

**PRESENTING THE IDEAS  
OF THE  
FIRST CONGRESS  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ENGLAND  
(MARXIST-LENINIST)**



**A Series of Articles Issued by the Central Committee of  
the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist)**

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ENGLAND (MARXIST-LENINIST)**

**London, 1979**

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE !**

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## Introduction

The Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) recently held its historic First Congress. The First Congress of the Party was held at a time of tremendous consolidation and development in the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. It was just over two years ago that the Party of Labour of Albania, at its Seventh Congress, dealt a telling blow to the revisionist proponents of the "three worlds" theory and to the imperialists and reactionaries of the world. At the Seventh Congress the life and death struggle against modern revisionism and the struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism further intensified. At the Seventh Congress the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, made a decisive and most important contribution in exposing and totally repudiating the reactionary "three worlds" theory and its sinister aims of attempting to liquidate proletarian socialist revolution, unite with imperialism and all reaction and violate every principle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the course of these two years this whole movement has greatly deepened and developed. Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations the world over have intensified the struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to oppose and expose opportunism of all hues, especially modern revisionism such as the new revisionist trend being peddled by the "three world" theoreticians, and have become stronger and even more tempered in leading the working and oppressed people in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

This trend has been reflected by the growth and consolidation of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. After the attempts, first by the Khrushchovite revisionists and then by the "three world" revisionists, to do their utmost to liquidate and subvert this most important international movement, there has been over the last two years a tremendous struggle by Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations to strengthen their unity around Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Over the past few years there has been further development of the revolutionary struggles of the working and oppressed people the world over. In the capitalist heartlands, in the revisionist countries and in the neo-colonial and colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the struggle of the people against imperialism, capitalism and all reaction has made many important advances.

Furthermore, in this period tremendous advances have been made by the Albanian people led by their Party of Labour in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, in building socialism in their country.

Over the past two years, there have likewise been most important developments in and consolidation of the work of our Party especially in the following:-

Firstly, furthering the work of Bolshevising the Party and implementing important guidelines to strengthen the process of building a monolithic Marxist-Leninist Party.

Secondly, strengthening and deepening the line, work and programmes for building the Party in the heart of the working class.

Thirdly, strengthening and deepening the Party's line, work and programmes and leadership in the anti-fascist struggles.

Fourthly, making important developments on the front of uniting with Marxist-Leninists outside the Party and developing the whole process of exposing and defeating neo-revisionism.

In these areas especially, but also on many other questions, including the international situation, the Party has strengthened its Marxist-Leninist line, clarified and formulated important policies and furthered the struggle against all forms of revisionism, especially modern revisionism. In executing these policies and lines, the Party has made important advances on a number of fronts, built closer links with the masses in a number of areas, provided leadership to and been in the front line of many actual struggles of the people. The holding of this First Congress of the Party is the culmination of and shows the successful achievements of this whole process.

It was August 1967 that saw the founding of the English Internationalists, the birth of the Marxist-Leninist centre in Britain. The period since then has been a magnificent history of the growth, strengthening and consolidation of this Marxist-Leninist centre. In March 1972, when the Party was founded at a conference held in London, the solemn decision taken at the historic Necessity for Change Conference in 1967 by the young Marxist-Leninists from the youth and student movement to take upon their shoulders the tasks of rebuilding the proletarian party, was gloriously achieved. The British working class and people once again had a Marxist-Leninist party to lead them in their revolutionary struggle and in organising the proletarian revolution.

The First Congress represents a most important and historic land-

mark in the development of the Party and for the cause of the revolution and the working class in Britain. The Congress summed up the work of the Party over the past twelve years and in particular over the past two years. It formally adopted Party policy on all the major international and national questions facing the revolutionary movement in Britain and it presented the basic problems that need to be resolved in the coming period in order to further advance the work of organising and preparing the working class for proletarian socialist revolution. This document, produced by the Central Committee of the Party in the form of a series of articles, presents and elaborates all the essential ideas, policies and lines adopted by the delegates at the First Congress of the Party of the proletariat, the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist).

## There is No Other Path for the Proletariat than Socialist Revolution

The principal problem facing the working class and people in Britain is the monopoly capitalist class and its system. No basic problem can be solved, no lasting or stable advances in the interests of the working class and other oppressed people can be made without the total overthrow of this class, the elimination of its system and the establishment of a new socialist system under a proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All the basic means of production, means of distribution and exchange are controlled by this extremely small and parasitical monopoly capitalist class. Through their state power, the bourgeoisie exercise their dictatorship over the proletariat and other oppressed people, and maintain their control of the means of production, exchange and distribution.

The basic feature of the monopoly capitalist economy is the securing of the maximum profits for the monopoly capitalist class from the exploitation, impoverishment and ruin of the working class and people in Britain, in the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and throughout the world.

Inherent in the capitalist system are insoluble contradictions which can never be reformed away, which lead to crisis after crisis, with each crisis becoming deeper and more severe than the last. At the same time the capitalist system has also given birth to the development of the proletariat, the class whose historic mission is to carry out the destruction of this system, the class which alone can unite all other oppressed sections of the people around itself and solve all the historical problems to bring this destruction about.

With the development of capitalism into imperialism, these inherent contradictions have sharpened and intensified. The dominance of finance capital in every sphere of the economy, the intensification of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the continuous process of the expansion of monopolies in the economy, have served only to inflame and intensify the recurring and ever-deepening crisis within the monopoly capitalist economy. Inflation, anarchy of

production, over-production, large scale destruction of the means of production, massive unemployment, ever-increasing impoverishment of the proletariat, the development of fascism and war, are all essential features of this monopoly capitalist system.

The contradiction between, on the one hand, the social character of the process of production, the gigantic productive forces that have been built up under the capitalist system, and, on the other hand, the capitalist relations of production, the private appropriation by the few, the ownership of the means of production by the tiny class of capitalists, is irreversibly intensifying. This contradiction is reflected in the arena of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which is daily escalating. There can never be and will never be any common interests between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, these two classes being locked in antagonistic and irreconcilable struggle.

There is no other path for the proletariat than proletarian socialist revolution. To organise and bring about such a revolution in any country, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and its state, to establish and maintain the power and state of the proletariat, the working class must have its organisational, political and ideological headquarters. Such a headquarters is and can only be the Communist Party, armed with and based on the scientific and revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, the ideas and teachings elaborated in the Marxist-Leninist classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In this country such a Communist Party exists, the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist). This Party and its cadres are dedicated to leading the proletariat in revolutionary struggle, in uniting all other oppressed people around it to bring about the overthrow of the monopoly capitalist class and system, the establishment of the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the eventual establishment of the classless communist society. All the Party's tasks and work start from and serve this strategic programme.

## The Present International Situation

The world today is divided into two: on the one hand, the forces of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, headed by the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, and including the other imperialist powers, all the capitalist and revisionist ruling classes and the neo-colonial, colonial and reactionary classes of Asia, Africa and Latin America; on the other, the forces of the international proletariat, the working and oppressed people of the world, their Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations, the national liberation movements and the socialist camp - the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. These two social forces and systems are irreconcilably opposed to each other and the contradiction between them is always fundamentally antagonistic.

The present era is the era of imperialism and socialist revolution, the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, where the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system have matured and sharpened even further under imperialism and where the only path to resolve these contradictions - the overthrow of the imperialist system and the establishment of socialism and the eventual establishment of communism - has become even more clear and well defined, where the conditions for taking this path have become ripe. Lenin summed up the present era as "The epoch of capitalist imperialism, the epoch of over-ripe capitalism, which is on the eve of collapse, which is sufficiently ripe to make way for socialism." In the Report to the 5th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha concluded that "the fundamental features of our epoch, as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, of the struggle between the two opposing social systems, of the epoch of the proletarian and national liberation revolutions, of the collapse of imperialism and the liquidation of the colonial system, as the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale, are becoming more pronounced and more clearly obvious each day."

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## "THE REVOLUTION - A QUESTION TAKEN UP FOR SOLUTION"

Throughout the world, the peoples' struggles against the exploitation and oppression of the barbarous system of imperialism and capitalism are mounting. In the capitalist heartlands and the revisionist countries the people are waging increasingly mighty battles against their oppressors. For instance, in the capitalist heartlands, the working class and people are militantly fighting back against the economic attacks, and more and more sections of the people are taking up battle against the racist and fascist schemes of the reactionary bourgeoisie. In the liberation struggles in the colonies and neo-colonies, the people are escalating their armed struggle against their lifelong enemies, imperialism, feudalism and capitalism. The anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have won tremendous victories, such as were seen in the heroic struggles of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos against US imperialism, and the peoples of Africa against Portuguese colonialism. The proletariat and the oppressed peoples are furthering and deepening their proletarian consciousness day by day and the struggles they are engaged in are taking on an increasingly marked political character.

