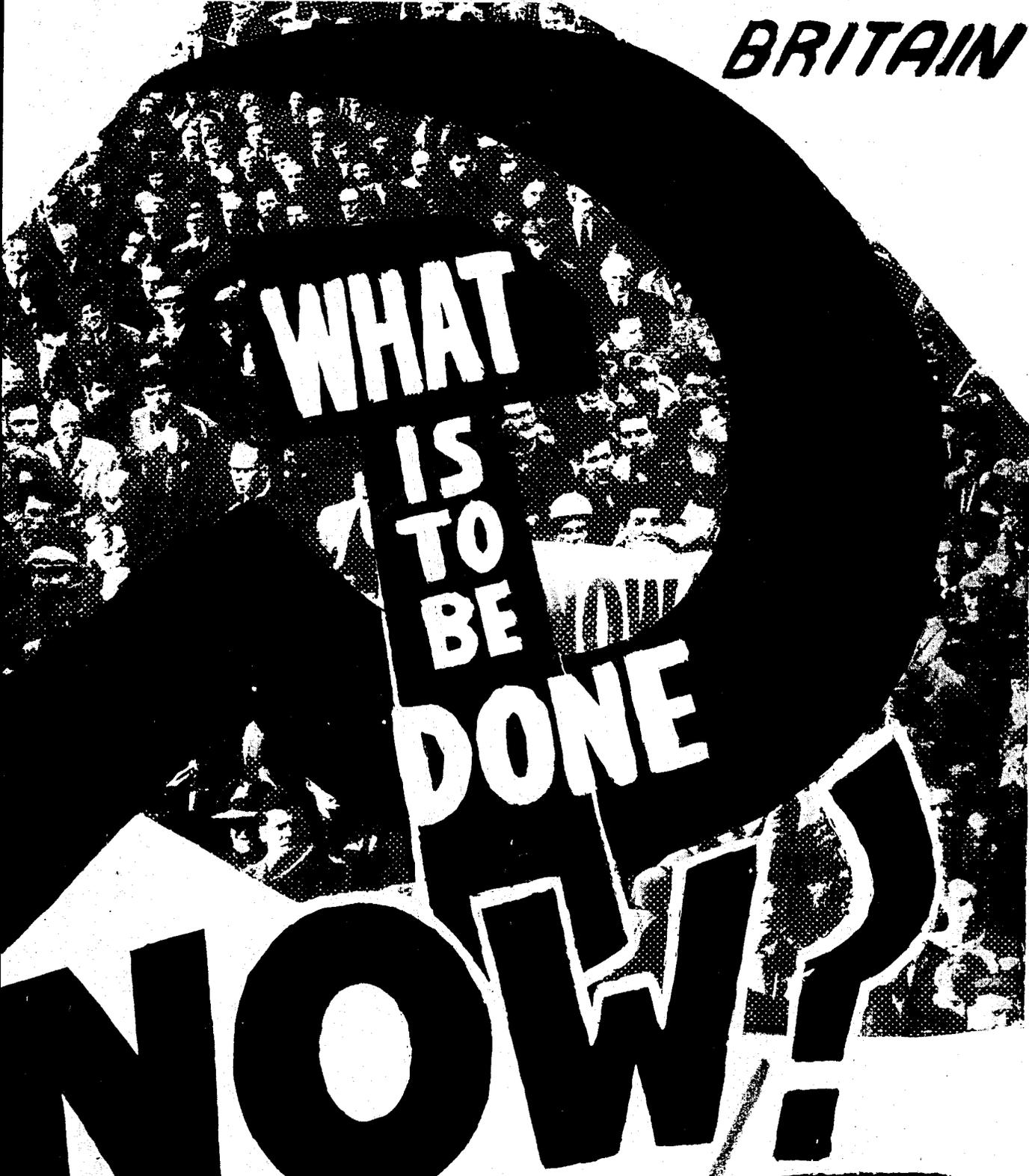


**MARXIST-LENINIST
ORGANISATION OF
BRITAIN**



**WHAT
IS
TO
BE
DONE**

NOW?

*The Relevance of LENIN'S "What is To Be Done?"
to the development of a revolutionary
Marxist-Leninist Party in
Britain.*

PRICE 25p

"WHAT IS TO BE DONE NOW?"

THE RELEVANCE OF LENIN'S "WHAT IS TO BE DONE?"
TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-
LENINIST PARTY IN BRITAIN.

INTRODUCTION

Some seventy years ago Lenin undertook the task of applying Marx's scientific theory to the practice of revolutionary struggle in Russia, a labour which was to bear fruit in the first victorious proletarian revolution in the history of mankind. And as he began his task with a book which posed and answered the practical questions of the revolutionary movement of his time, and began the education of that movement in the scientific theory which was to guide its pioneer fighters, in seeking to serve the same great cause today we turn back to those roots which served Lenin when he set out to build a vast and powerful international vanguard of the workers of all lands.

For now similar conditions of struggle apertain to those faced by Lenin when he elaborated and developed the work of Marx and Engels to apply to the stage of imperialism. World revisionism has now regained for capital almost the entire former socialist camp of nations emerging from the victory of October, thus depleting the world revolutionary forces just as seriously as they were depleted by the betrayal of the leaders of the Second International in Lenin's time. This development has raised extremely complex theoretical, programmatic and organisational problems which, in their totality, reflect the new balance of world class forces and the new strategic and tactical terrain within which the world proletarian socialist revolution must now be waged. It requires especially an understanding of the Leninist principle of the vanguard party in order that parties capable of forging victory against world imperialism may be reconstructed, their international general staff, a Marxist-Leninist communist international come into being, and organisations of struggle reflecting the diversified world class forces be welded into place ready for the confrontation on a global scale which will herald the dawn of world socialism. It requires precisely an understanding of our Marxist-Leninist heritage to be able to see through and ahead of the present weakness of the world proletarian forces to that not too distant time when they will have thrust on them the historical marathon of seizing the reins of proletarian revolution and freeing the productive forces now stifled and stagnating within the diseased war machines of corporate imperialism.

But as the dialectics of class struggle would have it, imperialism does not face the threat of its final defeat passively. On the contrary, its death agonies are more ferocious than at any time in the past. There is absolutely no doubt that the solution sought by the imperialists to the present escalating malignant crisis will be the classical form of inter-imperialist rivalry, world war, which has twice in one half-century provided a new division of the world amongst the victor powers. It is our task to prepare in this interim period the forces which will destroy the capitalist system, and train the proletariat for that time when the inevitable imperialist war threat spurs into action the vast masses of the world's working people to fight the revolutionary war to end class war for ever. In order that this great aim may be achieved, the army of the proletariat must be formed, its commanders chosen, its armoury stocked and its fighters trained for battle. The present pamphlet attempts to begin this task, and is directed towards all militant forces who recognise the primacy of

Marxist-Leninist theory and practice in the unfolding of revolutionary struggle,

Because of the distorted interpretation of world events and their causes given by the revisionists of Marxism-Leninism it is necessary to precede our assessment of present revolutionary tasks with a brief history of the CPGB and the errors which gave rise to revisionism in Britain, errors which mirror the world rise of revisionism borne out of the anti-Marxist-Leninist theses of the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, the great retreat before the fascist hordes.

Of necessity, however, it is one theme more than any other which must concern our efforts, the greatest heritage Lenin bequeathed in the theory and practice of the vanguard party. It is this force alone which can perform the colossal tasks confronting the working class as the hour of its liberation dawns, this force alone which can provide the objective analysis needed to plan and sustain a campaign as arduous and long as the one which lies ahead. The degree of organisation Lenin effected with the Bolshevik party was forged out of the necessity to fight against an absolutism which, though tyrannical, was structurally weak. If Lenin were here today he would develop and stress his cardinal thesis of party organisation with even more conviction than hitherto. For it will be against a highly organised, centralised and experienced state power, standing at the apex of development of the capitalist state, modelled on the pattern of the corporate and fascist states of the previous crisis period of monopoly capital, but now necessary to capitalist growth on an inter-European scale, that we will be arrayed. To that degree the vanguard party of the new type created to destroy the concentrated might of this state must be united, disciplined, centralised in all its actions - a steel spearhead of working class force such as has not been witnessed in previous history.

Lenin fought in the period of suppression of Marxist-Leninist literature but abundance of "legal Marxist" pseudo-revolutionary tracts. This also is typical of our time, when the genuine Marxist-Leninists face every conceivable difficulty in propagating their material whilst the money poured into the stooge organisations of the bourgeoisie masquerading as "marxist" is endless. It is a time when liberal "r-r-revolution" is sponsored in an attempt to swamp and silence the genuine voice of scientific proletarian-socialist revolution. To this end capital has not stooped from taking up the genuine revolutionaries and seeking to drown their message in the seas of bourgeois acceptance and "respectability". The Lenin Centenary was used by the Soviet imperialists to build up an image of Lenin not complying with that of the scientific revolutionary who led the proletariat for the first time in history to win and, more importantly, maintain for a relatively long period victory over world capital, but that of a "scientist" (along with other scientists of the Soviet Institutes of Technology) who paved the way for the development of the sputnik - oh noble task! Thus have they sought to erase his teachings and his revolutionary example.

But it is because this heritage cannot be destroyed that this pamphlet has been written, and with the most serious of all purposes, so remote from the aims of the "legal marxist" titillators of drawing room revolt: in order that its precepts should be taken up and studied by active proletarian fighters, that its tactics and strategy should be taken into the arsenal of working class struggle and tested out in everyday practice, that its overall perspective should guide all those who study it to anticipate events and lead class forces instead of lagging behind them, and that its main call to build the vanguard Marxist-Leninist party should stir all those who declare as their main aim the liberation of the labourer from the yoke of capital to take their place in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists of the world. For it will be the formation of Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties in all world sectors that will mark the qualitatively new stage of contemporary class struggle when the tide begins to swing in favour of the revolutionary forces. This fact will signify that all forms of bourgeois

ideology hitherto holding the working class back from realising its class mission have been tried and rejected, and that only the sweat of the struggle and the need continually to strive to perfect the theory and practice of the revolutionary movement lie between it and victory.

On the day when these parties come into being the impotent ragings of the trotskyites, revisionists, liberals and social-imperialists will shout from the rooftops the tremendous victory achieved with this one act. For capitalist and worker will then stand openly revealed in their true relationship: the overwhelming proletarian might of the mass of the working people against the tiny handful of corporate/fascist parasites, corrupt, diseased, destructive and socially obsolete. It is in this logic that the guarantee of a socialist victory lies.

MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION
OF BRITAIN

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THE C.P.G.B. AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A
MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IN BRITAIN

In order to begin to rebuild the vanguard party of the British working class according to the Marxist-Leninist principles which will determine the building of all parties comprising the future Marxist-Leninist International, it is necessary to look at the history of the communist movement in Britain and to use this experience as a guide in the assessment of the relevance of Lenin's teachings in "What is to be Done?" to our tasks now.

The anti-Marxist trends against which Lenin struggled in Russia occurred no less in Britain during the formative years of the emergence of anti-revisionist struggle from the ranks of the Communist Party of Great Britain after its capture by the revisionists of the right. It is, in view of our intention to re-assess this history in the light of Lenin's work in Russia, necessary to give here a relatively chronological account of the development of that party which was so soon to prove itself (along with most other European Communist Parties) incapable of mastering Leninism and to sink back exhausted into the mire of social democracy.

Whatever the weaknesses of the infant Communist Party of Great Britain, formed as it was from the union of three previously dissenting political groups, whatever the extent to which it was unable to cleanse itself of its social democratic afterbirth, it nevertheless led the most militant, most politically advanced sections of the British proletariat, from Clydeside to the Kent coal-fields, to take the first steps in the task of building independent bases of working class struggle. The CPGB of those days bore little resemblance to the inept, politically dishonest and organisationally bloated reformist party that we know today. In the years before 1926 the CPGB was honestly striving to become, politically and organisationally, a Marxist-Leninist party. Party discipline was strictly enforced and each member - whatever his age, level of political understanding or personal circumstances - was compelled to undertake specific party tasks, and to answer for his fulfilment of them to his cell or higher committee. Not only non-payment of dues but also non-attendance at meetings resulted in reprimand before the cell meeting or, if persisted in, expulsion. The party ranks were united and inspired by a feeling of deep common interest, outlook and aims. It strove to propagate amongst the working class the world-changing ideas of Marxism-Leninism and to build organisations of struggle independent of the reformists and of bourgeois or petty bourgeois tutelage.

But the CPGB leadership nevertheless found the greatest difficulty in sloughing off the social democratic heritage and applying Marxist-Leninist strategy to the British labour movement in which reformist political and organisational ideas were so deeply entrenched. In particular, it never clearly understood the fundamental problem of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist strategy - how to combine the building of the broad, independent base of the revolutionary forces, the united front from below, with the forging of the revolutionary advance guard - the armed phalanx of the proletariat which wields the actual political and military instruments of revolutionary force and mans the organs of proletarian dictatorship. In consequence, when a pre-revolutionary situation dawned with the General Strike of 1926, the leadership given by the CPGB was indecisive and vacillating.

