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FOR WORKING CLASS POWER FOR A SOCIALIST BRITAIN ORGAN OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN

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THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET

LAST MONTH, OCTOBER 1971, PARLIAMENT VOTED THAT BRITAIN SHOULD JOIN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY - THE SO-CALLED "EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET".

This important issue was not submitted to the British people, either in the form of an election fought on this issue or in the form of a plebiscite. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the absurd falsity of "parliamentary democracy" than the fact that the representatives of Big Business who rule Britain regard this issue as too important to submit to the electorate.

As early as 1952, J. V. Stalin, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of his era, correctly foresaw that the subservience of the West European imperialists to Washington, which was such a predominant feature of the period immediately following the Second World War, was a temporary phenomenon:

"Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development.

Take, first of all, Britain and France. Undoubtedly, they are imperialist countries. Undoubtedly, cheap raw materials and secure markets are of paramount importance to them. Can it be assumed that they will endlessly tolerate the present situation, in which, under the guise of 'Marshall Plan aid', Americans are penetrating into the economies of Britain and France and trying to convert them into adjuncts of the United States economy, and American capital is seizing raw materials and markets in the British and French colonies and thereby plotting disaster for the high profits of the British and French capitalists? Would it not be truer to say that capitalist Britain, and, after her, capitalist France, will be compelled in the end to break from the embrace of the USA and enter into conflict with it in order to secure an independent position and, of course, high profits." (J.V. Stalin: "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", Moscow; 1952; p.38).

When in 1958 France, West Germany, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Luxembourg combined to form the European Economic Community, they did so with the full backing of the United States imperialists, who had a vision of an "integrated" Western Europe to form part of a wider "Atlantic Union" dominated by Washington.

But the French and German imperialists, in particular, saw this developing West European imperialist bloc as a means to give them the necessary strength eventually to break

free from United States domination.

In 1959 the French imperialists felt themselves strong enough to take the first concrete steps in throwing off the shackles of US imperialism by withdrawing their Mediterranean fleet from NATO. Later, by successive measures culminating in the expulsion of NATO Headquarters from French soil, France's association with NATO became purely nominal.

The West German imperialists turned in the direction of open opposition to Washington more slowly and cautiously, but their refusal to revalue the Deutschmark in accordance with US demands in 1968 heralded the beginning of the change in Bonn's foreign policy from dependence upon to opposition to United States imperialism.

Within the developing West European imperialist bloc, a bitter struggle took place between the French and West German imperialists to determine which of them should play the dominant, leading role in it. Favoured by the uneven development of capitalism, by 1968 the Bonn imperialists had achieved victory and had become the dominant power within the developing bloc.

In 1961, under pressure from Washington, the British government applied to join the E.E.C. The application was rejected and it was made clear that the British imperialists would not be admitted unless and until they had adopted an open and decisive anti-American stand.

By 1963 a growing number of British monopoly capitalists had become convinced that the years of Britain's "special relationship" with the United States had brought, not "recovery" for British imperialism, but its accelerated decline. They concluded that an "agonising reappraisal" of British foreign policy was long overdue.

One obstacle to British imperialism's entry into the E.E.C. was that the leadership of the Labour Party represented the interests of that section of British monopoly capital which wished to continue the old policy of alliance with Washington*. The contrived removal from office of the Labour Government at the 1970 General Election, and the adoption by its conservative successors of a decisive pro-European and anti-American stand opened the door of the Common Market to British imperialism.

True, in order to gain entry to the new bloc the British monopoly capitalists have had to make considerable concessions to suit the interests of their Continental allies - for example, the running down of the state coal and steel industries in order to pave the way for imports of these products from the Continent.

But the main bargaining is now over and the parliamentary vote in favour of entry has placed the formal seal upon it.

THE "EUROPEAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SCHEME"

The basic aim of Soviet foreign policy in relation to Western Europe is to build up a "European Collective Security Bloc". The Soviet revisionists' scheme for "European unity" differs from that put forward by the dominant imperialist groups in Western Europe in two fundamental ways:

Firstly, it aims to embrace all European states and not merely those of Western Europe;

Secondly, it aims to place restrictions on the military power and expansionist capacity of West German imperialism, with the effect of making the Soviet Union (and not the Federal German Republic, as in the Western imperialists' scheme) the dominant power in Europe.

During the past year the Soviet imperalists have been working consistently to bring this scheme to fruition. The greatest obstacle in the way of this has naturally been the need to offer sufficient material advantages to the West German imperialists as would compensate them for the loss of hegemony and the relative restrictions involved for them in this scheme, compared with the smaller and more restricted West European bloc now at a relatively advanced stage of construction.

The material compensations which it is proposed to offer to the West German imperialists to entice them to support the "European Collective Security" bloc relate

^{*} See "The General Election 1970" in RED FRONT August/September 1970)

mainly to the present German Democratic Republic.