In the course of these intensifying struggles of the people, the Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations are becoming daily more consolidated. Through leading the revolutionary struggles of the people against imperialism and all reaction, and deepening the struggle against revisionism of all hues, the Marxist-Leninist parties are becoming increasingly strengthened and consolidated, whilst new Marxist-Leninist centres are being born and built in many other countries in the world. These Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations, guided by Marxism-Leninism, are providing the essential leadership, strategy and tactics for the victory of the revolutions in their respective countries. At the same time, they are strengthening their ties, relations and assistance to one another, strengthening the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement and the cause of the international proletariat.

Under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, the heroic Albanian people have made tremendous advances in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism in their country. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the only genuine socialist country in the world today, is a fortress against imperialism and revisionism and a mighty base area for the world's people. The Party of Labour of Albania has made invaluable contributions in the international communist and workers' movement in the struggle

against revisionism of all hues. From the late 1950s, the Party of Labour of Albania has been in the forefront of the struggle to oppose and expose Khrushchovite revisionism and has consistently followed this struggle through to the end. It has played a major role in denouncing and exposing Titoite and other revisionist theories, and more recently the Party of Labour of Albania has made a crucial and forefront contribution, especially since its 7th Congress, in criticising and exposing the reactionary and anti-Leninist nature of the "new" revisionist "three worlds" theory.

Despite the Khrushchovite revisionists' restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the countries of the one-time People's Democracies, despite their turning the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin into an aggressive social-imperialist power, and despite the betrayal by the Chinese revisionists and their all round development of capitalism in China, the socialist camp still most definitely exists: it has the great People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by the Party of Labour of Albania, is a tremendous inspiration and guide to the revolutionary movement of the world's people in their struggle against both imperialism and revisionism.

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As a result of these tremendous advances in the cause and struggles of the world's working and oppressed people, combined with the insoluble and intensifying contradictions within the capitalist system, which have been made fiercer with the development of imperialism, the all-round crisis hitting the entire imperialist system is daily intensifying. This crisis hits every aspect of the imperialist system - economy, politics, ideology, culture. Massive inflation, unemployment, degeneration, corruption are all features of this. The crisis also reveals itself in the growing contradictions in the imperialist world between the imperialist powers and amongst all of the reactionary ruling classes, as the struggle to maintain and increase profits and the search for further and new ways to exploit and oppress the people and oppose revolution become greater. These contradictions can be seen in various manoeuvres developing amongst the bourgeoisie, whereby, for example, a number of western imperialist countries are having discussions and reaching trade agreements with the Soviet social imperialists, while likewise a number of revisionist countries have similar policies towards US imperialism.

To try to get out of the crisis, the entire forces of imperialism are making the people pay. On the economic front, the workers

and oppressed people are faced with drastic falls in their standard of living, wages being held down even more, rising prices, cuts in social services where these exist, mass starvation, massive unemployment, extreme poverty, homelessness and all-round impoverishment. In order to foist this crisis onto the backs of the people, suppress their rising struggles and prevent revolution, the forces of imperialism and reaction the world over are escalating their all-round attacks upon the people. In the capitalist heartlands the monopoly capitalists are fast developing the fascisation of their state apparatuses and financing and launching fascist gangs in the working class movement. In the revisionist countries similar fascist suppression of the working class and people is taking place. Fascist regimes, such as those of the Shah of Iran and Pinochet in Chile, are maintained in the colonies and neo-colonies to murderously suppress the people. In countries such as India, Jamaica, etc., where a tattered mask of "democracy" and "independence" is promoted by the imperialists and reactionary ruling classes there, the violent oppression, robbery and exploitation of the people is no less acute.

These increased attacks launched by the forces of imperialism and reaction upon the working and oppressed people are making the tasks of organising revolution even clearer and more urgent for the world's people, are serving only to intensify the people's revolutionary struggles against all the reactionary ruling circles and exploitative and oppressive systems.

#### THE TWO SUPERPOWERS HEAD THE ENTIRE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM

The two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, exert hegemony over and head the whole of the imperialist system. Through the dominance, power and entanglement of finance capital, the power of capitalist monopolies, political interference, military aggression and domination, neo-colonialist and fascist regimes, through reactionary and aggressive pacts and organisations such as the EEC, COMECON, NATO, the Warsaw Pact etc., the reactionary bourgeoisie and ruling classes and their systems the world over are in a thousand and one ways tied hand and foot to the two superpowers.

Our Party states that the European Economic Community is a reactionary alliance and tool of the European monopoly capitalist classes and US imperialists, set up primarily on the basis of US finance capital, together with that of the European monopoly capitalists. It is a reactionary organisation for US imperialism and

the European capitalist monopolies to further intensify their exploitation of the working class of the European capitalist countries, increase their attempted suppression of the revolutionary movement of the European working class and people, further the subjugation and neo-colonial robbery of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, act as a base area to protect and further the interests of US imperialism, attempt to solve the inherent crisis in the capitalist economies, and further the contention against Soviet social-imperialism and its blocs such as COMECON. It is not and can never be an organisation which in the least way can work in the interest of the people.

As a result of the intensifying crisis and the developing revolutionary movement of the people, there is growing contention between the two superpowers. Whilst they collude to suppress revolution and rationalise the struggle between themselves in order to further their rivalry, the main feature is that the two superpowers are intensifying their contention as each strives to further its control over the world. This intensifying contention between the two superpowers is fast heading for war as they try to bring about re-division of the world in their scramble for markets, hegemony and control, to drown the people's revolutionary struggles in blood and to permanently gain the upper hand over each other. The two superpowers, with their plots, pressure, coups, armed intervention and suppression and the fanning up of any contradiction that exists in the world, represent together the greatest enemies of the world's people. In the words of Comrade Enver Hoxha:

"The two superpowers represent in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism, and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a third world war."

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Whilst the two superpowers head and dominate the imperialist system and bring great danger to the people, the other imperialist powers will never change their nature. The imperialist powers of Europe, Japan, etc., whilst tied to the two superpowers in many ways, still are themselves vicious imperialist forces in the world and are a constant source of exploitation and oppression of the working class and people in the capitalist heartlands and the people in the colonies and neo-colonies.

British imperialism, for instance, still plays a vast role in the

world and by various means is seeking to extend its sphere of influence and defend the massive profits it makes from the labour and resources of the people the world over. For centuries, Britain was the major colonial and then imperialist power in the world, and despite the severity of the crisis now hitting the British monopoly capitalist economy, and the sharp decline of British imperialism in relation to certain other imperialist powers, especially over the last thirty years, British imperialism's finance capital still penetrates the economies of numerous countries. It forcibly maintains a number of direct colonies throughout the world, and either dominates or jointly shares the spoils with other imperialist powers in large numbers of neo-colonies and other countries. For example, British imperialism is second only to US imperialism amongst the western imperialist powers in the export of finance capital. It is the second biggest contributor to and controller of the International Monetary Fund. In defending its interests, British imperialism is involved in many of the political and aggressive intrigues throughout the world. Whilst the US has enormous influence in Britain and the British monopoly capitalist class actively pursues and supports the policies of US imperialism, British imperialism is itself a major imperialist power. Using direct military occupation and fascist terror it maintains its 800 year old colonial rule in Ireland and, using neo-colonialism and the Irish monopoly capitalist class, it makes huge profits through plundering the labour and resources of the whole of the Irish people. In Zimbabwe, for example, British finance capital dominates the economy. Using a fascist dictatorship to murder and brutally suppress the people, British imperialism defends its economic and political interests in the country to the hilt. These are some examples of the murderous and aggressive policies of British imperialism in the world today.

The Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) has consistently exposed the murderous role of British imperialism, supported the struggle for national liberation and proletarian socialist revolution by the people in the colonies and neo-colonies of Britain and other imperialist powers and given concrete assistance to these struggles. Our Party, in leading and organising the British proletariat to seize state power from the British monopoly capitalist class in this country, has a specific responsibility to lead the British working class in taking an active stand against British and all other forms of imperialism, against all forms of great power chauvinism and in support of the struggles of the world's people. In line with Engels' statement that "a nation which oppresses another nation cannot itself be free", the Party upholds proletarian internationalism as the basis of unity of the proletariat in Britain and

the people in countries oppressed by all imperialism, particularly by British imperialism. It is the internationalist duty of the Party and the British working class to support the Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations and all genuinely anti-imperialist forces, and the heroic struggles of the world's people against imperialism, capitalism and all reaction, through propaganda, concrete assistance and by waging a tireless struggle against the British monopoly capitalist class.

This is of special importance in opposing the lines of the revisionists, such as the "three world" theorists, who are promoting national chauvinism with the revisionist theory that British imperialism has a "dual nature" and that, in the event of a world war, faced with the superior force of the Soviet social imperialists, the British working class should unite and form a broad alliance with its own bourgeoisie and other imperialist powers against the "main enemy". The British working class and the people oppressed by British imperialism can never enter into such an alliance; it would never be in the interests of the proletariat in this or any other country. It would instead be used to defend imperialism, and lead to the murder of countless workers and the further subjugation of the people.