Present from the beginning of the CPGB's history had been the split over the issue of electoral activity and support for the Labour Party in particular. At that time, and up till the General Strike, the Labour Party was still basically a party representing the working class, in which it was possible for communists to hold office. A sharp inner-party struggle arose between those who

adopted the Leninist tactic of waging struggle on all fronts, including the utilisation of parliament in order to expose it as "the management committee of the entire ruling class" and work within the Labour Party to isolate the reformists and class collaborators, and those "lefts" who interpreted the concept of the independence of the working class movement in a sectarian manner. Lenin's advised tactics maintained the independence of the Communist Party from the Labour Party by advocating the expediency of working within the Labour Party to expose the true character of the leadership of that Party to the working class as a necessary task serving the aim of winning forces to the Communist Party. But even those who professed to adopt the Leninist tactic applied it mechanically, missing the whole point of winning forces away from the Labour Party, and laying stress on work within the Labour Party as an end in itself.

A further misapplication of a correct tactic occurred over the question of the independent red trade unions. This work of building independent unions under the overall guidance of the Party as an alternative to the openly social-democratic unions where the circumstances were ripe enough to favour the building of an alternative union, was carried out in a sectarian manner before the mass base had been won through the patient building of independent organs of struggle at the local grass roots level and at the point of production to wean the most advanced workers from the old allegiance to an awareness of the need for an independent alternative union. Furthermore, the distinction between party and broad movement was confused, and in most cases these independent unions became merely a section of the communist party working in industrial fields without the necessary broad base of support.

This left adventurism had as its counterpart, when its work had failed to bear fruit, the flowering of the opposite tendency, that of laying the stress on purely legalistic work within the existing unions, seeking election to high offices, etc. with the inevitable result of the betrayal of the independent role of the party, a pattern continued up to the present day.

As early as 1936 the CPGB had begun to succumb to social democratic influences, a development encouraged and strengthened by the work of the revisionist Harry Pollitt who had played a formative role in the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern.⁺ Despite the adoption of the programme "For a Soviet Britain" in 1935, with its generally revolutionary orientation, the onset of the period of popular front supra-class alliances encouraged ideas based on the concept of a revolutionary party flourishing within and as part of bourgeois democracy to gain ascendancy within the Party. The Party was conceived in the mould of a legal organisation which would utilise the democratic institutions and rights won by the people from the capitalist class - themselves representative of past militant class struggle - to the maximum, while only a much smaller proportion of its forces would be deployed in illegal, i.e. revolutionary struggle (leadership at the point of production). This superficial analysis took into account only the visible contradictions and failed to analyse the state machinery of force deployed behind the public facade of "democracy". Already tactics had been divorced from strategy. The means became everything, the original aim was forgotten.

The developing tide of anti-fascist struggle increased the influx of petty-bourgeois non-Marxist elements into the Party, swelling its ranks from a membership of 6,000 in 1936 to some 18,000 in 1939. This development had its political expression in the tendency for the independent class line of the Party to be increasingly diluted by undifferentiated broad appeals which denied in practice the leading role of the proletariat in the broad anti-fascist front of struggle.

The organisational consolidation of this tendency came in 1938 at the Hulme Conference, where for the first time the primacy of industrial over locality branches was reversed and locality branches were given the prime political role, on the plea that these were more suited to the task of winning the support of the

⁺ See "Origins of Modern Revisionism", Report of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain

broad, anti-fascist forces. Thanks to this betrayal of the last centres of proletarian leadership to the myth of electoral activity as the "path to socialism" the CPGB was able to permeate with its social democratic ideas even such long-established centres as the Clydeside, where some 20 years earlier the most powerful and determined mass movements of the British working class had been born and led by the same leaders who were later to betray them. Thus even the solid bases it had won on Clydeside came to be seen, not as the embryo centres of working class power which they portended, but as fortuitous areas of support to achieve Communist representatives in Parliament. The independent bases won by hard work and patient struggle were sacrificed on the altar of the new concept of the revisionists, led by Pollitt, that a peaceful transition to socialism within a bourgeois framework was possible, a formulation soon to be smuggled into the Party's credo.

The coming of the Second World War in 1939 found the Party leadership divided on the fundamental question of the class character of the war. A majority of the Executive Committee, however, took a correct stand in opposing the war as an imperialist struggle and, when the character of the war was transformed in 1941 with the attack upon the Soviet Union, in supporting it as a true people's anti-fascist war. Even in the first stage of the war, however, when it still bore a clear imperialist character, the founding figure of modern revisionism in Britain, Pollitt, resigned as General Secretary in support of the chauvinist line that the war was just. But with the transformation of the war in 1941, Pollitt was brought back as General Secretary, and a steadily mounting stream of revisionist statements, resolutions and articles began to pour from King Street with their call for a coalition of capitalists and communists to "rebuild the nation", offering the dismantling of communist bases in industry as the bribe. The position accorded to industrial cells based on the workers at the point of production was further reduced in favour of locality branches, which were better suited to the legal supra-class activity of collecting signatures for petitions, organising aid, whilst the workers were mobilised for higher production in the war effort.

The revisionists were compelled, between 1945 and 1951, to ignore and set aside the Party's declared programme "For a Soviet Britain" and to attack and distort the fundamental Marxist-Leninist precepts on which it was based because that programme represented a barrier to their aim of liquidating the vanguard party and reducing it to the conventional status of a social democratic party. The revolutionary aims, standing in obvious contradiction to revisionist practice, thus necessitated the first breakthrough to a fully revisionist programme in 1951, some years before the revisionists of the world followed suit. Thus the former independent vanguard of the working class with its strict discipline, membership by cadre system and militancy at the point of production was undermined by the social democratic method of recruitment, handing out party cards for the price of a due.

The subsequent tragic history of degeneration, with all that it represented in the betrayal and squandering of the devoted work and self-sacrifice of thousands of the finest sons and daughters of the British working class, will one day be written into the annals of the socialist revolution. Suffice it here to mention the long period in which the revisionist leadership has had the required organisational freedom of action to expunge Marxism-Leninism from the life and work of the Party, and to isolate and later expel Marxist-Leninist cadres and to decimate the ranks of honest militants remaining in the Party. This forms the background against which the history of the struggle to rebuild the vanguard party in Britain has taken place.

Several factors have combined to ensure that only a small nucleus of dedicated and politically developed cadres has been able to unite and pursue this revolutionary task. One of these is the absence of political and theoretical training from the 1940's onwards within the revisionist Party which raised

a generation of communists accepting direction without understanding it, followed by the skillful isolation of any honest elements daring to challenge and exercise their democratic centralist rights in policy decisions. Secondly, the vast majority of all the independent more-or-less open groups calling themselves "anti-revisionist" or even "Marxist-Leninist" have been revealed as disguised revisionist or trotskyite detachments of a fundamentally anti-Marxist-Leninist character. The whole experience of the revolutionary working class movement has proved that qualitative advance in the objective conditions of struggle of the proletariat and progressive forces, with the consequent theoretical and political enrichment and organisational reconstruction of the vanguard parties, are simultaneously moments which are seized upon by the conscious and unconscious agents of the enemy as an opportunity to take advantage of the necessary discussion and polemics accompanying such developments in order to conduct widespread anti-Marxist-Leninist propaganda disguised as "new creative Marxism" and to penetrate into the embryonic movement and, from positions of either right or "left", to strive to disrupt it from within and to prevent for as long as possible the hammering out of a correct Marxist-Leninist line and programme and the establishment of a united Marxist-Leninist organisation embodying them.

Thirdly, there can be absolutely no doubt that the more-or-less clumsily concealed attacks on Marxism-Leninism commencing from the time of the first gathering of forces within the CPGB to rebuild a Marxist-Leninist party, the Lucas Arms Conference of 1964, were in large measure the result of persistent, virulent and carefully organised disruptive work by bourgeois agents and their conscious or unconscious supporters.

For this reason the Conference was split and only a slender majority supported the formation of the open political centre for rebuilding the new Marxist-Leninist Party, the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity. However, within a few days one of the opposition plants within the CDRCU, Peter Seltman, discovered his total disagreement with the policies he had so recently supported, leaving the CDRCU to rejoin the clandestine inner-CPGB "anti-revisionist centre" which, while concealing its views, professed the aim of transforming the CPGB from within into a revolutionary party by some mysterious process of wishfulfilment. This clumsy political excuse rendered by Seltman was designed to cover up the role of the anti-Marxist-Leninist centre in mounting major attacks on the CDRCU, sending into its ranks undercover agents to disrupt, filibuster and spread alarm and despondency, resorting to the most shameless, gutter-level rumour-mongering against the leadership of the CDRCU in a desperate attempt to achieve by intrigue and slander that which they were finding difficult to achieve by political disruption.

Thus the open centre of struggle to rebuild a Marxist-Leninist party was increasingly isolated both by the disruptive work of the inner-CPGB "anti-revisionists" and to a lesser extent by the negative example of splits and cadre loss which warned the potential Marxist-Leninist forces still working within the CPGB to "stay put" awaiting a better day to take up the fight.

Subsequent events have revealed that the driving force of the inner-CPGB "anti-revisionist" disruptive centre was the group financed by the Chinese capitalist class under the mask of "left" revisionism, and helped by agents representing the US imperialists who were intent at that time on consolidating their links with the Chinese to form an alliance directed against the Soviet neo-imperialists. They operated through the group of capitalists engaged in trade with China whose money directly backed the publication "The Marxist" and other open political organisations whilst the Chinese consular representatives, under the control of the Mao faction, openly backed such broad organisations as the "Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding Limited", which for a long time was regarded by many "anti-revisionists" as the true embryo of a vanguard party. This whole unprincipled "pot of gold", which by 1966 had succeeded in splitting the CDRCU, after the death of its Secretary, Michael McCreery, and forcing the

Marxist-Leninist cadres within that organisation to regroup in the Action Centre for Marxist-Leninist Unity, had of course many aspiring "kings in search of crowns", and the multiplicity of so-called "anti-revisionist groups" gave rise to the widely spread notion that the task of rebuilding the party was a quantitative one of "bringing the groups together on the basis of the lowest common level of agreement". This idea was of course the very essence of the anti-Marxism-Leninism lying at the heart of the broad "anti-revisionist movement", and betrayed a total ignorance of the dialectical process in the development of theory and practice which requires the ruthless extermination of all erroneous ideas in the struggle to build a genuine revolutionary base by the test of practice. Thus it was that the Marxist-Leninist forces could always be distinguished from the insincere "anti-revisionists" by their insistence on the adoption of programmatic perspectives and the theoretical analysis necessary to such work, constantly tried out in practice.

The emergence of this Marxist-Leninist vanguard, through the Action Centre for Marxist-Leninist Unity to the foundation of the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain in 1967, revealed the true character of the "anti-revisionist" movement. To a man they had slandered and attacked these Marxist-Leninist organisations, they had concocted alliance after temporary alliance in attempts to destroy the Marxist-Leninist forces, they had penetrated its ranks only to be thrown out defeated. And the failure of their mission to prevent the emergence of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard has turned them in on themselves like trapped pack wolves to devour their own now warring sects, each currently representing and sponsored by one or other section of world imperialism. The final nail in the coffin of British "anti-revisionism" has been, of course, the stripping off of the mask of maoist "left"-revisionism, an exposure initiated by the work of the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain through the publication of its historic Report, The Situation in the People's Republic of China.

Thus, like Lenin before us in Russia, we have had to swim in the tide polluted by every kind of revisionist distortion, to refute revisionist charges, to destroy their incorrect ideology, to pare and whittle down the extent and influence of these bourgeois elements who act as a front guard of monopoly capitalist interests, first to try to prevent any Marxist-Leninist nucleus from establishing itself, and, failing that, to disrupt the work to found the Marxist-Leninist Party.

But these methods of counter-attack by the bourgeoisie and its agents are not new or unique. They will always be used against the vanguard of the working class in an effort to destroy it.

It is therefore of prime necessity that we look back to the groundwork laid by Lenin when he took up the struggle to build an independent, impregnable fighting party of the Russian proletariat, one that was steeled and armoured against tsarist counterattack. And it is precisely because we face a struggle against an even more cunning and experienced enemy that we do not merely need to take Lenin's precepts for granted, but to elaborate on them and to make them functional within the conditions of struggle of our own period of the dying throes of monopoly capitalism. The torrents of revisionist distortion, the real ignorance of basic Marxist-Leninist theory that masquerades as "revolutionary consciousness" from a few ill-digested and fragmented facts dished up by the bourgeoisie and its agents in an attempt to stir the cauldron of revisionism must be cleared away by our analysis of the full import of Lenin's insistence upon the need for a revolutionary party and our ability to place this theory within a general revolutionary and programmatic line for socialist revolution in our time.