The Brandt government was persuaded to sign treaties in August 1970 with the Soviet Union, and in November with Poland, recognising as "inviolable" the existing frontiers of West Germany. It was agreed, however, that West German ratification of these treaties, together with West German endorsement of the "European Collective Security" conference, would take place only after settlement of "the Berlin question".

The revisionist leaders of the German Democratic Republic, headed by Walter Ulbricht, have long and vigorously resisted the "concessions" proposed in relation to the sovereignty of their state. In May 1971, however, Ulbricht resigned as First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party and the Soviet neo-imperialist leaders immediately opened talks with his successor, Erich Honecker. Following these talks the Soviet government informed the governments of France, Britain and the United States that it was prepared to agree that the sovereignty claimed by the government of the German Democratic Republic over the access routes to Berlin through its territory should be recognised only in words, but cancelled in practice.

The concessions on the "Berlin question" are, however, only the first of the concessions which the Soviet neo-imperialists are prepared to grant at the expense of the German Democratic Republic in an effort to bring about the All-European bloc in which they will represent the strongest power.

"NATIONAL SPY WEEK"

That the dominant section of the British imperialists favour the consolidation of the West European imperialist alliance, and oppose its extension to include the Soviet Union, is made abundantly clear by the events of the first week in October - dubbed by more cynical journalists "National Spy Week".

That foreign diplomats collect what information they can in Britain is as certain as that British diplomats collect what information they can in the foreign countries to which they are posted. Diplomatic espionage is an international phenomenon, and an international code of etiquette has been evolved to meet it; when a diplomat goes outside the provisions of this code, he is expelled and, after a face-saving counter-expulsion on the other side, relations between the states concerned are in no way impaired.

The expulsion by the British Foreign Office of 105 Soviet diplomats and officials at a stroke is resented by the Soviet government, and by its supporters in Western Europe, because it breaches this convention. The theory is put forward in some sections of the capitalist press that the 105 names were revealed to the British intelligence service by Oleg Lyalin, the salesman of women's underwear who defected following his arrest for drunken driving in Tottenham Court Road, thus forcing the Foreign Office to act on this scale. This theory is, of course, absurd; the espionage systems of all states are constructed in the form of small "cells", so that a traitor can reveal no more than the one or two names he knows.

"National Spy Week" must thus be seen as a calculated move on the part of the British government to arouse the hostility of public opinion, in Britain and in Western Europe, towards the Soviet Union - and so towards the enlarging of the E.E.C. into a "European Collective Bloc" which would include the Soviet Union. In this aim, the British government has been, it must be said, conspicuously unsuccessful. This is due not merely to the absymally low credibility of the government among all but the most politically backward strata of the people, but to the clumsiness of the manoeuvre itself.

THE WAY FORWARD

Britain's entry into the European Economic Community is important in that it signifies a reorientation of British imperialism into a new imperialist bloc. From being junior partners in the Anglo-US imperialist bloc, the British monopoly capitalists have moved into what they hope will be a position of far from junior partnership in the developing Western European imperialist bloc.

The task of British Marxist-Leninists remains basically unaffected by this reorientation. This task is to build, at the earliest possible moment, a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the working class which will lead the British working class forward to the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism and the establishment of a socialist society.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

The Editorial address of RED FRONT and the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain is now the following:

26 Cambridge Road, Ilford, Essex.

Telephone enquiries and appointments:

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The aim of the MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN is to build a Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class in Britain which can lead the British working people to bring about the revolutionary overthrow of the present capitalist state, establish a People's Republic based on the rule of the working class, and build a socialist society based on planned production and the common ownership of the means of production.

Applications for Candidate Membership to: MLOB, 26 Cambridge Road, Ilford, Essex.

THE RED FRONT MOVEMENT aims to function:

- l) as the inceptive nucleus of the future revolutionary mass front of the British working class
- 2) as the broad training school in the science, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle of the working class which will equip the most advanced and politically conscious workers with that minimum grasp of Marxism-Leninism, the science of socialist revolution, necessary for membership of the emerging and developing Marxist-Leninist vanguard party.

Courses in the foundations of Marxism-Leninism are held in the West London area fortnightly every Tuesday and in the South London area every Thursday. Details of courses from:

Cde B. Charnley, 18 Rodenhurst Road, London SW4.

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* The perversion of "United Front" tactics

* Revisionism at the 7th World Congress of the Communist International

* The role of Mao Tse-tung, Dimitrov and Pollitt in the triumph of
modern revisionism

Traces the first origins of modern revisionism back to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International (July-August 1935). The Report analyses in particular the formative and influential roles of three founding figures of modern revisionist theory and practice: Mao Tse-tung, Georgi Dimitrov and Harry Pollitt. It shows how their revisionist thought was designed to bring about that perversion of "United Front" tactics in the antifascist struggle which at a later stage was to prove effective in laying the basis for the later proliferation of modern revisionism in all its varied forms to a point at which it had successfully wrought the destruction of the entire International Communist Movement