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At the same time, US imperialism, and Soviet social-imperialism, are superpowers. Whilst the other imperialist ruling classes, such as the British monopoly capitalist class, have their own imperialist interests and have definite contradictions with the two superpowers, in comparison to the economic, military and political strength of the superpowers, the British and the other imperialist powers are relatively weak. British imperialism, for example, is in the clutches of US imperialism and acts as a faithful partner and lackey to it in its expansionist and superpower policies. For instance, when Carter came to the heads of state meeting of the western imperialist powers in London in 1977, total agreement was reached on all the major points of US imperialist policy. Callaghan then straight away afterwards took these agreements to the Commonwealth Conference and won total unity there. When Carter went on his Asian tour in 1977 to attempt to consolidate the dominance of US imperialism in the area and counter the influence of Soviet social-imperialism, Callaghan followed closely in his footsteps, going to the same countries and seeing the same representatives of the reactionary ruling classes. This was done from the stand-

point of giving backing and further weight to the schemes of US imperialism, and also to represent the interests of British imperialism. In this way British imperialism actively pursues the interests of US imperialism whilst also having its own particular imperialist interests to promote and develop.

US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are the greatest forces defending the whole exploitative system of imperialism. They directly and indirectly intervene and give assistance to other imperialist and capitalist-revisionist powers in the suppression of the revolutionary movement in their countries, through such methods as open armed intervention, aggressive military pacts, army and political "advisors", and the presence of CIA, KGB and other agents in industries, political and diplomatic circles and the trade unions, etc.

Our Party states clearly now and for the future that the primary and crucial way to fight and oppose the schemes and activities of the two superpowers is to fight and overthrow the British monopoly capitalist class. The Party totally opposes and repudiates the modern revisionist thesis that it is necessary for the working class to form alliances with its "own" bourgeoisie to oppose one or other of the two superpowers, raising such reactionary and social chauvinist slogans in a major imperialist country such as Britain of "liberating the country from US or Soviet control" and "fighting for the independence of Britain". At the same time the Party upholds that it is crucial to arm the working class against the superpower nature of US and Soviet social-imperialism, their barbarous activities throughout the world, the serious possibilities of their armed intervention and suppression of the revolutionary movement in any country, including here in Britain, and the grave danger that they are bringing to the world's people with their preparations for war.

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The two superpowers are heading for war. Their detente and disarmament schemes and talks are a fraud designed purely to hide their massive war preparations and arms build-ups and the grave danger that they are bringing to the world's people with their war schemes. Their economies are being increasingly geared to war; through their military pacts such as NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and the arming of reactionary regimes the world over, the two superpowers are preparing to unleash a new world war in order to bring about a further redivision of the world, put out the flames of revolution and attempt to solve the deepening crisis within their economies. This danger of a new world war comes primarily from both the superpowers as their contention and rivalry increases and

intensifies. Working hand in glove with the two superpowers are all the monopoly capitalist, revisionist and colonial and neo-colonial ruling classes the world over, who are all actively in one way or the other participating in these preparations and schemes for war.

It is a crucial necessity to expose and oppose these schemes and activities of the two superpowers and their forces, to organise the British working class and people to actively unite with the world's people in the struggle against imperialism and the two superpowers and the growing threat of world war that they are bringing to mankind. In opposing the war preparations of the two superpowers, it is of utmost importance to oppose the opportunists and bourgeois parties who are stating that the danger of a world war is coming from only one of the two superpowers, and who are calling upon the people to unite with one or other of the two superpowers and with their "own" bourgeoisie to form a "broad united front" to "stop" the war and defend the "national interest". The bourgeoisie and opportunists are attempting to use the danger of a world war to blackmail and threaten the people into giving up their revolutionary struggles and capitulating to imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The Marxist-Leninist forces must also be vigilant against the line of complacency over the danger of a world war which sections of the opportunists and bourgeoisie try to spread. The Party must prepare the working class and people for the real danger that exists of a new world war, so that they do not get caught unawares or unprepared. In the face of the growing danger of war, and in opposing these schemes of the imperialists, the task of our Party along with Marxist-Leninists throughout the world is to lead the working class and people to intensify their revolutionary struggles against the imperialists and, with the working and oppressed people all over the world, to actively fight the aggressive schemes, pacts and activities of the two superpowers and their forces. If a world war cannot be prevented and it actually breaks out, then the path for the proletariat is to turn this to its advantage. War sharpens contradictions, leads to greater political and economic crisis, and the proletariat must take advantage of this - not to "conciliate" the crisis and form alliances to "defend the country" but to give the call to turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war leading to the overthrow of the capitalist system. The only path for the world's people is proletarian socialist revolution.

The danger of war can only be finally defeated with the overthrow of the entire imperialist system. As an integral part of this struggle, the Party must prepare and arm the working class on all fronts

against the real danger that exists of a new imperialist war.

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#### THE REVISIONISTS OF ALL HUES SERVE ONLY IMPERIALISM AND THE BOURGEOISIE

Besides the repression of the bourgeoisie and imperialist aggression, the main force which is trying to hold back the proletariat from carrying out its historic mission is revisionism of all hues, especially modern revisionism. Modern revisionism, using the guise of Marxism-Leninism, preaches class compromise, unity with the bourgeoisie, giving up class struggle, and the peaceful road to "socialism". Modern revisionism, especially Khrushchovite revisionism and other brands, Titoite revisionism, Eurocommunism and "three worlds" revisionism, have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, attempted to liquidate the proletarian headquarters, betrayed the cause of the proletariat and joined the camp of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. When the Khrushchov clique usurped power in the Soviet Union, internationally they preached "peaceful coexistence" with US imperialism. This had nothing to do with Lenin's thesis on peaceful coexistence between nations of different social systems but was preaching class compromise in order that the US and USSR could "together become a force for progress in the world". This was straight revisionist propaganda, firstly, to cover up the revisionist leaders' capitulation to and collaboration with US imperialism and their destruction of the great socialist state, and later for the development of the Soviet Union as a social-imperialist power.

Upon usurping power in the Soviet Union, the Khrushchovite revisionists betrayed and liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, restored capitalism throughout the economy, with state monopoly capitalism headed by themselves embracing the whole of the economy, and turned the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Stalin into a revisionist party. Since that date the Soviet Union has been steered by the Khrushchovite revisionists on the course of being one of the two greatest imperialist powers the world has ever seen. Internally the party has been changed into a party of social fascism and capitalist roaders. The Soviet people are exploited and oppressed by the top bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the same way as the proletariat of the western capitalist powers; they live under a social-fascist dictatorship, as vicious and repressive as the bourgeois dictatorships in the west. A vast percentage of the Soviet economy is now, and has been for some time past, put into the development of arms. This and other outright capitalist policies

of the Khrushchovite revisionists have resulted in the all-round impoverishment of the Soviet people and have greatly sharpened the contradictions between the Soviet working class and the revisionist rulers.

The Soviet bloc of Eastern Europe is held together by fascist repression and the dominance of Soviet finance capital under the guise of "aid" and "trade" in each of the satellite economies. The Soviet social-imperialists parasitise and bleed the economies of all their satellites whilst at the same time sharing a common capitalist interest with the revisionist rulers in each of these countries. They practise social fascism at home whilst being a vast imperialist power abroad. By their export of finance capital they have made inroads into many of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Adopting the same tactics as US imperialism, except that they have worked under the signboard of "socialism", the Soviet social imperialists have a foothold in numerous countries and are vying and contending with the US for new spheres of influence and seeking to re-carve the world, to plunder and exploit the labour and resources of the world's people, to exert political, economic and military hegemony over the whole world. In the same way as the US, the Soviet social-imperialists have their economic and military base in the economic organisation of COMECON and the military alliance of the Warsaw Pact. These are base areas for the Soviet social-imperialists to launch their imperialist designs on the people of the world.

Under the signboard of Marxism-Leninism and using the tremendous prestige of the once great socialist state of the Soviet Union, the Khrushchovite revisionists attempted to force and push their modern revisionism throughout the International Communist Movement. For example, they promoted as a "development" of Marxism-Leninism that it was possible to establish "socialism" without fighting the bourgeoisie. The revisionist thesis of the "peaceful road to 'socialism'", "'socialism' through the ballot box", compromising with the bourgeoisie and imperialism and so on, promoted by the Soviet revisionist leaders, became a base and rallying ground for revisionists all over the world to either cap or bring about the transformation of communist parties into revisionist parties and betray Marxism-Leninism and the working class and people in their countries. Khrushchovite revisionism became the main ally of the bourgeoisie inside the international working class movement in its attempts to subvert the revolution and the Marxist-Leninist headquarters of the proletariat. In the national liberation movement, Khrushchovite revisionism again did its utmost to liquidate the people's struggles. Promoting their thesis that "a single

spark can start a nuclear holocaust", these revisionists attempted to threaten and blackmail the people into giving up their armed struggle under the hoax that it would lead to a nuclear war. They called on the people to put their faith instead in the bourgeoisie and imperialists for their "liberation". They became apologists for neo-colonialism, promoted the "progressive nature of US imperialism and other imperialist powers in the present era", and called for greater "aid" from these forces to enable the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to become so-called "economically stable and independent". Furthermore, in the 1960s, this thesis was also seen as nothing but a justification for the development and penetration of Soviet social-imperialism on a world scale.