WHERE TO BEGIN

"Class struggle is spontaneous - without being fitted into the programme for the seizure of power it can only remain within the domain of capitalism." (Lenin)

Economism and Revolutionary Consciousness

We begin our analysis with the aim of building a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class within the context of a developed monopoly capitalist society in which the working class constitutes some 85% of the population, a vanguard party which will lead that class to socialist revolution.

It is the essence of Leninism, developing on the original position of Marx, that:

" ... there could not yet be Social Democratic (i.e. Marxist-Leninist - Ed.) consciousness among the workers. It could only be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness ... The theory of Socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific Socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia. In the very same way, in Russia, the theoretical doctrine of Social Democracy arose quite independently of the spontaneous growth of the working class movement, it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of ideas among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to be Done?" in: "Selected Works", Vol. 1; FLPH Moscow 1950; p.233-234).

"Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is, only from outside of the economic struggle, from outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to be Done?"; p.287).

"The spontaneous working class movement by itself is able to create (and inevitably creates) only trade unionism, and working class trade unionist politics are precisely working class bourgeois politics." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to be Done?"; p.305).

It will be seen that if we are to accept this Leninist position we are immediately cut off from that large, amorphous "'left' socialist movement" composed of trotskyites, liberals, "democratic communists" and labour party supporters who form the most numerous and vocal political tendency in monopoly capitalist society and whose aim is to submerge themselves in the working class movement and provide only as little incorrect "theory" as is necessary to prevent the working class from seeking an answer to its problems outside of the capitalist system. The term economism is in this case especially appropriate.

Thus we begin to lay bare the true correlation of class forces underlying the illusion of strength of the "labour movement" with its "freedoms" and "traditions". For when a Marxist-Leninist analysis is made it is clear that the concept of a "unity of the left" as the foundation stone for socialism has no basis in fact, and that the dreams of a utopian revolution where the quantity of the "left" has grown to a point where it has submerged capital peacefully beneath its onward march to Parliament are the most flimsy of any of those myths which have preoccupied the oppressed during this century.

It is therefore clear that we must seek elsewhere for our answer. Engels, speaking in praise of the development of the German working class so many years ago remarked :

"What an immeasurable advantage this (theory - Ed.) is may be seen, on the one hand, from the indifference towards all theory, which is one of the main reasons why the English working class movement crawls along so slowly in spite of the splendid organisation of the individual unions ...". (F. Engels: "Preface to 'The Peasant War in Germany'" ; cited in: V.I.Lenin: "What is to be Done?", p.229).

Since these words were written the labour movement, with its trade union and political arm in the form of the Labour Party, has been incorporated into the framework of the monopoly capitalist state, even now being prepared by its leaders for a role of open service to reaction within a corporate state bound by laws and coercion restricting all working class rights. We must therefore begin by accepting the very opposite of that rosy picture of a mass "socialist" movement painted by the anti-Marxist-Leninists of a "broad left" colouring, which simply awaits favourable conditions for achieving "wide unity" preparatory to the constitutional seizure of electoral control of Parliament: that is, the absolute dearth of theory, the total lack of understanding of the role of revolutionary theory, and thus the corresponding weakness of the British working class movement reflecting the dominance of social-democracy over a continuous period, which it is the task of Marxist-Leninists to end without delay, and thus to transform this large potential base for the preservation of capital from a cushion surrounding and supporting it into a large homogeneous, scientifically constructed revolutionary mass base hostile to capitalism and isolating it.

It is clear, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, that the "left" forces in Britain dominated by present day social-democratic ideology fall into the camp of opposition to the Marxist-Leninist concept of proletarian revolution, and work from within capitalism to preserve that system against the attacks of Marxist-Leninists who wish to subvert "democracy":

"Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers themselves in the process of their movement the only choice is: either the bourgeois or the socialist ideology. There is no middle course Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn away from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology. ... Hence, our task ... is to combat spontaneity, to divert the working class movement from this spontaneous, trade unionist striving to come under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of revolutionary "Social Democracy." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to be Done?", p. 233, 234).

"But why ... does the spontaneous movement, the movement along the line of the least resistance, lead to the domination of the bourgeois ideology? For the simple reason that the bourgeois ideology is far older in origin than the socialist ideology ; because it is more fully developed and because it possesses immeasurably more opportunities for being spread." (V.I.Lenin: "What is to be Done?", p.246).

It is now seen that the various forms of present-day social-democracy constitute the main support of monopoly capital enabling it to maintain its dominance over a numerically powerful working class. This aim has been pursued by capitalism since its development into imperialism at the turn of the century, by employing a dual policy of transforming the mass organisations of the working class into the political and ideological extensions of the state (Labour Party, T.U.C.) and simultaneously developing the central power of the armed machinery of violence and coercion at the core of the state, and such ancillary arms as serve it, to the point where both permeate and dominate every aspect

+ Social Democracy is equivalent to Marxism-Leninism as used by Lenin.

of social life. From being originally factions and tendencies within the various organisations of the working class reflecting the growth of a "labour aristocracy", the social democrats in the Labour Party, the trade unions and other mass organisations of the working class have, since approximately 1926, brought about the almost complete transformation of these bodies into organised detachments and extensions of the bourgeois state machine, into an apparatus for permeating the working class with the capitalist ideology of "class peace", of the false and disarming perspectives of gradual, "peaceful" change through "reforms" and parliamentary elections. These organisations have thus developed into the ideological, political and economic framework of modern monopoly capitalism in Britain; they each serve to maintain a broad sector of the social structure of capitalism, and are being increasingly linked together to form a corporate whole.

Within such a context it can be seen that to bow to economism, to trade union consciousness, and allow to pass such seriously over-optimistic assessments as those put out by the CPGB, envisaging the numerical strength of working class voting power "transforming" ruling class corporate reaction, and the Maoist "Communist Party of Britain (M-L)" preaching class struggle itself as the necessary teacher (a divisive strategy designed to prevent the coming into coalescence of the Marxist-Leninist general staff with the working class movement) would be a grave danger putting in jeopardy the whole future of the British working class. For, to paraphrase Plekhanov, to bow to spontaneity and gaze in awe upon the posteriors of the British working class will entail witnessing the destruction of that class within the jaws of a future corporate/fascist state machine. Never more so than now was it vitally necessary that the British working class be led from the soft bed of containment of capitalism which, dressed up in pseudo-left talk about "worker's control", "freedom of criticism" and "back to the grass roots", would lead it to the corporate labour front and the victory of fascism. It is therefore especially apt that, in the country of the oldest working class in the world, a working class carefully segregated and stratified over the years and dominated by its "aristocracy of labour" we should find Lenin's criticism of economism and the "freedom of criticism" spontaneity trend at the very heart of our investigation into the forms and content of the revolutionary path ahead.

Leninist Party of the New Type or Reformist Party

Following on from our first analysis it is obvious that a form of organisation corresponding to the distinction between spontaneous working class and revolutionary worker-intellectuals is needed. Speaking in criticism of spontaneity, Lenin said:

"... naturally, corresponding to this struggle which is 'easily understood' by the mass movement must be an organisation that will be 'easily understood' by the most untrained youth, . . . neither understands our primary and most imperative task, namely, to establish an organisation of revolutionaries capable of maintaining the energy, stability and continuity of the political struggle." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to be Done?", p.314-5).

"Social democracy (i.e. Marxism-Leninism - Ed.) = 'executive groups' in relation to the economic struggle of the workers ! It would be difficult to find a more striking illustration of how the Economists' ideas deviate from Social Democracy to trade unionism, and how alien to them is any idea that a Social Democrat must concern himself first and foremost with an organisation of revolutionaries who are capable of guiding the whole proletarian struggle for emancipation." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to Be Done?", p.328).

And, speaking of the workers' circles already existing in Russia :

"In fact, the ideal leader, as the majority of the members of such circles picture him, is something far more in the nature of a trade union secretary than a socialist political leader. For the trade union secretary

of any, say British trade union, always helps the workers to conduct the economic struggle. ... It cannot be too strongly insisted that this is not yet Social Democracy. The Social Democrat's ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place... in order to explain to all and everyone the world historic significance of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to Be Done?", p.288-9),

and

"If we begin with the solid foundation of a strong organisation of revolutionaries we can guarantee the stability of the movement as a whole and carry out the aims of both Social Democracy and of trade unions proper. If, however, we begin with a broad workers' organisation, supposed to be most 'accessible' to the masses (but as a matter of fact most accessible to the gendarmes and making the revolutionaries most accessible to the police), we shall achieve neither one nor the other of these aims; we shall not eliminate our amateurishness, and because we remain scattered and our forces are constantly broken up by the police we shall only make the trade unions of the Zunatov and Ozerov type most accessible to the masses." (V.I. Lenin: *ibid.*; p.331).

It was on this basis that Lenin was able to proclaim: "Give us an organisation of revolutionaries, and we shall overturn Russia!" (*ibid.*, p.339). The Leninist party became that organisation; and because it was not created spontaneously from within the working class, but - in its origin - as a result of the embracing of the objective aims of the working class by revolutionary intellectuals - it was an organisation of professional revolutionaries :

"The political struggle of Social Democracy is far more extensive and complex than the economic struggle of the workers against the employers and the government. Similarly, (and indeed for that reason) the organisation of a revolutionary Social Democratic party must inevitably be of a different kind than the organisations of the workers designed for this struggle. A workers' organisation must in the first place be a trade organisation; secondly, it must be as broad as possible; and thirdly, it must be as little clandestine as possible (here, and further on, of course, I have only autocratic Russia in mind). On the other hand, the organisations of revolutionaries must consist first, foremost and mainly of people who make revolutionary activity their profession (that is why I speak of organisations of revolutionaries, meaning revolutionary Social Democrats). In view of this common feature of the members of such an organisation, all distinctions as between workers and intellectuals, and certainly distinctions of trade and profession, must be utterly obliterated. Such an organisation must of necessity be not too extensive and as secret as possible." (V.I.Lenin: *ibid.*; 322-3).

"As I have already said time and time again ... by 'wise men', in connection with organisation I mean professional revolutionaries, irrespective of whether they are trained from among students or working men. I assert 1) that no revolutionary movement can endure without a stable organisation of leaders that maintains continuity; 2) that the wider the masses spontaneously drawn into the struggle, forming the basis of the movement and participating in it, the more urgent the need of such an organisation, and the more solid this organisation must be (for it is much easier for demagogues to sidetrack the more backward sections of the masses); 3) that such an organisation must consist chiefly of people professionally engaged in revolutionary activity; 4) that in an autocratic state, the more we confine the membership of such an organisation to people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to wipe out such an organisa-

tion, and 5) the greater will be the number of people of the working class and of the other classes of society who will be able to join the movement and perform active work in it." (V.I. Lenin: *ibid.*; p.336).

"We must train men and women who will devote to the revolution, not merely their spare evenings, but the whole of their lives. We must build up an organisation so large as to enable us to introduce division of labour in the various spheres of our work." (V.I. Lenin: *Iskra*: No. 1, "The Urgent Tasks of our Movement"; Collected Works, Vol.4;FLPH 1960; p.371)

"A secret strike is impossible - for those who take part in it and for those immediately associated with it, but a strike may remain (and in the majority of cases does remain) a 'secret' to the masses of the Russian workers, because the government takes care to cut all communication between strikers, takes care to prevent all news of strikes from spreading. Here indeed is where a special 'fight against the political police' is required, a fight that can never be conducted by such large masses as take part in strikes. This struggle must be organised, according to 'all the rules of the art' by people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity. The fact that the masses are spontaneously being drawn into the movement does not make the organisation of this struggle less necessary. On the contrary, it makes it more necessary; for we Socialists would be failing in our direct duty to the masses if we did not prevent the police from making a secret of ... every strike and every demonstration, And we shall succeed in doing this, precisely because the spontaneously awakening masses will advance also from their own ranks increasing numbers of 'professional revolutionaries' (that is, if we do not take it into our heads to advise the workers to keep on marking time)". (V.I. Lenin: "What is to Be Done?", p.321).

"When we have detachments of specially trained worker-revolutionaries who have gone through extensive preparation ... no political police in the world will then be able to contend against them, for these detachments of men absolutely devoted to the revolution will themselves enjoy the absolute confidence of the widest masses of the workers. And we are directly to blame for doing too little to 'stimulate' the workers to take this path, common to them and to the 'intellectuals' of professional revolutionary training, and that we too frequently drag them back by our silly speeches about what 'can be understood' by the masses of the workers, by the 'average workers', etc." (V.I. Lenin: *ibid.*; p.345-6).

The above words of Lenin amply demonstrate that the Leninist party of the new type has a specific character and function quite distinct from the commonly accepted bourgeois concept of a "political party".

