No.5 Sept/Oct 1967
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xviii Notes Towards A History: As It Was At The Beginning (1990)

https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/uk.firstwave/notestoward.htm

- xix The Communist Party No Longer Exists in Britain Hammer or Anvil Editorial, Vol2 No.I Jan/Feb 1966
- <sup>xx</sup> Hammer or Anvil Vol.2 #1 Jan/Feb 1966
- <sup>xxi</sup> Hammer or Anvil Vol.2 #1 Jan/Feb 1966
- <sup>xxii</sup> Vanguard Bulletin 1 <u>https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/periodicals/vanguard/van-4-5.pdf</u>
- xxiii Red Front, Vol. 2 No. 1, March-April 1968
- xxiv Vanguard September 1967
- <sup>xxv</sup> "Destroy The Old, Build The New" The Scottish Vanguard. Vol.2. Nos. 4 & 5. 14. April/May, 1968
- xxvi Red Front, Vol. 2 No. 1, March/April 1968
- xxvii Vanguard Vol 4.No.6 November/December 1967
- xxviii Vanguard Bulletin 2 #9 October 1967