Whilst Khrushchovite revisionism crystallises the theories and practices of modern revisionism, other forms such as Titoite revisionism and Eurocommunism have to be exposed and fought against.

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The Titoite variety of modern revisionism came forward following the Second World War to attack Marxism-Leninism and further the aims of imperialism and reaction. The Titoites sold out Yugoslavia to imperialism, especially to US imperialism, in return for credits, pursuing the all-round development of capitalism internally. They viciously attacked the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and put forward the counter-revolutionary theory of "non-alignment", while under the hoax of neither being aligned to the Soviet Union nor to the United States, they equated imperialism and socialism and followed in practice the road of alliance with imperialism against socialism. Inside Yugoslavia, the Titoite clique, using its so-called "self administrative socialism", has attacked and completely gone against all of the basic principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of a socialist economy and society. They have built and promoted a bourgeois economy, bourgeois values and practices in all fields (not dissimilar to the bourgeois "socialism" of the British Labour Party), and carry out continual and vicious attacks on the working class and people of Yugoslavia.

The Titoite clique was denounced by the International Communist Movement under the leadership of Stalin and again by meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960. The theories of Tito have formed part of the basis both of Khrushchovite revisionism and, more recently, of the "three worlds" theoreticians; consequently, the rehabilitation of Tito has always been one of the first objects of the various cliques of modern revisionists.

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"Eurocommunism" is another variant of modern revisionism, the one adopted by the revisionist parties of France, Italy and Spain (a trend to which the revisionists of the "Communist" Party of Great Britain also find themselves greatly attracted). The "Eurocommunists", in pursuit of a stake in the spoils accruing from a place in the bourgeois state and bourgeois governments, have hastened to reassure their respective bourgeoisies by openly renouncing the Marxist thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have openly allied themselves with the most reactionary elements of the ruling circles, such as the Spanish monarcho-fascists, the Italian Christian Democrats, the Vatican, etc. Identifying themselves still more openly than before with the global aims of their own bourgeoisies, they have embraced the EEC and NATO, the instruments of the western imperialist bloc headed by US imperialism in its contention with the other imperialist bloc headed by Soviet social-imperialism. In this and other respects, the "Eurocommunists" are close to the theoreticians of "three worlds". Like them also their theories are a pot-pourri of all the opportunist and social democratic theories put forward by Bernstein, Kautsky, Tito, Khrushchov, etc. Although they "criticise" the Soviet modern revisionists and come more openly into collision with them with the sharpening of the contradictions between the two rival imperialist blocs, their theories merely represent the carrying to their logical conclusion of the theories of Khrushchov himself. "Eurocommunism" represents the open espousal of social democracy by these modern revisionists, a further step in the decay of modern revisionism.

Revisionism leads the working class to total subjugation under capitalism; taking revolution off the agenda, it directs the people to complete subservience to their own bourgeoisie and imperialism. It is absolutely necessary to wage a most ferocious struggle against revisionism. As Lenin pointed out, "the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism".

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Today we see the rise of a new revisionist theory termed the theory of "three worlds". Its headquarters is in the new revisionist leadership in China. These revisionists are carrying out all-round development of capitalism in all areas inside China, politically, economically and culturally. This theory is a resurrection of Khrushchovite and Titoite revisionism. At the heart of the "three worlds" theory is an attempt to lead the working class away from

the path of socialist revolution. The "three world" theoreticians say that they "agree with socialist revolution" but because of the "complicated situation and the changed circumstances", the struggle of the world's people has "changed" to being merely against the "hegemony of the two superpowers". Every single aspect of the theory a) distorts the nature of the bourgeoisie and the imperialist forces, saying that they have a "dual nature" and can become progressive, and b) takes the people on another path, away from revolution and national liberation.

The theory of "three worlds" shows this in a number of ways:

1. The "three world" theorists totally negate the fundamental contradiction, that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the so-called "second world" they say there is not a revolutionary situation and that the proletariat should unite with the bourgeoisie and struggle for "national independence" and "defence of the fatherland". In this context they support the reactionary EEC as a "progressive and independent alliance of European countries" against the two superpowers. In the so-called "third world" the new revisionists are also attempting to deny the antagonistic contradiction between labour and capital. They deny the decisive leadership of the working class in the national liberation struggles, that ensures that the struggle is not compromised at any stage but led through to victory. They deny the Leninist thesis that since the Great October Revolution the movement for national liberation has become part of the movement for proletarian socialist revolution, part of the worldwide movement against imperialism, and no longer a narrow, bourgeois and reformist movement. They deny that in the colonies and neo-colonies national liberation is the first item on the agenda for the proletariat and that its struggle is for total emancipation, leading the struggle for national liberation through to the proletarian socialist revolution and the overthrow of all forms of imperialism, capitalism and reaction and the establishment of socialism.

The "three world" theoreticians and their followers, as an example of their open revisionism, state categorically that there is "no revolutionary situation" in any "second world" country and that in the so-called "third world" it would be "leftist" to even raise the issue of socialist revolution. In other words, they completely cut off socialist revolution from the agenda anywhere in the world.

2. The "three worlds" theorists deliberately ignore the existence of the socialist camp, putting socialist countries on a par with colonial and neo-colonial regimes. For example, they equate socialist Albania with the fascist regimes in Chile and Iran. In this way,

the "three world" theorists go against fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle on the contradiction between socialism and imperialism. In doing so they are attempting to write the socialist camp out of existence, and to undermine and weaken the tasks of the working people in the socialist countries, led by their Marxist-Leninist parties, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism. They are attempting to undermine the tremendous achievements made by the people and their vanguard parties, promoting, for instance, that the years of sacrifice made by the Albanian people have been merely to establish a "third world" country. By denying the existence of the socialist countries, the "three worlds" theory also attempts to destroy the important base areas that the socialist camp provides for the world's people, with their proletarian internationalist moral and material assistance to the revolutionary movements and national liberation struggles.

By placing socialist countries in the "third world", and thus denying the whole role of socialist countries in the revolutionary movement of the world's people, the Chinese revisionists are trying to take away the lessons, perspectives, model and inspiration that the socialist camp provides for the world's people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism. It is a serious attempt to undermine and liquidate the International Communist Movement and the cause and achievements of the international proletariat.

3. This "theory" promotes the so-called "third world" or "underdeveloped countries" as forces for "revolution", to the extent of labelling them the "main force". It asserts that most of these countries have won "political independence" and that the key issue is to win "economic independence", that the main impetus of the people's struggle should be to this end. Teng Hsiao-ping, one of the main propagandists for the theory of the "three worlds", said in his speech to the UN General Assembly in 1974: "The numerous developing countries have long suffered from colonialist and imperialist oppression and exploitation. They have won political independence, yet all of them still face the historic task of clearing out the remnant forces of colonialism, developing the national economy and consolidating national independence . . . . . They constitute a revolutionary motive force propelling the wheel of world history and are the main force combatting colonialism, imperialism and particularly the superpowers". He goes on to say, "It is not the one or two superpowers that are really powerful, the really powerful are the Third World and the people of all countries uniting together and daring to fight and daring to win. Since numerous Third World countries and people were able to achieve political

independence through protracted struggle, certainly they will also be able, on this basis, to bring about through sustained struggle, a thorough change in the international economic relations, which are based on inequality, control and exploitation and thus create essential conditions for the independent development of their national economy by strengthening their unity and allying themselves with other countries subjected to superpower bullying."

This statement exposes the revisionist nature of the "three worlds" theory. The main point of neo-colonialism is precisely that the colonialist and imperialist powers maintain both economic and political control. It is sheer nonsense to suggest that an oppressed nation can be economically dependent on imperialism and not politically dependent, and vice versa. What the "three world" theorists are labelling "politically independent" is precisely the imperialist "trick" of neo-colonialism.