We have earlier demonstrated that bourgeois democracy is a form of capitalist dictatorship adopted to fulfil a definite role, that of a highly developed and extended complex of state control permeating the mass movements of the working class through social-democratic parties and organisations - the "left" wing facade of which fascism is the "right wing" face of Stalin's definition - and that this fact invalidates the claim of the revisionists and trotskyites to "different qualitative" problems under bourgeois democracy to those arising under the open bourgeois dictatorship of fascism.

We now see, as a corollary, that Lenin's organisational theory can by no means be rejected as "not applicable to British (or developed monopoly capitalist) conditions". In fact the opposite is the case. The means of repression, the careful nurturing of a whole chain of bourgeois agents within the working class movement, the complex network of protection of the state and stratification and splitting of the working class forces which is now seen in the developed capitalist countries fast on their way to open corporate and fascist forms are far greater than those appertaining in tsarist Russia of the autocracy, with its relatively weak state apparatus. The organisation of the "labour move-

ment, which exists within capitalism as a part of that system, reveals this capitalist dictatorship clearly. It is modelled on reformist lines, adopts bourgeois voting methods no different from those employed at company board meetings, and bears no resemblance whatsoever to the organisation of a party of professional revolutionaries, who by their very position must be in conflict with state power. The latter requires disciplined, illegal organisation, an illegal organisational core of a military-revolutionary character which will, provided that it has arisen out of, forms the most politically conscious vanguard of, and maintains the closest most integrated and multi-faceted connecting threads with the independent proletarian-socialist mass movement, ultimately smash the corporate/fascist state of monopoly capital, which is armed to the teeth. In such a context the much lauded "democracy" on a bourgeois model chirped forth by every aspiring trotskyite/revisionist disruptor should be given as little sympathy as it received under Lenin when he put the preservation of the revolutionary organisation first and proved how little prospect of "democracy" of decision can exist if the enemy state forces are raiding and disrupting every party cell. That this happens infrequently in Britain today is because next to no struggle takes place. In all developed fronts of struggle, i.e. Germany in the 20s, such repressive activity as Lenin assumes in Russia was likewise the norm. Thus the chairman, secretary, treasurer, auditors, of trade union movements and other labour organisations are bourgeois in origin; by law every company has to have the same officials. When the "Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding" placed the word "Limited" after its name and caused a minor scandal, it was in fact doing no more than rationalise its true position, and indeed "limited" would have served in many cases to define the exact degree of representation and allegiance to the working class represented by such types of organisation, the alleged "inherited working class traditions" beloved of the revisionists.

However, it is true that subjective class thinking is different in conditions of "left" masked bourgeois democracy, because it is a central part of this structure that the agents within the working class movement, the trotskyites, revisionists, etc. should lead the workers to reject any Leninist plans for organising independently of the bourgeois reformist structure, and that it is made very difficult for workers to come into contact with Leninist ideas. The apparent and relative "freedom" from direct dictatorship (i.e. concealed dictatorship - it is always "someone else" who goes to gaol on a demonstration, not "me" or "all of us") also acts as a powerful reinforcement of reformist ideas and strengthens the illusions, stimulated day in, day out by the media of capital, piped into working class homes by television and tabloid.

However, the truth about the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie cannot for ever be concealed. The French militant movement, after the events of May 1968, is now learning that lesson as it begins to organise under illegal conditions, imposed without warning, consultation or vote in a single night of "emergency powers", and a similar fate is inevitable in the new corporately organised Europe of the monopolies under the reign of the para-military police forces and the plans to impose a brutal repression in readiness for expected future inter-imperialist battles. Imperialism in our time cannot fight the inter-imperialist war which ultimately becomes essential for its continued existence without first creating a fascist form of power - for only the most extreme forms of pressure, ideological and economic, will induce any mass of workers to fight in a third world imperialist war.

We face, therefore, the problem of destroying a state apparatus which is highly centralised and has a powerful network of penetration throughout the whole of society. The party of the working class must be an even mightier weapon than the centralisation and discipline of the bourgeoisie and its armed might if we are to win. The Leninist dictum that the working class has only one weapon, one power under capitalism, its power to organise, is the most profound key to the organisation of the Leninist party. Without this party, all the spontaneous struggle thrown up by capitalism will be dashed against the rocks and worn down.

Genuine revolutionaries will therefore put their adherence to the principle of building the Leninist party first - for the struggle to achieve power will not advance one step until a general staff which is capable of preventing the capture of the working class by its capitalist enemy from within has been constructed, and for this purpose it is necessary that only the most dedicated, the most developed cadres will stand the test, as command of an army in struggle cannot be carried out by part-time amateurs. In Lenin's words:

"It is far more difficult to wipe out a dozen wise men than a hundred fools" (V.I. Lenin: *ibid.*; p.335),

the "hundred fools" being those devotees of the revisions and reforms of "Marxism" of the hundred disguises.

The Leninist theory is thus that the "revolutionary bacilli", the highly trained revolutionaries who come initially mainly from the petty-bourgeoisie and come to embrace the workers cause, drawing to them developed worker revolutionaries, must create a highly centralised organisation which will, regardless of any apparent lull in the intensity of struggle, maintain its structure and disciplined organisation. Thus a basic dialectical relationship is created whereby at times when the party leads the greatest number of forces, it must tighten up its organisation as a result in order to prevent seepage of bourgeois influence and the watering down of the line of the party from below:

"We must work at forming a militant organisation and conducting political agitation even in 'drab' and peaceful conditions, and even in the period of 'declining revolutionary spirit'. More than that, it is precisely in such conditions and in such a period that this work is necessary, because in the moment of outbreaks and outbursts it will be too late to set up an organisation. The organisation must be ready in order to be able to develop its activity immediately." (V.I. Lenin: "Where to Begin" in *Col. Works*, FLPH Moscow 1961: p.19).

The capitalist class is organising in readiness for the strife it knows its system must bring. We must pit our superlative strength against theirs, a battle the proletariat is historically destined to win. The Leninist principle of the independence of the working class lies at the root of the struggle to liberate that class. Independence of organisation signals the moving into attack against monopoly capital, that class war has begun in earnest, that the working class has cast off the umbilical cord that tied it within the capitalist system, and has risen to face the enemy in attack, not from within, but against the capitalist class to begin its war from the base areas of organisation, principled unity and armed revolutionary strength.

Party and Class

Lenin came into conflict with numerous opportunists throughout the long struggle to defend his principles of party organisation and to refine the concept of the party as leader of the mass movement but distinct from it, and in opposing the concept of a mass party which was of the essence of the now social democratic movements, primarily of Western Europe. This party was constructed so as to raise the level of the working masses and not, in the social democratic manner, to bring all development down to the average, and it is therefore the primary concept of such a party that its building takes place from the top down, not from the bottom up:

"... our very first and most imperative duty is to help to train working class revolutionaries who will be on the same level in regard to party activity as the revolutionaries from amongst the intellectuals ... Therefore attention must be devoted principally to raising the workers to the level of revolutionaries; it is not at all our task to descend to the level of the 'working masses' as the Economists wish to do, or to the level of the 'average worker'". (V.I. Lenin: "What is to be Done?", p.343).

"Perhaps the only attempt to analyse the concept bureaucracy is the distinction drawn in the new Iskra ... between the 'formal democratic principle' and the 'formal bureaucratic principle'. ... The latter strive to proceed from the bottom upward, and, therefore, whenever possible and as far as possible, uphold autonomism, a 'democracy' which is carried (by the over zealous) to the point of anarchism. The former strive to proceed from the top downward, and uphold an extension of the rights and powers of the centre in respect to the parts." (V.I. Lenin: "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back"; p.624).

And, on the question of the party and its relationship to the other working class organisations, in clear distinction to the generally accepted amorphous "unity of the left" of revisionism:

"The centralisation of the most secret functions in an organisation of revolutionaries will not diminish, but rather increase the extent and quality of the activity of a large number of other organisations which are intended for a broad public and are therefore as loose and as non-secret as possible, such as workers' trade unions, workers' self-education circles and circles for reading illegal literature, socialist and also democratic circles among all other sections of the population etc. etc. We must have such circles, trade unions and organisations everywhere in as large a number as possible and with the widest variety of functions; but it would be absurd and dangerous to confuse them with the organisation of revolutionaries, to obliterate the border-line between them, to dim still more the masses' already incredibly hazy appreciation of the fact that in order to 'serve' the mass movement we must have people who will devote themselves exclusively to Social Democratic activities, and that such people must train themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionaries." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to Be Done?", p.338).

"When I say that the Party should be a sum (and not a mere arithmetical sum, but a complex) of organisations, does that mean that I 'confuse' the concepts Party and organisation? Of course not. I thereby express clearly and precisely my wish, my demand, that the Party, as the vanguard of the class, should be as organised as possible, that the Party should admit to its ranks only such elements as lend themselves to at least a minimum of organisation. My opponent, on the contrary, wants to lump together organised elements and unorganised elements in the Party, those who submit to direction and those who do not, the advanced and the incorrigibly backward - for the corrigibly backward may join the organisation. This confusion is indeed dangerous." (V.I. Lenin: "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back"; p.468).

"... the stronger our Party organisations consisting of real Social Democrats are, and the less wavering and instability there is within the Party, the broader, the more varied, the richer and more fertile will be the influence of the Party on the elements of the working class masses surrounding it and guided by it. After all, the Party, as the vanguard of the working class, must not be confused with the entire class. ... precisely because there are differences in degree of consciousness and degree of activity, a distinction must be made in degree of proximity to the Party." (V.I. Lenin: *ibid.*; p.470-1).

However, Lenin stressed that he was not dogmatically proposing a form of organisation without question :

"It should not be thought that Party organisations must consist solely of professional revolutionaries. We need the most diversified organisations of every type, rank and shade, from extremely narrow and secret organisations to very broad, free, 'lose Organisationen'+. This is such an apparent and self-evident truth that I considered it unnecessary to dwell upon it." (V.I. Lenin: *ibid.*; p.474).

+ Broad, loose organisations.

He outlined the structure of the Party and its relationship to broad class organisations as follows :

"Factory circles ... are particularly important to us: after all, the main strength of the movement lies in the organisation of the workers in the large mills, for the large mills (and factories) contain the predominant part of the working class, not only as to numbers but even more as to influence, development and fighting capacity. Every factory must be our fortress. ... The factory sub-committee should endeavour to embrace the whole factory, the largest possible number of the workers, by a network of all kinds of circles ... All groups, circles, sub-committees, etc. should enjoy the status of committee institutions, , or branches of a committee. Some of them will openly announce their wish to join the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, will take upon themselves definite functions ... , will undertake to obey the orders of the Party organs, will receive the same rights as all Party members, will be regarded as immediate candidates for membership in the committee, etc. Others will not join the RSDLP, and will have the status of circles formed by Party members or associated with one or other Party group, etc.'" (V.I. Lenin: Letter to a Comrade, quoted in: *ibid.*; p.476-477).

"Depending on degree of organisation in general and degree of secrecy of organisation in particular, roughly the following categories may be distinguished: 1) organisations of revolutionaries; 2) organisations of workers as broad and as varied as possible (I confine myself to the working class, taking it as self-evident that, under certain conditions, certain elements of other classes will also be included here). These two categories constitute the Party. Further, 3) organisations of workers which are associated with the Party; 4) organisations of workers which are not associated with the Party but actually submit to its control and direction; 5) unorganised elements of the working class who also come partly under the direction of the Social Democratic Party, at any rate during the big manifestations of the class struggle." (V.I. Lenin: *ibid.*; p.478).

"To forget the distinction between the vanguard and the whole of the masses gravitating towards it, to forget the vanguard's constant duty of raising ever wider sections to its own advanced level, means simply to deceive oneself, to shut one's eyes to the immensity of our tasks, and to narrow down these tasks." (V.I. Lenin: "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back" in *Col. Works, Vol.7; Mos.1961; p.261*).

Thus we see that the concept of a "mass card-carrying party" applied by the majority of communist parties in countries with a large working class movement is not in accord with Leninism, in so far as its basic unit, the cell, is composed of an ill-fitted assorted level of understanding of which the lowest common denominator is the only unifying factor and which is, through its system of open membership by application, largely uncontrollable.

It is, of course, true that Lenin occasionally made reference to the specific conditions in the then bourgeois democratic movements of the western capitalist countries which were different in so far as the conspiratorial type of struggle conducted in Russia could be dispensed with and a more open type of structure adopted, especially appertaining to the relationships between trade unions and party where these were both legally existing, for in Russia trade unions themselves were illegal. However, this was a mere refinement of the basic principles of the Leninist Party and was not intended for one moment to imply that the structure of the party, its methods of recruitment, its security, its relationships with the class, were different. And the distinctions which applied in Lenin's day have to a large extent been wiped out since the coming to full fruition of monopoly capital's terrorist wing, the corporate state and fascism (e.g. Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, models for the organisation of capitalism in its period of heightened crisis). For the dividing line between legal and illegal is now very thin, and the knowledge that monopoly capital can

strike and decimate a worker's movement at one blow when it has been lulled into slack methods by a facade of "freedom to organise" has made Marxist-Leninists in the present phase acutely aware of the need to "stand ready".

However, even in the conditions of "relative freedom" appertaining in Germany in the early 1900s, with its large legal labour movement, Lenin's fundamental principles were seen to apply equally:

"Take the Germans. It will not be denied, I hope, that their organisation embraces the crowd, that in Germany everything proceeds from the crowd, that the working class movement there has learned to walk. Yet observe how this vast crowd of millions values its 'dozen' tried political leaders, how firmly it clings to them! ... the Germans only smile with contempt at ... demagogic attempts to set the 'crowd' against the 'leaders', to arouse bad and ambitious instincts in the former, and to rob the movement of its solidity and stability by undermining the confidence of the masses in their 'dozen wise men'. Political thinking is already sufficiently developed among the Germans, and they have accumulated sufficient political experience to understand that without the 'dozen' tried and talented leaders professionally trained, schooled by long experience and working in perfect harmony, no class in modern society can wage a determined struggle." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to Be Done?", p.332).

Just as the bourgeoisie trains its politicians through public schools, military academies, etc. to work in harmony on behalf of their class, so must proletarian leaders be trained for their struggle.

The concept of the professional revolutionary party was applied to the need to find workers who were capable of party work and to take them from their places of work and train them to reflect the wider tasks of the Party:

"Look at the Germans: they have a hundred times more forces than we have. But they understand perfectly well that the 'average' does not too frequently promote really capable agitators, etc. from its ranks. That is why they immediately try to place every capable working man in such conditions as will enable him to develop and apply his abilities to the utmost; he is made a professional agitator, he is encouraged to widen the field of his activity, to spread it from one factory to the whole of the industry, from one locality to the whole country. He acquires experience and dexterity in his profession, he broadens his outlook and increases his knowledge, he observes at close quarters the prominent political leaders from other localities and of other parties, he strives to rise to their level and combine within himself the knowledge of working class environment and freshness of socialist convictions with professional skill without which the proletariat cannot wage a stubborn struggle against its excellently trained enemies. ... A worker-agitator who is at all talented and 'promising' must not be left to work eleven hours a day in a factory. We must arrange that he be maintained by the Party, that he may go underground in good time, that he change the place of his activity, otherwise he will not enlarge his experience." (V.I. Lenin: *ibid.*; p.345).

These words of Lenin illustrate most clearly how far the Communist Parties of Western Europe deviated from Leninist principles almost from the outset. For it became, from 1935 onwards (prior to this turning point the Executive Committee of the Communist International had found it necessary to intervene continually in an attempt to correct the persistent social democratic backsliding of sections of the leaderships of all the West European Communist Parties), the essence of communist industrial work that a communist agitator should stay put at his job and over the years win the confidence of his fellow workers as part of the static quantitative plans to build mass parties large enough to participate in the bourgeois electoral front. And it was, of course, the fundamental conception behind the Leninist Party, that of the strict discipline and organisational

independence of this Party from capital that was misunderstood. For the interpretation of struggle as a static quantitative rise with an undifferentiated membership striving after "power through votes" in factories as in elections, resulted from copying bourgeois methods and social democratic labour movement initiative, and led in the end in Britain to the virtual disbanding of the factory branches by Executive Committee decision in 1945, surely the end of any claim to a Leninist Party.

On the basis of a Leninist analysis, what should be our strategy and tactics in industrial struggle?

In order to achieve socialist revolution the Marxist-Leninist party must win the leadership of the major trade unions, i.e. those large blocks of working class strength which form the basis of the present economic system and the foundation of the future socialist system.

It must win the leadership of these armies in the field to the exclusion of all other political influence - it cannot be anywhere near to the transition to socialism if the final vote on whether to hold a general strike or not (the general strike being a necessary preliminary to the seizure of power) can be "democratically decided" by various non-communist elements representing bourgeois influence in one or another disguise. Present social democratic practice allows the union leaderships to decide "against" any strike that may have got off the ground and be proceeding apace, simply by a "democratic vote" to "call it off". Whilst such a safety valve exists in the form of non-communist bourgeois influence the unions do not belong firmly within the land armies of the socialist revolution.

In Russia the Bolsheviks achieved such successes because they both built and therefore exercised leadership over the unions. This basic question of working class power is not something distinct from practice in a capitalistically developed country, on the contrary, the ideal of Russian practice has to be attained. We also must build and exercise leadership of the trade unions, otherwise it will be impossible to win victory. How do we attempt to win this hegemony? By working within unions as the revisionist party did, surreptitiously creeping into the leading positions, and hoping to remain there unnoticed? This would mean that it is possible to "transform from within". At their leisure the ruling class quietly beheads all such "attempts at seizing the reins of capitalist leadership".

We should aim to penetrate the trade union framework now virtually tied within the embryo corporate state from independent bases of struggle to achieve the polarisation of the trade unions between corrupt leadership and working class membership, the independent bases representing the new alternative class leadership to that of the bourgeoisie which openly propagate the revolutionary alternative. We must encourage all "grass roots" moves by the working class to break free from social democracy, and provide leadership in these spontaneously developing embryos of independent organisations, whilst avoiding the sectarian error of setting up independent organisations before the task of exposing the labour lieutenants before sufficient workers to generate the new embryo organisations has been fulfilled, that is : a) when the great majority of the members have been convinced by their own experience of the need to have an independent union; and b) when they are convinced by their own experience that the bureaucratic machinery of the existing union cannot be used to transform the existing union along the lines required.

Thus, in the course of exposing social democracy, of fighting to defend working class rights within the state-incorporated unions and through this convincing all honest workers of the impossibility of attaining even their elementary economic demands by allegiance to the bourgeois controlled unions, the Marxist-Leninists will first of all assist in the transformation of the bourgeois-dominated unions into genuine independent trade unions by exposing the

labour lieutenants before the working class base and side by side with this action will bring into being the genuine independent trade unions, the Red Trade Unions firmly under the hegemony of the Marxist-Leninist party. In this way alone can the ground base of socialism be achieved in a highly developed monopoly capitalist country. No other path lies open except that which exists in the escapist dreams of the reformists and the revisionists.

The CPGB's long-term strategy was one of "winning positions in the unions" by placing its cadres in key centres and building support in a long term fight for control of the union by normal voting methods, an exact compliment to the parliamentary strategy of "transforming from within". The offshoot of this policy was that it limited the field of work purely within the realm of trade union matters, i.e. social democratic politics, and allowed the overall political initiative to remain firmly within the control of social democracy whilst the CPGB workers were banned, not only from open membership as communists, but also from referring to "politics". As Lenin had already discovered, it is precisely the task of communists to break down this economist grip which ties the workers within the framework of capitalism and bring them to the stage of independent revolutionary political action. Tied within the constricting framework of their policy towards trade unions, the CPGB swung helplessly from immediate demand to immediate demand, its tactical swings frequently rebounding back on it and discrediting the communist work precisely because it was in the helpless position of advocating a spontaneous reliance on legal forms of struggle as the mentor of revolutionary change. The E.T.U. election catastrophe of 54-5 was but an example of the impossibility of genuinely winning leadership by using the methods of the bourgeoisie, the election system heavily weighted in favour of the ruling state power from the beginning.

On the basis of Leninism, we must therefore ensure that our industrial cadres are trained with the care which Lenin praised in the German workers' movement, and that they achieve a widening of the understanding of workers further than the narrow confines of their place of work. It is these cadres who will take the lead in mobilising the industrial proletariat to fulfil their role as the most steeled vanguard of the coming proletarian united front from below, the Red Front.

Membership Purges

To carry through the vast endeavour of building the instrument for revolution in the heartlands of imperialism, that Party which must be "a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletariat in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal" (Stalin), that is, adequate to deal with the most perfected state apparatus of oppression yet known in history, the concentrated might of monopoly capital in the era of its final fight to retain hegemony, it is essential that the firmest and most principled base be laid, and that this singleness of purpose is maintained by all the elements in the Party against the constant onslaught waged by the capitalist class to weaken its ranks. It was Lenin who first recognised the need for this fundamental measure of control when he presented his Resolution to the 2nd Comintern Congress:

"Communist Parties in those countries where communists carry on their work legally must from time to time undertake cleansing (re-registration) of the membership of the party in order to get rid of any petty-bourgeois elements which have crept in." (V.I. Lenin: Condition 14 of Affiliation Rules to the Communist International).

This requirement became a fundamental principle of Communist International practice.

"The party ... is the general staff of proletarian revolution. Unless

such an organising and leading staff exists, the victory of the proletariat and the maintenance of power is impossible. Hence the enormous importance of party organisation, of unity of view and singleness of will, the strictest party discipline and the expulsion from its ranks of all opportunist and alien elements." (Statutes of the Communist International: 1919).

The extent to which these principles were carried out in the actual practice of the western communist parties may be imagined from their subsequent degeneration. They tended to utilise the purge method as an act of self defence when contradictions had already overtaken them, and acceptance into the communist parties, via the mass produced form of entrance, enabled every kind of trotskyite disruptor or bourgeois liberal to become bona fide members and feed the growing chorus against alleged "undemocratic disciplinary measures" enacted by the genuine communists in an effort to stem the slide to social democracy. The net result was the type of bureaucratic distortion later encouraged by and assisting the modern revisionists in their efforts to create unified political propaganda machines in the service of one or other imperialist power grouping.

If we are to uphold Leninism and build a party which can survive the onslaught of the world bourgeoisie, maintain the initiative in struggle and remain a disciplined, cohesive force with the utmost steadfastness in principle but the maximum flexibility in tactics, we must begin the control of membership by adopting a candidate status for new members in order to sift the necessary steeled cadre force, and confine the loose and formal recruitment techniques of revisionism to the anti-revolutionary dustbin where they belong.

Propaganda War

The Bolshevik Party, with its tightly organised nucleus working in the illegal conditions of Russia, was able to spearhead its attack and lead the mass movement through the medium of its newspaper :

"Pravda stood in the centre of the struggle for the party principle, for the building up of a mass working class revolutionary party. Pravda rallied the legally existing organisations around the illegal centres of the Bolshevik Party and directed the working class movement towards one definite aim - preparation for revolution." ("History of the CPSU(B)", Short Course, Moscow FLPH 1951, p.238).

The newspaper was seen as an organiser and agitator around which the broadest mass of workers would gravitate and receive ideological training without necessarily having to become Party members :

"... I continue to insist that we can start establishing real contacts only with the aid of a common newspaper, as the only regular, all-Russian enterprise, which will summarize the results of the most diverse forms of activity and thereby stimulate people to march forward untiringly along all the innumerable paths which lead to revolution in the same way as all roads lead to Rome." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to Be Done?"; p.384).

"... a newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organiser." (V.I. Lenin: *ibid.*; p.379).

"'Without a political organ, a political movement deserving that name is inconceivable in modern Europe', and in this respect Russia must undoubtedly be included in modern Europe. The press has long ago become a power in our country, otherwise the government would not spend tens of thousands of roubles to bribe it, Hence, political exposures in themselves serve as a powerful instrument for disintegrating the system we oppose, a means for diverting from the enemy his casual or temporary allies, a means for spreading enmity and distrust among the permanent partners of the autocracy ...". (V.I. Lenin: "ibid".; p.297-8).

Taking into account the illegal conditions of struggle he wrote :

"The active participation of the widest mass in the illegal press will not diminish because a 'dozen' professional revolutionaries centralise the secret functions connected with this work; on the contrary, it will increase tenfold. In this way, and in this way alone, will we ensure that reading of illegal literature, writing for it, and to some extent distributing it, will almost cease to be secret work, for the police will soon come to realise the folly and futility of setting the whole judicial and administrative machine into motion to intercept every copy of a publication that is being broadcast in thousands. This applies not only to the press, but to every function of the movement, even to demonstrations. The active and widespread participation of the masses will not suffer: on the contrary, it will benefit by the fact that a 'dozen' experienced revolutionaries, trained professionally no less than the police, will centralise all the secret aspects of the work...". (V.I. Lenin: *ibid.*; p.337-8).

Lenin had to fight against many disruptive tendencies to achieve the simple goal of an all-Russian newspaper, for these reactionary elements were, as always, intent on their "democratic freedoms" to the exclusion of what is practical and had sought to prevent the birth of a centralised organ because it would be "undemocratic" and could not possibly reflect the diversity of views held within the revolutionary movement. This outspoken disruption lost the day and the Bolshevik Party achieved its single directing voice.