It is not "protracted" struggle on the economic front, nor "economic alliances" between "countries" that is going to liberate the world's people from the yoke of imperialism, but national liberation and proletarian socialist revolution. The "three worlds" theory is a formula to take revolution and national liberation off the agenda for the people in the colonies and neo-colonies, and presents a classless theory which accepts neo-colonialism and completely leads the people off into reformism, revisionism and capitulation to the imperialist powers and their local agents. It also prepares the ground for the revisionist clique in China to develop China as an imperialist power under the guise of being one with the underdeveloped countries and the non-aligned "third world", and willing to form economic ties and build a "new economic order" with these "countries" and "assist" them in developing their economies and "opposing" the hegemony of the two superpowers. This is in total contradiction to the stand of proletarian internationalism and is preparing conditions for China, under the domination of the revisionist clique, to emerge on the stage of history as a new imperialist power. In the same way, the Khrushchovite revisionists prepared the ground internationally for the emergence of the Soviet Union as an imperialist power after the death of Stalin and the restoration of capitalism.

The "three worlds" theory negates the role of and is an apology for neo-colonialism. It totally goes against Marxist-Leninist principle, such as Lenin stressed when he stated "the need constantly to explain and expose amongst the broadest working masses of all countries the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers which, under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them economically,

financially and militarily."

The "three worlds" theory negates the fact that the majority of these regimes in the so-called "third world" are ruled by forces that are a) themselves vicious exploiters of the people, anti-democratic, anti-communist and reactionary, b) completely linked and tied to imperialism, particularly with one or other of the superpowers. They are certainly no force against imperialism. Instead, the "three world" theorists promote, for example, fascist dictators like the Shah of Iran as "progressive" and "revolutionary", neo-colonial regimes as "anti-colonial", and the big comprador bourgeoisie as a "progressive national bourgeoisie". In place of fighting these hated enemies of the people and agents and lackeys of imperialism - one of the conditions shown by history to be necessary for national liberation to be victorious - the "three world" theorists call for the building of a "broad united front" with these very forces of reaction in order to, allegedly, "oppose the superpowers". This means that they are calling upon the people to hand over the leadership of their liberation struggles to pro-imperialist and reactionary forces, the only result being the liquidation of national liberation and the further subjugation of the people by imperialism, capitalism and reaction.

4. The "three world" theorists negate the contradiction between the oppressed people and imperialism and say instead that the only contradiction is between the "first" and the "third" worlds, between the superpowers and the underdeveloped countries. This a) ignores the robbery and plunder carried out by the imperialist powers of Europe, Japan, etc. and promotes the Khrushchovite thesis that imperialism can have a "dual nature", one aspect being "progressive" and capable of being "used in the people's interests", b) calls upon the people to lay down their arms and give up their struggle against these imperialist forces and instead actually make an alliance with them, and c) prettifies the exploitation of these imperialist powers. For instance, when these imperialist powers meet various neo-colonial leaders to discuss how to further plunder and exploit the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the "three world" theorists call this "useful dialogue between the second world and third world". As a result the "three worlds" theory justifies, props up and furthers the neo-colonialism of the so-called "second world" imperialist forces.

5. The "three world" theoreticians promote the revisionist concept that contradictions within the imperialist camp can be transformed into contradictions between imperialism and the people, and that various imperialist forces can be put into the camp of the people. So, for instance, when Sadat of Egypt opposes Soviet social-

imperialism in the Middle East, according to the "three worlds" theory this makes Sadat a revolutionary and in the camp of the people. It completely negates that Sadat only makes such a stand in order to further the interests of a) his now most favourite superpower, US imperialism, and b) his own ruling class's interest. Likewise, when the imperialist countries of Europe have some contradiction with US imperialism on dividing up the spoils of their robbery of the people, according to the revisionist "three worlds" theory this puts these imperialist forces with the oppressed people all over the world, and means that they can play a "progressive role" and can and should be united with.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us to utilise contradictions amongst the enemy in order to advance the revolution, but this can never mean spreading confusion on the nature of imperialism, diverting the people from the path of revolution and capitulating and compromising with imperialism and the bourgeoisie.

6. The "three world" revisionists have now gone to the extent of dividing up even the two superpowers, and labelling the Soviet social imperialists as the "main enemy". Their "proof" for this revisionist thesis is that "US imperialism is declining" and so they completely negate the Leninist theses that all imperialism by its very nature is in decline, parasitical and decaying. They deny the facts the world over that US imperialism, whilst suffering defeats for instance in Indo-China, has become no less aggressive and ferocious and throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe is stepping up its schemes, aggression, plots and intrigues to maintain control over areas under its domination and gain new areas of influence and control. US imperialism will never cease to be a superpower until it is overthrown and defeated.

The theory that the Soviet Union "is the main enemy" serves only the interests of US imperialism and does nothing but serious harm to the revolutionary struggles of the people. It attempts to disarm the world's people as to the superpower nature of US imperialism, and creates the conditions for US intervention under the guise of "fighting" Soviet social-imperialism. In just the same way as the modern revisionists in each country call upon the people to use Soviet social imperialism to "fight" US imperialism, the Chinese revisionists are preaching unity and alliance with the other greatest enemy of the people. So the "three world" advocates call for a "broad united front" of all forces against this "main enemy" and attempt to lead the working and oppressed people along the path of capitulation and further subjugation to imperialism, in particular US imperialism, preaching the strengthening of NATO, the reactionary regimes of US imperialism etc. and lauding US presence

in Europe, Africa and so on.

The "three world" theorists are peddling a revisionist theory. It stands in total and antagonistic contradiction to Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that there are four major contradictions in the world today: the contradiction between labour and capital; the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples; the contradiction between socialism and capitalism; and the contradiction between the imperialist powers and various financial groups themselves. The "three world" theoreticians either completely deny, or they distort every single one of these major contradictions. Their theory and practice serves only the enemies of the people, revolution and socialism. It serves to strengthen US imperialism and its war preparations, strengthen the imperialist powers of Europe, Japan etc., strengthen neo-colonialism and reactionary regimes throughout the world, undermine and liquidate all revolutionary struggles of the people, and prepare the conditions for the emergence of China as a new super-power. Under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism they are promoting outright social chauvinism and calling upon the working and oppressed people to act as cannon fodder for the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie to further their imperialist aims, under the guise of "defending the national interests".

ate the Marxist-Leninist centres the world over. They have launched a ferocious attack on the People's Socialist Republic of Albania with their cessation of aid and other attacks. They have done their utmost to split Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations in numerous countries, and they have gone all out to finance, promote and organise revisionist groupings in many countries to peddle their revisionist and counter-revolutionary strategy. A life and death struggle must be waged to defeat this latest revisionist theory being promoted in the international working class movement. The path for the working class in Britain is the same path as for the working and oppressed people of the whole world: proletarian socialist revolution. By carrying out this task under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party and actively upholding proletarian internationalism, the British working class will play its part in the class struggle of workers of all countries against the entire imperialist system.

## The Present Situation in Britain

The present situation in Britain is that the British monopoly capitalist class is in the throes of a serious all-round crisis, a crisis that is hitting every aspect and corner of its exploitative system, a crisis of the economic system, a crisis of politics, culture and ideology, a spiritual crisis, a "credibility" crisis. This crisis is hitting the entire imperialist world. In Britain it is compounded by the sharp decline of British imperialism since World War II. The crisis has weakened the entire monopoly capitalist system and shows the concrete correctness of Comrade Lenin's statement that it is "the parasitism and decay of capitalism which are characteristic of its highest historical stage of development, i. e., imperialism".

At the same time, this does not mean that the British monopoly capitalists can or will ever change their exploitative, oppressive and murderous nature. In fact quite the opposite is the case and, as the crisis has intensified, in order to maintain their massive rate of profit and their system, the monopoly capitalist class has become even more aggressive, more vicious and warmongering. At home they are doing their utmost to unload their economic crisis onto the backs of the working class and people. Daily the people are suffering the lowering of living standards, constant raising of prices, lowering of wages, massive unemployment, cuts in welfare, social and medical services, greatly stepped up exploitation at the place of work, growing health and safety risks as a result of this, and so on. Any attempt by the monopoly capitalist class to "solve" the crisis only paves the way for a deeper crisis a short period after, as for instance even the bourgeois economists are admitting is about to occur in the next few years. Furthermore, in order to force the people to bear the brunt of the crisis, attempt to crush their resistance to this and forcibly attempt to destroy the seeds of revolution, the bourgeoisie are fast developing fascism. This is reflected not only by the growth and promotion of the fascist gangs, but by the overall fascisation of the state which is occurring. As part of these attempts to resolve the overproduction crisis, and,

most importantly, to escalate, along with other imperialist powers and social imperialism, their contention for greater spheres of influence and markets, and to prepare to drown the peoples' revolutions in blood, the British bourgeoisie is carrying out increasing militarisation of the economy and preparations for war. Abroad, British imperialism has stepped up all of its aggressive and deceptive schemes to crush the peoples' liberation struggles and cling onto its colonial and neo-colonial "possessions". Its barbaric aggressive activities against the people in Ireland and its schemes and manoeuvres in Zimbabwe are just two of the many examples illustrating this fact.

The Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties and the Hitlerite National Front are all parties of the bourgeoisie and, in slightly differing forms, are all engaged in the process of unloading the capitalist crisis onto the people, developing fascism and war and trying by all means to suppress the inevitable revolution.

The state is not above classes, as the opportunists promote, but is the instrument by which the monopoly capitalist class suppresses the working class and maintains its rule. The bourgeois parties are merely vying with one another to become the executive of the monopoly capitalist class and run the daily affairs of the state through the government. The Conservative and Liberal Parties are old and open spokesmen for the monopoly capitalist class and its system. The Labour Party attempts to mask its anti-working class and capitalist and imperialist policies with demagogic references to the "democratic" way of achieving "socialism", to its being a Party of "labour" and the "working class". It claims to be "representing" the working class, whereas the actual state of affairs is that it is making deals with the labour aristocrats, highly paid and bought off leaders in the working class movement, to further attack the working class, with the sole aim of increasing the exploitation and political repression of the workers. Through this demagoguery it tries to disarm the working class, liquidate or greatly limit its struggles, divert it from the path of revolution, calling upon it instead to put faith and trust in this Party of "labour" to achieve "socialism". Once in government, whether with a small or large majority, it carries out essentially the same vicious economic attacks and racist and fascist attacks on the working class and people.

In carrying out its role the monopoly capitalist Labour Party is assisted by the so-called "Labour left". Under the hoax of allegedly "opposing" certain policies of the Labour government and pushing the Labour Party to the "left", they preach faith in social democracy and the impossibility of any other road than voting the Labour Party to power forever. In practice, despite their croc-

odile tears and "opposition", they support the Labour government in all its anti-working class and imperialist policies. Along with the modern revisionists and trotskyites, the Labour "left", in fact, continually attempt to prop up the Labour Party, attempt to maintain its influence in the working class movement by creating illusions that it can be "moved to the left" and that "socialism" can be won in this way.

The bourgeoisie and its government also utilise the trade unions, which are openly manipulated and controlled by the labour aristocrats and the Labour Party, to carry out attacks on the working class. Under the guise of being "independent working class defence organisations", they join with the government of the day not only in trying to liquidate and mislead every single struggle of the workers, but participate with the government in introducing laws and schemes to make the working class pay for the crisis, such as its "social contract".

#### THE OPPORTUNISTS OF ALL HUES WORK HAND IN GLOVE WITH THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS

Working hand in glove with the monopoly capitalists are the opportunists of all hues, in particular the modern revisionists. In the early 1950s, the modern revisionists usurped power in the then party of the proletariat which had led the revolutionary struggles of the working class since its formation in 1920 - the Communist Party of Great Britain. In 1952 the revisionists launched their "British Road to Socialism"; this programme represented an open betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and the interests of the working class. They liquidated the proletarian party and converted it into a bourgeois party of reform and a "left-wing" prop of the Labour Party, promoting and justifying the latter in the working class movement. They revised and distorted every single principle of Marxism-Leninism and in its place promoted in the working class open social democratic ideas. For example, they replaced the Marxist-Leninist theory of the necessity of the overthrow of the bourgeois state machine by the modern revisionist thesis of the "peaceful and parliamentary road to socialism", saying that "socialist revolution can be carried through . . . . without civil war, by a combination of mass struggles outside Parliament, and the election of a parliamentary majority and government determined to implement a socialist programme". They abandoned the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the path of the October Revolution, saying that "Britain's road to socialism will be differ-

ent from the Soviet road." They openly preached social democracy and faith in the monopoly capitalist Labour Party, which they describe as "the mass party of the working class", calling for "a Labour government which will carry out a left policy". They denied the Marxist thesis of the need for the proletariat to smash the bourgeois state machine, treacherously saying that "the nature of the British constitution, under which Parliament has supreme authority, gives a left government the democratic right and the means... to carry through drastic and necessary reforms in the state apparatus..." They openly supported imperialism and neo-colonialism. In Ireland, for example, they openly promoted neo-colonialism in an attempt to oppose the national struggle of the Irish people, saying that the troops should be only "withdrawn to the barracks" and that the British government should implement a "bill of rights". Their programme never once opposed neo-colonialism, and instead called for the stepping up of the neo-colonialist "aid to the third world countries" whereby British imperialism plunders the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In every single struggle of the workers the modern revisionists promoted class compromise, conciliation and peace with the bourgeoisie and called upon the workers to give up their struggles or at the "best" to limit them so as not to "cause too much trouble" and so harm the profits and power of the capitalists. Today, many of the modern revisionist chieftains have found themselves niches in the labour aristocracy, in the House of Lords, in the bourgeoisie itself.

Their programme consists of giving advice to the bourgeoisie as to how best to run its exploitative system, in particular, to implement its brand of state monopoly capitalism. These modern revisionists are nothing but agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement, preaching faith in the Labour Party, faith in the fraud of bourgeois democracy, and faith in the bourgeoisie itself. Furthermore, they are the chief spokesmen and agents of Soviet social imperialism in the country, prettifying and justifying its superpower aggression throughout the world and the need for it to "assist much more in Britain".

In the face of the growing attacks on the working class by the bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists are blatantly trying to lead the working class down the path of social democracy, reformism and subjugation to capitalism, seriously trying to disarm the workers organisationally, politically and ideologically in their growing battles against the monopoly capitalists.

The revisionist party has become the fifth column of the British bourgeoisie and Soviet social imperialists in the working class

movement to oppose the working class and revolution in every way possible.

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In the middle and late 1960s, faced with the rising struggles of the workers, youth and students and the increasing isolation and discrediting of the revisionist party, the bourgeoisie, whilst not giving up their support and backing for the modern revisionists, also needed to promote a new and more "revolutionary" sounding revisionist trend in the working class in order to liquidate its struggles and spread maximum ideological confusion. So in this period the bourgeoisie began to resurrect trotskyism, a political trend that had long been discredited in the international working class movement. By the 1930s, Trotskyism had been exposed as openly opposed to Marxism-Leninism, a proven enemy of socialism which had degenerated to such an extent that the trotskyite leaders were straightforward agents and saboteurs for the bourgeoisie and the imperialists in the revolutionary movement, as exemplified by their treasonous activities in the Soviet Union and elsewhere on behalf of the German nazis. The trotskyite movement and political line is a trend promoted and organised by the bourgeoisie. It owes its very existence to the bourgeoisie's financing and promotion of the trotskyite organisations and line at a time when the liquidation of the Communist Party by the revisionists allowed the bourgeoisie free rein to pour every kind of bourgeois and opportunist ideology into the working class movement.

Following the revolutionary upsurge of the youth and students in the late 60's and the birth and development of the Marxist-Leninist centre - the Internationalists - trotskyism was greatly promoted by the bourgeoisie, precisely in order to oppose the Marxist-Leninist centre and liquidate the revolutionary upsurge. The trotskyites claim to be militant and "left", a lie that is always backed to the hilt by the bourgeoisie's propaganda, as has been seen in the anti-fascist struggle where the bourgeois press has done constant, massive propaganda for the "leadership" of the trotskyite organisations, whilst the Marxist-Leninists have been rarely mentioned. The bourgeoisie's aim in doing this propaganda is to give the trotskyite organisations some credence and support amongst the people. Once in this position, the activities of the trotskyites are to attempt to split, liquidate and subvert the revolutionary struggles and movements of the people, and, on every single issue, to promote exactly the same basic line as the modern revisionists. Thus the trotskyites promote the doctrine of "moving the Labour Party to the left", either from within or without. They negate the

dictatorship of the proletariat and equate socialism with state monopoly capitalism with their slogan of "nationalisation without compensation under workers' control". They keep the workers' struggles confined to narrow trade unionism, and promote the line of "peaceful opposition" to racism and fascism. In all aspects the politics peddled by the trotskyites is simply a "left", "militant" variant of revisionism.

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As well as the bourgeois parties, the revisionists and trotskyites, there stand opposed to the working class also the neo-revisionists. Under the hoax of "upholding" Marxism-Leninism and "opposing" Khrushchevite revisionism (and even in some cases the "three worlds" theory), these forces promote the same basic revisionist line for the British revolution, including: the confining of the workers' struggles to economism; peaceful and in some cases no opposition to fascism and racism; maintaining the leadership of the workers' movement in the hands of the labour aristocrats; opposition to actually building a Marxist-Leninist Bolshevik party; by one means or the other, promoting the revisionist and chauvinist programme of "fighting for" the "independence" of Britain; opposition under various guises to actually taking Marxism-Leninism to the working class and people and arming them with it; etc.

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In short, all these forces, combined with various other brands of opportunism, are enemies of the working class, standing against the revolution and the struggles of the working class. In Britain, as a result of the long-standing traditions of bourgeois rule, the working class movement is still considerably under the influence of these revisionist and social-democratic parties and the various mass organisations manipulated by them. Lenin on many occasions spoke of the power of the British labour movement and of how the bourgeoisie are forced to use much deception in attempting to restrain it. Hence the exposure and repudiation of these revisionist lines in the working class movement, and the winning of the working people away from their poisonous influence, are of crucial and decisive importance in the work of our Party in order to advance the cause of the working class and the revolution.