In the illegal conditions of Russia the paper had great importance as a revolutionary media and became the lifeline on which to build the Bolshevik organisation. However, it is quite clear that in the present conditions of struggle in developed monopoly capitalist countries the means to combat the propaganda of capitalism need to be much more concentrated and developed. This is because capital has a vast distribution and advertising network built into it for the main purpose of creating markets for its commodities, but which serves the political purpose of conducting a relentless war to prevent workers from achieving clarity about their conditions of exploitation. This task has been assisted by the development of television, a medium which succeeds in dominating the participant's leisure time, in the case of a worker that precious time away from the direct control of capital which he could otherwise put to revolutionary use.

However, such a development must not be seen in isolation from class struggle as a whole. Fundamentally, of course, television is simply another weapon in the hands of the capitalists in the class war. It is also a means by which millions of working people become aware for the first time of war in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and on their own doorsteps. Additionally, the whole media industry of capitalism, newspapers especially, is being hit by the action of capitalist crisis which makes millions of people less willing to pay dear for the cheaply written ideological blackmail dished up to them instead of daily bread as their search for the bread itself becomes more necessary.

What is important is that this whole armoury assists capital in its battle to defeat the working class, and that a weapon of similar size does not as yet exist in the hands of the revolutionary vanguard. It is thus necessary for the vanguard party to take very seriously the claim of Lenin that a paper should be a "collective organiser", and to build upon this foundation a whole complex of propaganda arms which will not leave one part of capital unchallenged. The German Communist Party adopted a multi-faceted propaganda struggle of poster, leaflet, press, street theatre, political revue, and fought the verbal and agitational war blow for blow against German monopoly capital. The fulfilment of these tasks will require our revolutionary initiative equally as it did the Bolsheviks in illegal conditions in Russia and the German Communist Party in their difficult struggle.

One final comment needs to be made on this subject. There exists at present

an alleged "alternative media to capitalism"¹. But this "alternative" posing under a "r-r-revolutionary" mask is motivated by the same production process as its larger capitalist bedfellows. These papers are consciously directed and launched by capitalist backers after they have calculated whether sufficient profit stands to be made. The fact that these papers are sold by young people allegedly "for the cause" and "a small percentage of sale" does not deny their capitalist ancestry and intentions. The existence of the profit motive so blatantly flaunted by self-styled "revolutionary" journals is an apt comment on the degeneration of the petty-bourgeois and working class movement in Britain, and the existence of a principled revolutionary press motivated by Marxist-Leninist scientific theory and devotion to its cause could only act as a spark to kindle the barren tinder of mean profit into a genuine mass readership for socialism.

Proletarian Internationalism

Two other principle Leninist tenets remain to be discussed in this section, although chronologically they do not occur specifically in the context of Lenin's "What is to be Done?". However, as the lack of understanding of these principles just as much as of the others we have discussed lies at the roots of revisionism our analysis will not be complete without an assessment.

At the Second Comintern Congress, dealing with the tasks of the Communist Parties in imperialist countries, Lenin said:

"A particularly explicit and clear attitude on the question of the colonies and the oppressed peoples is necessary for the parties in those countries where the bourgeoisie possesses colonies and oppresses other nations. Every Party ... is obliged to expose the tricks and dodges of 'its' imperialists in the colonies, to support every colonial-liberation movement, not merely in words but in deeds, to demand the expulsion of their own imperialists from these colonies, to inculcate among the workers of their country a genuinely fraternal attitude to the working people of the colonies and the oppressed nations and to carry on systematic agitation among the troops of their country against any oppression of the colonial peoples." (V.I. Lenin: Condition 8 for Affiliation to the Communist International)

The programme of the CPGB "For a Soviet Britain", adopted in 1935, continued to maintain a correct theoretical position in relation to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism: the teachings concerning the need for the violent overthrow and destruction of the capitalist state machine; the necessity for the erection of a state embodying the democratic dictatorship of the working class; and the role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the vanguard of the working class. This, in the main, was also the case with that section of the programme which was concerned with outlining the relations which would exist between the colonial countries of the British Empire and a future socialist Britain:

"After taking power, the British Workers' Councils will immediately proclaim the right of all countries now forming part of the British Empire to complete self-determination up to and including complete separation. The British Workers' Councils will hand over, free of charge, all docks, buildings, railways, factories .. etc., that have been constructed from the sweat and blood of the colonial workers and peasants." ("For a Soviet Britain"; Adopted at the XIII Congress, 1935; Part 4: Towards World Socialism).

However, in the course of the period leading up to and especially following after world war two, there began to develop certain more-or-less serious weaknesses in the mode of application of these fundamental principles - weaknesses which, objectively, served to open the floodgates of revisionist degeneration. These weaknesses reflected, generally speaking, the disguised revisionist formulations of the 7th World Congress of the Communist International held in 1935, as well as the unconscious and all-pervasive influence of indigenous reformist thinking.

The main revisionist degenerative tendency for which the 7th World Congress was responsible was the substitution of the correct revolutionary tactical principle of "united front from below" for the opportunist one of 'united front from above'.² In the

¹. i.e. 7 Days, Black Dwarf, Red Mole etc. and the "underground" fringe.
². For a full explanation of these two types of united front movement see "Report of the CC of the MLOB on the Origins of Modern Revisionism" and "Theses on United Front Tactics".

particular political conditions prevailing in Britain at that time, however, it was, from the point of view of inner-party tactical considerations, not possible for the revisionist majority in the leadership of the CPGB already existing at that time to put forward a policy specifically seeking to reach agreement with the Labour Party, since the long-standing bans and proscriptions of the latter against the former militated against this perspective. Lacking, therefore, a political situation and climate within which the application of the opportunist policy of "united front from above" would be viable, the revisionist majority found other political and programmatic channels through which, by encouraging revisionist degenerative tendencies, they could serve their imperialist masters. By 1951, these had come to be expressed through the one-sided accentuation of the "special features" - so beloved of the revisionist seeker after "national roads to socialism" which "fully take into account the national peculiarities of the given country" - associated with the British Empire.

The "broad front" movements which flowed from the programmatic line adopted at the 7th World Congress of the C.I. were not firmly rooted in the working class and were therefore penetrated by petty bourgeois elements prey to all kinds of chauvinist prejudices. It was these "broad front" movements which acted as the main recruiting ground for liberal elements joining the CPGB and hence as a main spawning ground for revisionist ideology. The CPGB finally succumbed completely to the outright revisionist formulations concerning relations with the colonies adopted in the "British Road to Socialism" in 1951:

"The enemies of Communism declare that the Communist Party, by underhand subversive means, is aiming at the destruction of ... the British Empire. But it is a lie. ..."

"All relations between the peoples of the present Empire which are based on political, economic and military enslavement must be ended, and replaced by relations based on full national independence and equal rights.

Only by this means can Britain be assured of the normal supplies of the vital food and raw material, necessary for her economic life obtaining them in equal exchange for the products of British industry, needed by these countries for their own economic development.

This would provide the basis for a new, close, fraternal association of the British people and the liberated people of the Empire." (The British Road to Socialism, 1951: p.11-12).

Thus an error of fundamental principle, an error of strategy, manifested itself in the negation of proletarian internationalism and a neo-colonial viewpoint.

It is a fundamental strategic task of the Marxist-Leninist Party in an imperialist country to build unity between the proletariat of that country and the workers and peasants of the underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is the vital struggle which opposes the imperialist strategy of divide and rule and guides and concentrates the vast force of the workers and peasants of the world in a comprehensive plan of action striking concentrated blows at the imperialist enemy at all stages of the struggle.

The duty of Marxist-Leninists to remove the social-chauvinist base which imperialism has so painstakingly built into the heart of the metropolitan working class is abundantly clear. In America the black question, in France the Algerian question, in Germany under the fascist heel the Jewish question, in Britain today the race question, prove how vital to the successful achievement of socialist revolution is the strategy on social-chauvinism and its eradication. In Britain it is the emergence of the Irish national liberation struggle right on the doorstep of British imperialism which, more than any other issue, will bring about this revolutionary awakening providing that Marxist-Leninists give correct leadership. This would be a vital beginning in the field of work to build anti-imperialist solidarity, leading to the eventual establishment of anti-imperialist solidarity committees in the factories. From the small beginnings of today until the time, as Lenin predicted, when the Marxist-Leninist Party engages in anti-imperialist struggle within the armed forces of the capitalist state itself - and this armed force turns its guns on capital - this remains one of the most vital considerations of work in an imperialist country.

Of course, the question of solidarity between the proletariats of the developed imperialist countries is a vital question now thrown into high relief

by the growth and consolidation of the "Common Market". Through the action of their own inevitable laws of centralisation and increasing monopolisation of capital the imperialists of Western Europe have been forced to band together in an effort to carve out for themselves further spheres of imperialist influence in competition with their rival, U.S. imperialism. In so doing, they have created the conditions whereby the workers of Britain, France, Germany, Holland, etc. have no alternative but to join in common trade union organisations capable of battling with the European corporate capitalist bosses. For so long isolated and pursuing narrow sectarian economic interests within the framework of their "own" imperialism, the workers of Europe are now being drawn into a common front of economic struggle. Because the aims of the corporate European imperialists go beyond the mere economic and involve every worker in the question of furthering "the political future of Europe" there is every hope that the political understanding and involvement of the European proletariat, which now includes those propertyless "immigrant workers" from Turkey, Algeria, Yugoslavia who so fully fulfil the requirements of Marx's definition of a working class in so far as they have literally nothing to lose but their chains, and at least their own families to gain and their elementary right to converse in their own language to win, will make good in giant strides the transition to full political awareness of their might as proletarians after the decades of self-interested economic isolation within the confines of latter-day imperialism.

The full awakening of genuine proletarian internationalism at last begins to appear on the horizon of history.

Electoral Struggle

We cannot progress very far unless we have a workable analysis of this sphere of propaganda work and place it in its correct perspective according to the positions adopted by Lenin. His view was as follows :

"The Communists in Western Europe and America must learn to create a new, unusual, non-opportunist, non-careerist parliamentarism" ("Left-Wing Communism"; Lawrence & Wishart, London 1947; p.78)

"the proletariat must train its own proletarian 'class politicians' who will be as skilled as the bourgeois politicians" ("Left-Wing Communism"; p.61) to learn to

"talk to the people" ("Left-Wing Communism", p.78)

"not in the least to strive to 'get seats' in parliament, but everywhere to rouse the thoughts of the masses and draw them into struggle" (ibid.; p.78).

He speaks of the necessity for a Marxist-Leninist to be a

"tribune of the people" ("What is to Be Done?"; p. 289)

able to

"go among all classes of the population' as theoreticians, as propagandists, as agitators and as organisers." (ibid.; p.290).

"To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social Democrats must go among all classes of the population, must despatch units of their army in all directions." (Ibid.; p.287-8),

in order to win

"branch after branch from the bourgeoisie." ("Left-Wing Communism", p.78).

In the heartlands of capitalism, elections, general and local, form part of the political and state superstructure of monopoly capitalism. This means that in the overall political and institutional sense, the monopoly capitalist ruling class holds the initiative at any given moment in determining the strategic terrain in this sphere, and consequently is also in the advantageous

position in deciding the tactical factors of issues, timing, propagandistic deception and so on. This is why elections can only be a tactical question for the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. This is also the reason why social democrats, reformists and revisionists have always sought to present "parliamentary democracy" and elections as a question of fundamental strategy, within which the question of power is decided in the form of a "peaceful road to socialism". In fact, of course, the putting forward of a "peaceful road" to socialism, impossible of attainment as it is, becomes simply the embodiment of capitalist ideology and politics most suitable for dissemination within the working class to prevent the development towards independent class struggle and keep the working class as a whole tied to the political and state institutions of monopoly capitalism. This of course ties in with the creation of the necessary economic basis for the development of a labour aristocracy, the separation of skilled from unskilled workers, the presentation of the interests of the most skilled workers as being different from those of lower paid sections and all the other weapons of reformism. Taken together, both politically and economically, the aim here is clearly seen to lie in preventing those most advanced sections of the working class, recognised by Marxist-Leninists to be the potential leading force, from being won for struggle against monopoly capitalism and for ideological and political revolutionisation leading to their becoming members of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. Social democratic and revisionist "parliamentary roads" are the political wing of economic reformism.

The element of more-or-less free choice between representatives of political parties reflecting different class interests has disappeared as far as the capitalist political parties are concerned, indeed, it disappeared with the advent of state monopoly capitalism and the onset of the general crisis at the turn of the century. Only in so far as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party or, at a stage preparatory to this, independent working class candidates representing advanced militants of the working class, participate in elections is an element of direct struggle reflecting class struggle, and consequently of choice between representatives reflecting the interests of opposed classes, introduced into the field of elections.

However, the main role of disarming the working class is still fulfilled by the Labour Party. But it is much easier to expose the practice of social-imperialist reformism if the Labour Party is in power than if it is in opposition. Consequently, where no independent working class candidate is standing, the call to vote for the Labour candidate advances class understanding more than the negative call for "no vote", even though by the most negative of lessons.

We must sound a clear warning of the dangers inherent in any anarchist appeal not to exercise the limited political role of voting. It should be pointed out that this assists the ruling class in branding "political democracy" and the debate which goes with it as totally irrelevant and creates that very apathetic political vacuum within which a fascist mass movement can best be built. It is our task to step up the political education of the working class and direct it to work for a genuine working class democratic process, not encourage the very worst political ignorance which "votes with its feet for fascism".

How, then, do we apply the principle of a "new, non-opportunist non-careerist parliamentarism" advocated by Lenin? By stressing the need for the working class to put forward their own independent candidates financed by election funds collected from working class forces; who will exist side by side with the Marxist-Leninist Party candidates standing in key areas (this will be a necessary form for some time due to the impracticability of the vanguard party providing the funds to fight in many electoral areas, a trap into which the revisionist CPGB fell). It would be a sectarian policy to advocate that only the Marxist-Leninist party itself can put forward candidates - the application of the principle of involving the broadest masses in this work means precisely the provision of a platform whereby the working class as a whole can become involved in struggle - and thus there will be an alliance in electoral activity

between the party candidates and the direct representatives of the independent working class organisations - acting as the bridge transmitting the party struggle to the broad masses, and in this way representing the force, not of hundreds of thousands, but of millions of working people who are conscious of the necessity to take up political struggle in the service of their fundamental class interests. This then would begin to provide the conditions for revolution - conditions without which revolution is impossible :

"With the vanguard alone victory is impossible. To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive battle when the whole class, when the broad masses have not yet taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard, or at least of benevolent neutrality towards it and one in which they cannot possibly support the enemy, would not merely be folly but a crime. And in order that actually the whole class, that actually the broad masses of toilers and those oppressed by capital may take up such a position, propaganda and agitation alone are not sufficient. For this the masses must have their own political experience." (V.I. Lenin: "'Left-Wing' Communism", p.72).

With such a policy the vanguard party would begin to fulfil such a role - and bring into being a broad alliance of all exploited sections under the political leadership of the party, but not confused with it. The difficulties of electoral work lie precisely in this fact - it is too easy to confuse the vanguard, the party, with the broad masses, which results in the party becoming a mere electoral machine where the canvassing for support of the party must involve the right of those who support the party to have membership in it - a contradiction in Marxist-Leninist terms. We have to ensure that the vanguard maintains the leadership and its party its centralisation and discipline, whilst at the same time mobilising the broadest sections around it, thus fulfilling a vanguard role in revolutionary practice. Thus Marxist-Leninists use the tactical legal struggle of elections and reforms in the following way :

"In revolutionary tactics under a bourgeois regime, reform naturally becomes an instrument for disintegrating this regime, an instrument for strengthening revolution. ... The revolutionary accepts reform in order to use it as a means of meshing the legal work with the illegal work, in order to use it as a cover for the strengthening of the illegal work which aims at revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie." (J.V. Stalin)

The Method of Marxist-Leninist Analysis

We have seen the application of certain theses of Lenin to conditions of struggle in Britain where they relate to tactics, and in their isolation from a defined programmatic strategy agreement could be reached on one or other of these theses by many progressive forces. But divorced from the overall strategy they cannot guide our action or make Marxist-Leninists. For the most important of Lenin's teachings is that which relates to the method of analysis of concrete situations used by Marxist-Leninists, and the ability to draw out the threads of historical development which paves the way for the development of revolutionary strategy. It is this capacity above all others that has been destroyed in the revisionist assault on the communist movement and it must be relearned if we are to make any progress.

Our first task is to assess the similarity between Lenin's revolutionary situation and the situation which confronts us now, and to estimate whether we have a similar revolutionary role to fulfil. Speaking of the necessity to build revolutionary strength even when a lull in the situation occurred, Lenin said:

"It would be a grievous error indeed to build up the Party organisation in anticipation only of outbreaks and street fighting, or only upon the 'forward march of the drab everyday struggle'. We must always conduct our

everyday work and always be prepared for everything, because very frequently it is almost impossible to foresee when periods of outbreaks will give way to periods of calm. And in those cases when it is possible to do so, it will not be possible to utilise this foresight for the purpose of reconstructing our organisation, because in an autocratic country these changes take place with astonishing rapidity, being sometimes connected with a single night raid by the tsarist janizeries." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to be Done?", p.392-3).

Revisionism has spread the myth of the "peaceful transition to socialism" and tried to create a general acceptance of the notion that capitalism will not be able to resort to such measures of terror as employed by fascism again. But it should be obvious that imperialism, which in Lenin's day was "parasitic or decaying capitalism" has travelled even further into the heart of its own contradiction and ultimate destruction, doffing the mask of "democracy" as it passes, and is now entering the stage of corporate state organisation which will embrace all the so-called "democracies" equally, that is, imperialism will become more autocratic and totalitarian than any oppressive system confronting Lenin.

Whilst it is true that Lenin qualified the situation in the West as allowing more political freedom to agitate, he was speaking of a totally different situation then from now, for capitalism's move towards corporatism is cancelling out any of these distinctions :

"The principal thing, of course, is propaganda and agitation among all strata of the people. The work of the West European Social-Democrat is in this respect facilitated by the public meetings and rallies, to which all are free to go, and by the fact that in parliament he addresses the representatives of all classes." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to Be Done?", p.291).

There are those who would dismiss as inapplicable Lenin's reference to the "raid by the tsarist janizeries", and claim that such extremes of persecution only exist in a despotic autocracy. But such a degree of blind ignorance is almost beyond understanding. For the experience of U.S. imperialist aggression both at home and abroad, and of the German Communist Party, once free to parade its arms openly, have proved that no struggle is legal against capitalism. Only the most foolish utopian could conclude that the present level of inactivity and lack of harassment will remain when Marxist-Leninists take up their leading role in struggle. It must be the truism of our age (and the most neglected one) that in order for the capitalists to take the working class off its guard, that working class must not anticipate its attack, otherwise it would take protective measures. We will most assuredly face levels of persecution and counterattack far in excess of those meted out to the Bolsheviks.

The experience gained by the ruling class in combating revolutionary struggle must not lightly be dismissed. Lenin was writing about the first socialist revolution in history, before the capitalists had had time to adapt themselves and contain any future germs of the socialist movement. They have since learned many lessons, and the "night raid by the tsarist janizeries" of Lenin's day has now become a highly organised and systematized "search and destroy" operation of defence built into every capitalist system. We must, therefore, far from rejecting Lenin's advice, elaborate on it, for in our time amateurish failure in revolutionary work will lead straight to the mass slaughter of the fascist gas chamber.

We must follow the Leninist path and undertake to construct a revolutionary strategy into which all the tactics and particular aspects of struggle will fit as one concentrated embodiment of the total struggle. And it is in the drawing out of the essence of the main tide of struggle with all its spontaneous richness that the dialectical method acts as our guide.

Lenin described the task of the Russian revolutionaries as follows :

"The fact of the matter is that the masses of the workers are roused to a high pitch of excitement by the abominations in Russian life, but we are unable to collect, if one may put it that way, and concentrate all these drops and streamlets of popular excitement, which are called forth by the conditions of Russian life to a far larger extent than we imagine, but which it is precisely necessary to combine into a single gigantic torrent. That this can be accomplished is irrefutably proved by the enormous growth of the working class movement and the eagerness with which the workers clamour for political literature, to which we have already referred...". (V.I. Lenin: "What is to Be Done?"; p. 285).

"... the whole of political life is an endless chain consisting of an infinite number of links. The whole art of politics lies in finding and gripping as strongly as we can the link that is least likely to be torn out of our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that guarantees the possessor of a link the possession of the whole chain. If we had a staff of experienced bricklayers, who had learned to work so well together that they could place their bricks exactly where they were required without a guiding line, ... then perhaps we might seize upon some other link. But the unfortunate thing is that we have no experienced bricklayers trained to teamwork yet, that bricks are often laid where they are not needed at all, that they are not laid according to the general line, but are so scattered about that the enemy can shatter the structure as if it were made not of bricks but of sand." (V.I. Lenin: "What is to be Done?", p.379).

For the above stated simple reasons, the first need of the working class is for its vanguard party, the general staff of the revolutionary army. However, Lenin's strategy must be applied and developed in the conditions of contemporary monopoly capitalism. The primary reason is that the more developed a capitalist society, the greater the degree of stratification of the working class, the greater the strength of social democracy and reformism, the more rigorously do the principles of tightly centralised leadership and through this the greatest flexibility and diversity of forms of struggle guided by the party's transmission belts to the masses have to be applied.

The Bolsheviks, facing a smaller working class with no social democratic traditions, were able to make do with loose organisational ties between broad organisations and party because, in the main, all broad workers' organisations, even trade unions, were illegal, and it was not possible to utilise these fronts of struggle as open territorial gains of the Bolsheviks. But in the struggle in Western Europe, with an advanced proletariat and a tradition of mass legally constituted trade union organisations it is possible to build broad mass organisations with firm organisational structures linking them to the party but able to function as a battering ram against capital whilst also being large and powerful enough to protect the Marxist-Leninist directing nucleus, the party of professional revolutionaries (e.g. the Red Front in Germany)+. Such a development represents an inevitable enriching of Lenin's theories and is the method employed by Marxist-Leninists in the developed capitalist countries to combat the more highly developed repressive apparatus of the monopoly capitalist state. For only if the party has firm links with the widest possible number of organisations on broad issues, each of these organisations of necessity being firmly organised and not loose in the bourgeois "broad front" sense, can it hope to survive and defeat the attempts of the enemy state to isolate and destroy the Marxist-Leninists and their party.

+ The Red Front Movement, which accepts the broad guidance and leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain, and is the embryo of a future mass Red Front, is constructed along these lines.

CONCLUSION

Our work and struggles are taking shape and developing in the immediate aftermath of a period of unprecedented defeats for the working class and communist movements of all lands, the culmination of which has been the virtually complete destruction of the international communist movement painstakingly built up after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution.

This collapse has had two crucial consequences: on the one hand it has cleared the ground for the emergence of a new and steeled vanguard leadership in the future, when the level of intensity of the class struggle approaches a pre-revolutionary stage and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist leadership becomes not merely desirable and socialism a "good thing", but both become life and death necessities for sheer survival of the working class in the face of the threat of fascist counter-revolutionary terror. On the other hand and conversely, however, the collapse of the entire international framework inherited from the Communist International has left in its wake a welter of opportunist confusion and disillusionment providing ideal conditions within which the conscious agents of the class enemy can sow distrust and disaffection and so work to promote the penetration of bourgeois ideology and practice - always prevalent in society and in the broad strata of the working class - into the communist vanguard. This, the most fundamental dissolving agent continuously at work within the working class movement and its vanguard, which acts to break up and disperse every genuine independent germinal growth, every embryonic movement of real class struggle, every potentially revolutionary organisation, functions in order to encourage and perpetuate the spontaneous bourgeois-orientated disunity of the working class, firstly to divide the more advanced sections of the working class from those with a lower level of class consciousness; and secondly, all sections from the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. In this way the attempt is made to create a climate in which it is easy for propaganda against the concept of a revolutionary vanguard party to make headway and through which the working class is urged to stride naked and leaderless into the difficult class battles which lie ahead.

If the Marxist-Leninists prove themselves incapable of seizing the initiative in time, the period which is characterised fundamentally by a rising tempo and intensity of class struggle can nevertheless be transformed into a further period of inevitable defeats if these mounting class struggles do not rise above the level of spontaneous struggles in which each particular issue, economic or political, becomes an hypostasized end in itself divorced from the qualitative end of socialist revolution. In such conditions, a counter-attack - in fact a counter-revolution - by corporately organised state monopoly capital at the head of a black front of reactionary forces becomes virtually inevitable: fascism. For such conditions make it more difficult to organise for struggle and signify a temporary defeat for the working class forces and a temporary strengthening of the forces of counter-revolutionary reaction.

In such a situation - one which is both potentially revolutionary and potentially counter-revolutionary - the Leninist principles of the vanguard party of the working class become more vitally important, more vitally essential than ever before to the winning of final victory for the working class in the developing terrain of mounting class battles. This is especially so

"... since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers themselves in the process of their movement." ("What is to be Done?", p.243);

(This) "... does not mean that the workers have no part in creating such an ideology. But they take part not as workers, but as socialist theoreticians, as Proudhons and Weitlings; in other words they take part only when, and to the extent that they are able, more or less, to acquire the knowledge of their age and advance that knowledge. And in order that

working men may be able to do this more often, every effort must be made to raise the consciousness of the workers generally ...". ("What is to be Done?", p.243-4, Footnote).