#### THE WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE ESCALATE THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

In response to all the attacks being launched by the monopoly capitalist class, its parties and institutions, the working class and

other sections of the people have greatly escalated their struggles against monopoly capitalism. Many militant struggles have broken out in the factories and places of work against the attempts to unload the crisis onto the workers; all sections have come into struggle including the unemployed, women, national minorities, students, etc. Large numbers of working people have taken up the fight against the developing racism and fascism. The youth and students have continued to wage and escalate their militant struggles. In the educational institutions, for instance, large numbers of students have engaged in many forms of action against such things as the cuts, racist and fascist ideologues and the whole decadent educational system. In the anti-fascist struggle the youth have played a significant and forefront role. Many other wide sections of the people have come out in recent years to wage increasing struggles against the attempts by the monopoly capitalists to unload their crisis onto all sections of the people. The Labour Party has become increasingly discredited and exposed in the eyes of large sections of the working class, whilst the labour aristocrats have come under increasing attack and opposition. More and more working people are seeing, in deeds at least, the treachery and betrayal of the modern revisionists of the so-called "Communist" Party of Great Britain, the trotskyites and various other opportunist trends. The working class and oppressed people are becoming acutely aware that the system is bankrupt and that a fundamental change is necessary. Their struggles are increasingly taking on a political nature, with their interest in the politics of revolution becoming daily stronger. These struggles and the growing consciousness of the working class and people reflect nothing but their revolutionary aspirations and sentiments. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party, following the Marxist-Leninist political line, these aspirations and sentiments cannot but be turned into a conscious revolutionary movement of the entire working class with all oppressed and progressive elements rallied around it, aimed against British monopoly capitalism, and with the mission of bringing about its complete and total overthrow and destruction.

## The Decisive Role of the (Marxist- Leninist) Party in the Revolutionary Movement

If there is to be a revolution in any country, then there must be a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. Such a party, tempered and steeled in the class struggle, built on a professional Bolshevik basis, having strong links, roots and support among the masses of the people, and always adhering to Marxism-Leninism, is the only force capable of leading the working class through to victory. Without such a party, embodying the advanced experience of the working class throughout the world, it is impossible for the proletariat to steer itself through all of the complex situations and struggles, withstand all of the attacks of the bourgeoisie and opportunists, successfully seize state power and furthermore maintain and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat once the capitalist system is overthrown. As Comrade Stalin pointed out: "No army at war can dispense with an experienced General Staff if it does not want to be doomed to defeat. Is it not clear that the proletariat can still less dispense with such a General Staff if it does not want itself to be devoured by its mortal enemies? But what is this General Staff? Only the revolutionary party of the proletariat can serve as this General Staff."

Because of the history of the working class movement and, in particular, the entire line of the trade union aristocrats and sham "socialists" that "the trade unions are all the workers need", it is crucial that this decisive question be kept to the fore in all of the Party's work. If the Marxist-Leninist Party is not constantly built and tempered, if its influence among the working class and people is not constantly expanded, if it does not strive to give "the spontaneous movement a politically conscious, planned character", if it does not strive to unite and lead the people in their struggles against capital, or if its role and line are not continually kept to the fore, then the conditions will never be created to defeat the attempts of the bourgeoisie and all of its "left" opportunist elements to mislead the workers away from revolution into reformism and subservience to capitalism. The Party, in providing such leadership, is not merely a co-ordinator, it is the general staff, leading all of the revolutionary work in the country.

The Party is not a "consulting organisation" that is visited from time to time to seek advice, provide papers or check on work. This is a

seriously erroneous line which can only lead to a situation where: a) the party becomes a group of "individual militants", who follow parts of the party's line, but who are not fully and firmly united around the single Marxist-Leninist line and organisation, without which there is no possibility of the party exercising systematic and organised leadership of the entire working class; b) the leading and advanced role and line of the Party, the work of constantly building and tempering the Party, etc., are kept out of the revolutionary mass movements and the work of the Party's cadres is reduced to making the spontaneous struggles of the workers "more militant" and "better organised", not giving "the spontaneous movement a politically conscious, planned character", as Comrade Stalin said, "but belittling the role of the conscious element in the movement". This issue is one of the utmost importance, because any undermining of the decisive role and nature of the Marxist-Leninist party and its cadres, any undermining or downplaying of the role of the "conscious element" in the working class movement, only opens up the way for the strengthening of the influence of the bourgeoisie amongst the working class and people. As Comrade Lenin stated in "What is to be Done?":

"All belittling of the role of the 'conscious element', of the role of Social Democracy, means, quite independently of whether he who belittles that role desires it or not, a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers". "... The spontaneous development of the working class movement leads to its subordination to bourgeois ideology . . . the spontaneous working class movement is trade unionism . . . and trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie. Hence our task, the task of Social Democracy, 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."

It is an imperative question that the leading role of and crucial necessity for a Communist Party, the task of continually building the Party, are constantly explained to the people, explaining that such a Party exists and carrying out constant positive propaganda upholding the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist), its line, programme and history among the people.

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The task of building and strengthening the Party has to be carried out at all times. There can never be a situation when the task of building the Party is over or becomes secondary. The Party has to develop specific and concrete internal programmes to constantly educate and consolidate the cadres in Marxism-Leninism, in the Party's line and history, in the

strategy and tactics of the revolution, etc., in order to train them as uncompromising, staunch vanguard fighters of the proletariat.

The building of the Marxist-Leninist Party, and the unity of advanced elements of the working class around its line, can only be developed in the course of participating in and stage by stage striving to lead the mass struggles of the people against the enemy, in the course of organising and preparing the people for revolution. It is only by participating in such work and struggles that the Party and its cadres are tempered and steeled in revolutionary struggles, that the Party is expanded on the basis of the advanced elements from the centre of these struggles of the people, and that the mass movements are provided stage by stage with the necessary Marxist-Leninist leadership and line. The Party would cease to be a Communist Party if it divorced itself from the masses of workers, if it did not strive to lead them in struggle. It would convert the Party into an organisation of wind-bags and sectarian cliques, uniting only with similar elements who have no basic interest to engage in revolution, whilst leaving the mass movements under the sway and domination of the bourgeoisie and opportunists.

The two basic tasks of the Party, a) building the Party, and b) arousing, mobilising and preparing the masses for revolutionary struggle, whilst being distinct and separate activities, are at the same time closely bound up, each serving and strengthening the other. To counterpose the two, to suggest that they are totally opposed activities, can only lead to serious setbacks and harm to the revolutionary movement. Whilst it is true that in certain periods programmes are organised which place more emphasis on one or the other of these tasks, the whole standpoint is in order to strengthen and develop the other and the overall revolution-are process.

Not to uphold this integral nature of these two basic tasks of the Party leads only to the neo-revisionist position and line of: a) developing a so-called "correct" theory and organisation, totally divorced from the masses and their struggles, which not only turns the organisation into a side-line group of wind-bags, but, as the experience in the neo-revisionist movement has shown, leads to the inevitable degeneration of this "correct" line into revisionism; b) building a "party" as a loose organisation merely to co-ordinate the work of leading various spontaneous struggles of the people. The latter means not only that the working class is without a steeled and disciplined party to lead it in revolution, but that the line the people are organised around must inevitably be populist and economist, merely bowing to the spontaneous upsurge of the people, but never providing these struggles with the revolutionary, scientific and conscious line and leadership that they require.

## On Inner Party Affairs and Cadre Policy

The Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) has been built as a professional core of advanced elements, united around a single Marxist-Leninist line. It is a Party of the "new type", that is, its organisational structure and methods of work enable it to be a vanguard force, integrated with the masses of the working people and able to lead their struggles to overthrow monopoly capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a Party with a revolutionary style, a Marxist-Leninist theoretical line, upholding democratic centralism, steel-like conscious discipline, mass-democratic method of work and the struggle against alien ideas.

Our Party has been built along Bolshevik lines, following the principles of Lenin and Stalin. Lenin pointed out that for the revolutionary struggles of the working class to be successful, they needed a "new type" of Party, as opposed to the old style European parliamentary party. He said that it was necessary to transform this type of Party into the "vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat, without allowing it to become separated from the masses, but, on the contrary, linking it more and more closely with them and imbuing them with revolutionary consciousness and rousing them for the revolutionary struggle." ("Notes of a Publicist"). In "Foundations of Leninism", Stalin quotes Lenin as saying that "the Communist Party will be able to perform its duty only if it is organised in the most centralised manner, if iron discipline bordering on military discipline prevails in it, and if its Party centre is a powerful and authoritative organ, wielding wide powers and enjoying the universal confidence of the members". Stalin also pointed out that "the Party... must at the same time be a detachment of the class, part of the class, closely bound up with it by all the fibres of its being".