The objective cause of the degeneration of the communist parties into revisionism can be located in the temporary ebb in the tide of the world proletarian-socialist revolution which set in after the defeat of the German revolution after 1918 and between 1918 and 1933. The precise nature and inter-relationships of the many complex factors making up this development, at the heart of which was the onset of the period of intensified imperialist expansion into the colonial periphery of the capitalist world system resulting in the laying of the economic foundations for social reformist and social imperialist measures acting to dampen the intensity of imperialist contradictions and the resulting level of class struggle in the metropolitan countries, form the subject of a separate Report currently in preparation, and therefore require to be analysed here only briefly.

Up to 1933-5, and after the defeat of the trotskyite deviation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union after 1928, the communist parties of all lands were striving to bolshevise themselves, to eradicate the social democratic ideas, practices and methods of work deeply rooted in their histories and to develop progressively Marxist-Leninist ones based on dialectical materialist science. Objectively they were able to do this because, at that time, they stood at the head of a developing, intensifying revolutionary situation and revolutionary movement, the product of capitalism in profound crisis. Modern revisionism, therefore, from its origins at the time of the 7th World Congress up to the present day, is fundamentally the subjective expression of the onset of a new period of relative expansion of the capitalist world system, and provides nothing more nor less than a "theoretical" justification for opportunism and class collaboration adapted to the heightened conditions of class struggle and revolutionary confrontation on a world scale corresponding to the existence of a socialist base land or lands and revolutionary movements and vanguard parties armed with Marxism-Leninism in every country of the world. At the stage of its "theoretical" systematisation at the hands of the Khrushchevite revisionists after 1953, however, it becomes much more than this - it comes, in fact, to provide the "theoretical" mask for the transformation of the former revolutionary centre of the world proletarian-socialist revolutionary movement into its opposite - into a counter-revolutionary centre acting in the interests of world imperialism. Subjectively, therefore, this retrograde process resulted in the progressive abandonment of Marxist-Leninist theory, practice and methods of work from 1935 onwards, and their replacement by new-style social democratic ones.

Prior, and up to 1934-5, however, the opposite process of the progressive deepening, refinement and theoretical systematization of Marxist-Leninist theory, and in particular of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the strategy and tactics of socialist revolutions in developed countries, was the main characteristic of the work of the Communist International. In this process, it was above all the contribution made by the Communist Party of Germany to the international treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism which was of the greatest importance, and which held the greatest significance for the future development of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. Faced as it was with the objective situation of an imperialist metropolitan power, Germany, in the throes of a crisis of collapse through the loss of its - initially already inadequate - colonial-type spheres of investment and exploitation as a result of its defeat in the first world war, resulting in the inability of German imperialism to develop an adequate economic foundation for the application of those social-reformist and social-imperialist measures which were to prove the saviour of world imperialism as a whole after approximately 1935 and the consequent compelling need for it to resort to military methods of expansion, to attempt virtually to blast a sphere of influence for itself out of the already fully allocated capitalist world market, it was this Party, above all others, which was faced with the possibility

not only of carrying through to victory the first proletarian-socialist revolution in a developed capitalist terrain - the Paris Commune had done this as far back as 1871, and the Munich Soviet held power for some 2 months in 1919 - but of actually holding power in the hands of the proletarian dictatorship and so of laying the basis for the construction of socialism under the infinitely more socially and historically mature and economically viable conditions of a developed, state monopoly capitalist society.

The most significant archetypal creation of the German Revolution, that which constitutes its most typical and valid contribution to the science of the strategy and tactics of socialist revolutions in developed capitalist countries was the theoretical concept and elaboration in practice of the independent, militant rank-and-file organisation of politically conscious workers, under the overall leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, a front of independent class organs of struggle which then stand as a base manned and secured by the most advanced sections of the working class once they have been established, and which then proceed to extend that base progressively downwards and outwards in a snowball process culminating in the majority of the working class being ultimately won for a revolutionary position of, as far as the most advanced sections are concerned, active struggle against, or, as far as the lower levels of consciousness are concerned, passive opposition to, monopoly capitalism and its state machine. This front of revolutionary struggle is then consolidated into an entire network of organisations of struggle independent of capitalist ideological or political influence, and which builds up its strength progressively until it is capable of mounting blows at the very foundations of the class rule of the monopoly capitalist class, blows which culminate in the revolutionary strike at the central state power itself. This army of the revolutionary proletariat is the mighty, millions strong Red Front of integrated, co-ordinated and scientifically deployed proletarian organisations which mounts wave after wave of revolutionary offensives in sphere after sphere of the by then fully corporately organised social and economic structure of state monopoly capitalism, entraining ever wider and deeper strata of the working class into the revolutionary ferment as this process gains momentum until finally a sufficient mass, size and multiplicity of organs of revolutionary struggle are weighing down on the structure of state monopoly capitalism as to make effective its isolation and encirclement and to enable the Red Guards, the military advance guard of the proletarian socialist revolution, to strike at the central state power, smash through its defences with that overwhelming weight and force which only a phalanx resting upon the irresistible forward movement of the millions-strong organised might of the working masses can give it, and so destroy the state power of monopoly capital and establish the democratic rule of the working class.

It is our task to deepen the application of Lenin's fundamental theses until they provide us with a weapon adequate to withstand and beat back an offensive of the fascist black front against the proletarian Red Front which will doubtless prove to be even more powerful and concerted than the fascist counter-revolution in Germany which decimated the German working class movement. We have said that fascism in Germany was a pre-dated form of corporately-organised, militarised state of the monopoly capitalists which came into being in the period of acute imperialist crisis following after the defeat of German imperialism in world war one, when it was stripped of its colonies and forced to prepare once again for war in order to seek to win back those colonies and other spheres of influence lost to the victorious Versailles powers. This form of state structure is now coming once again into its own as world imperialism again begins to enter into conditions of retraction caused by shrinking markets and as an intensified rate of imperialist-type investment in the underdeveloped sector of the imperialist world market once again begets those intensified inter-imperialist rivalries which find their final outcome in imperialist style wars, for the very prosecution of which the finance capitalist ruling class seeks to

secure its national and supra-national class terrain through the imposition of a fascist dictatorship, against the threat of a successful proletarian-socialist revolution. The imperialist stage of capitalism, characterised in its present phase by the violent, predatory expansion of distorted forms of capitalist relations into the farthest reaches of the capitalist world system through the agency of reactionary wars for the maintenance of existing colonial spheres of exploitation - or increasingly the wresting by the one world bloc of new ones from out of the sphere of influence of the other - is approaching the zenith of its development with accelerating rapidity. To the degree that this process of intensifying imperialist investment gives rise to heightening competition amongst the imperialist groups, and hence to the tendency for them to form themselves into two hostile, opposed blocs, that dominated by the United States and West European blocs respectively (with the possible future inclusion of Soviet neo-imperialism, this would be transformed into an all-European bloc), to the same degree does it lay the basis for and pave the way towards a third world war, a world war which should the working class forces of the world ever permit it to unfold, will be fought with the fearful weapons of mass extermination now at the disposal of the imperialist ruling class. Indeed, it is in preparation for such a war that the imperialists of the world are even now engaged in negotiations to ban the use of nuclear weapons, since their indiscriminate use would result in such widespread and uncontrolled destruction of capitalist property as would nullify the very purpose which such a war of inter-imperialist rivalry and competition would seek in the first place to serve.

Unlike the two previous world wars caused by imperialism, however, such a third world war would not be merely a war for the redivision of a world market still capable of expansion and development. Far more will it be a war for the redivision of a world market which will have already approached conditions of economic saturation, in which formerly economically under-developed colonial-type areas will themselves have approached towards the level of development appertaining in the developed capitalist countries themselves, and hence, through the operation of the law of the falling rate of profit, have rendered themselves ineffective as sources of super-profit assisting in the task of offsetting the declining rate of profit in the metropolitan sphere itself.

Just as, therefore, the onset of the imperialist stage of capitalism was followed by an imperialist world war for the redivision of the world, signifying that capitalism could no longer continue to expand peacefully through trade and commerce but only violently through war - wars of both the local colonial and the general world type - so will the preparation for a third world war signify that capitalism has entered inevitably, irreversibly and inexorably, into the fourth and final stage of its development, a stage characterised no longer by violent, predatory expansion, but by even more desperately, hopelessly violent and predatory retraction - the stage at which the capitalist-imperialist system begins to turn inwards and to feed upon its own irreconcilable contradictions, when the ever-growing thirst of each of the two world blocs for the maximum rate of profit stands in ever more irreconcilable contradiction with the strangled ability of the world market and investment sphere - which is ever dwindling in relation to rising production and productive capacity - to even maintain a given rate of profit at its current level or even to prevent the actual profit yield from falling, not to mention to cause it to rise. Thus the capitalist-imperialist world system will, at the onset of this fourth and final stage in its development⁺, resemble the internecine, self-destructive relations within a

+ The three prior stages in the development of the capitalist mode of production hitherto are: -MERCANTILISM, from approximately Tudor times (late 15th C.) to the end of the 18th C.; -INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM, from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution (late 18th C.) to approximately 1890; -EXPANSIVE IMPERIALIST CAPITALISM, (hitherto known simply as imperialism, monopoly capitalism or state monopoly capitalism), from approximately 1890 to the present day.

Distinct names descriptive of the fourth stage in the development of imperialist capitalism - on the threshold of which the capitalist world system now stands - as also of the contemporary third stage, so as to express more clearly the marking off of the one from the other, have yet to be coined. Perhaps the term RETRACTIVE IMPERIALIST CAPITALISM (or, more simply, RETRACTIVE IMPERIALISM) will, at least for the moment, serve for the latter, and EXPANSIVE IMPERIALIST CAPITALISM, or EXPANSIVE IMPERIALISM, for the former.

pack of starving wolves who can live only by tearing at each other's throats and drinking each other's life-blood. In short, the superprofits realisable from colonial investment will, ultimately and by then, have proved insufficient to maintain the self-expansion of the world capitalist-imperialist system in general or the economy of the metropolitan capitalist countries themselves, at the centre of which lie the two rival world blocs.

As we have seen, the onset of these conditions will lead to the more-or-less rapid disintegration of the entire superstructure of social-imperialist amelioration of class contradictions and class struggle steadily built up throughout the stage of contemporary expansive imperialism itself. It will witness the collapse of the "economic miracle" of state-manipulated "full employment" and "affluence", of the widespread schemes of "social welfare", which, in all developed capitalist-imperialist countries, have been the means whereby indirect forms of control by the state (in accordance with the economic prescriptions of J.M. Keynes) have been implemented.

What, then, will be the salient features of this coming fourth stage in the development of the capitalist-imperialist system? At the base of those features will lie the frenzied attempt of finance-capital to compensate for the falling rate of profit on investments overseas by ruthlessly screwing up the rate of exploitation of both the metropolitan and the colonial working masses.

To achieve this, the imposition of a corporate system of state capitalist repression, the substitution of indirect Keynesian methods of state control by direct methods based upon a corporate state, will be an indispensable necessity. Hence, even now, when this entire process is still at a relatively early stage of its development, the finance-capitalist ruling class of each imperialist country is - or in the case of Britain already has - taken steps to enact state control of wages. For control by the state over the price of labour power and the abolition of the right of the working class to engage in struggle to determine the price it can obtain on the market for its labour power constitutes the essence of the corporate state, on the basis of which the abolition of political democracy, the mass terror, the building up of a terrorist mass movement recruited from the despairing lumpen-proletarian strata of the working class and the deprived professional strata of the petty-bourgeoisie, the concentration camps and mass extermination laboratories - in short, the full-scale fascist counter-revolutionary system - are all erected.

Only one organisation has put forward a strategy for developing revolutionary class struggle which is based on the above analysis of contemporary imperialist capitalism: the MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN. Its programmatic perspectives envisage the winning of working class forces away from the corrupt organisations tied to the social-imperialist system of contemporary capitalism by a thousand constitutional and reformist threads, so as to train them, section by section and level by level, to adopt new forms of proletarian class struggle independent of social-imperialism, and simultaneously to weld them into the appropriate new organs of struggle: Action Councils, Red Trade Union opposition groups, all those anti-imperialist and anti-corporate state organisations which ultimately will come to be fused together to form the revolutionary Red Front of developing proletarian power. The task of constructing this Red Front, the mass base of the future socialist revolution, must be embarked upon now, for its growth into a powerful phalanx of independent proletarian class power is also the best possible safeguard against the imposition of a fully developed corporate state structure of repression, or thereafter even of a fully-fledged structure of terroristic fascism, in the future. It calls on all revolutionary workers, working youth and intellectuals aspiring to a Marxist-Leninist understanding to adopt this analysis, this perspective and these aims as their own, and to join now with the MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN and its training school, the RED FRONT MOVEMENT, in laying the first basis for the future revolutionary united front in Britain and, most vital of all, in constructing the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the working class, without which the victory of the socialist revolution, in Britain as in any other land, will remain mere wishful thinking.

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