## THE ENGLISH INTERNATIONALISTS, THE FORERUNNER OF OUR PARTY, MADE A FUNDAMENTAL BREAK WITH REVISIONISM IN ORGANISATION AND IN METHODS OF WORK

Our Party came out of the upsurge in the youth and student movement of the 1960s. The English Internationalists represented the most advanced elements of this upsurge, those who saw the concrete need to adopt Marxism-Leninism and rebuild the Marxist-Leninist centre. At that time, following the total betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the modern revisionists of the CPGB, the so-called anti-revisionists had refused to carry forward the work begun by Michael McCreery, of re-establishing the basic Marxist-Leninist lines, to the next stage of actually rebuilding the revolutionary Party. In fact they attacked McCreery for being "too centralist" and "authoritarian" thereby opposing any basic concept of a centralised and disciplined organisation. Organisationally this was reflected by their blatant splittism and by their theory of "many centres", a principle that was even institutionalised by one organisation which based itself on a "federation". These anti-revisionists refused to unite to rebuild the Marxist-Leninist centre in Britain, they refused to unite to defeat revisionism practically (in terms of organisation and methods of work, etc.) as well as defeating revisionism theoretically. The English Internationalists, having failed to find any leadership from these so-called Marxist-Leninists, took up the responsibility of building the Marxist-Leninist centre. The Internationalists alone made a thoroughgoing and fundamental rupture with the methods of work and organisation of the old party, which had in the main simply been carried over intact by the anti-revisionists. The Internationalists grasped the fundamental importance of waging struggle against "bourgeois hangups", i. e., against all forms of self-interest and manifestations of alien ideology inside the organisation, in order to uphold and strengthen the Party's role as the vanguard organisation of the proletariat. The Internationalists emphasised the unity of theory and practice in all work, emphasising conscious participation in the reaching of decisions and the carrying out of all agreed upon decisions. They also upheld the necessity of building and consolidating a conscious and voluntary disciplined and united core group to lead the work among the people. They established guidelines for developing fraternal relations between anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist individuals and groups which ensured unity in practice in the common struggle against imperialism. The Internationalists paid attention to investigating the concrete conditions in order to carry out agitation among the people and lead

their struggles, upholding the mass democratic style of work - for instance, taking the political line out among the people and developing means, such as papers, to do this - and consolidating the political line among the people and building connections and organisations among the people. The principles of organisation and methods of work developed by the Internationalists in opposition to the modern revisionists (summed up in the 1968 publication "One Struggle, Two Enemies, Three Guidelines, Four Levels of Work") were essentially the Bolshevik principles of party organisation developed by Lenin and Stalin, principles that have formed the basis upon which our Party has been built.

The Internationalists were an organisation of a "new type", laying stress on the building of a democratic centralist leading group, building close links with the masses, and arousing the masses. This put them in direct contrast to the organisations of the opportunists, which were either loose bureaucratic co-ordinating centres or open bourgeois type organisations, like the revisionist party, interested only in numbers and trailing behind the spontaneous struggles, or cliques of "experts", commenting from the sidelines on the struggles of the people.

## ORGANISATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY

The Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) has followed and developed the Internationalist guidelines and has adhered to the Leninist principles of the Party. The Party has always paid attention to building a professional centralised leadership and strengthening the centralised organs of the Party, without which it would be impossible to provide the necessary scientific and systematic leadership and work for the Party as a whole and to direct and lead the struggles of the working class. The Party and its forerunner organisations always adhered to democratic centralism and the Bolshevik style of a Communist Party; stage by stage in the course of its history, the Party strengthened its adherence to these principles in theory and practice.

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ALIEN IDEAS

Erroneous anti-Party lines and factions have never been tolerated inside the Party and vigorous struggle has been waged against them to defeat them whenever they have appeared. Great stress has also been laid on uniting the cadres around Marxist-Leninist principles and the correct line of the Party. The Party upholds that a Marxist-Leninist Party is a monolithic Party, a Party with a single

Marxist-Leninist line, a Party with a steel-like unity being forged throughout its ranks around this single Marxist-Leninist line. Marxism-Leninism is the science of revolution, its teachings are universal and eternal. There can never be two or more Marxisms-Leninisms or two or more Marxist-Leninist lines. There is only one Marxism-Leninism - the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat - whilst there are the various brands of bourgeois and opportunist ideologies which all represent the reactionary ideology of the bourgeoisie. To allow "two lines" or "factions" inside a Marxist-Leninist Party can only lead to open splits occurring in the Party, to the hegemony of the Marxist-Leninist line being undermined and to bourgeois, opportunist lines eventually becoming dominant.

Our Party has always upheld that it has one basic line for the revolution and that it is necessary to continually deepen the unity of the Party activists around this line.

Our Party fully upholds the words of Enver Hoxha, who in the Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania pointed out: "A self-respecting Marxist-Leninist Party cannot allow the existence of two lines in the Party; thus it cannot permit the existence of one or several factions. Even if such a thing does occur, the Party cannot and must not allow their existence even for a short time". In this he was re-emphasising the principle put forward by Stalin in "Foundations of Leninism". Stalin said: "The theory of 'defeating' opportunist elements by ideological struggle within the Party, the theory of overcoming these elements by ideological struggle within the confines of a single Party, is a rotten and dangerous theory".

The Party upholds that it is a crucial question to wage a constant struggle to defeat and eradicate all errors, distortions, violations, shortcomings, all manifestations of opportunist lines etc., that arise inside the Party. Not to do so, and not to be constantly vigilant against such lines, can only lead to their growth and the consequent weakening of the Marxist-Leninist centre. This is not a "two line struggle", but a struggle to defend, strengthen and implement the Party's Marxist-Leninist line and a struggle actually to defeat and throw out all alien ideas and practices from its ranks.

#### BUILDING THE MONOLITHIC PARTY

It is essential that all cadres be united around and trained in the single Marxist-Leninist line of the Party and in Marxism-Leninism and that their grasp of this line and ideology be constantly strengthened and deepened, so as to continue building the Party's steel-like organisational, political and ideological unity around its Marxist-Leninist line.

## The Party Has to be Built in the Heart of the Working Class

The proletarian socialist revolution in Britain has to be led by the working class with the industrial proletariat at its core. The Party must have its main membership and its consistent base in the proletariat, and the Party's programmes, decisions and organisational forms must reflect this basic Leninist principle. As a result of their large numerical concentration in the large-scale factories, as a result of the organised, disciplined and united relations arising from the socialisation of production in monopoly capitalist society, and as a result of the acuteness of the class contradictions and exploitation that occur in the working class, the proletariat is the revolutionary core and leadership of all oppressed sections of the people in the struggle against monopoly capital. The Party has to go all out to mobilise and win it to its ranks.

The history of the international communist movement, and the rise of revisionism in the old communist parties, show that whilst the decisive question is the Marxist-Leninist line of a Party, the class composition of all levels of a Party's units and leadership also has a significant role to play in ensuring that a Party does not degenerate into revisionism. If its programmes and decisions are not orientated to enhancing their proletarian composition, then the seeds of the growth of revisionism and social democracy within the communist parties are greatly strengthened.

The oppositional line to building the party in the heart of the working class is the modern revisionist thesis which holds that the party should be based generally on "all working people" and have its base in the community. In the 1920s and 30s the Communist International waged a fierce struggle within the communist parties, especially those of the western capitalist countries, against this line.

For instance, sections of the leadership in the Communist Party of Great Britain, who were later to betray Marxism-Leninism and liquidate the proletarian headquarters, continually opposed this Marxist-Leninist principle, stating that the conditions in Britain were "different" and that it was "being extreme" to say that the

Party in Britain should be based in the heart of the proletariat. In fact, when the leadership staged a coup in the Party and launched their revisionist programme, "The British Road to Socialism", one of the first things that they did was to change this basic orientation of the Party.

The whole programme of "community type politics" leads to generalised revolutionary work which is not specifically geared to the proletariat at the place of work. It therefore tends to diffuse off into all kinds of secondary issues and not to take up and deal with the fundamental questions facing the working class; it does not put the working class at the centre of things and therefore opens the way to other class interests, specifically to corruption through social democracy and modern revisionism; finally, the basic units and organisation of the Party cannot be consolidated and built on a fully Bolshevik basis. The core of the line of "community politics being the main work" and of basing the Party on "community branches" is the modern revisionists' thesis that "socialism" can be won by the ballot box. According to this the Party has to be geared to winning "socialism" through parliament and therefore their entire organisation must reflect this, being based and organised in the same way as any other bourgeois party, like the Labour Party itself.

Our Party, and its forerunner organisations, have always upheld the crucial importance of going to and organising the working class and, in particular, the industrial workers. Ever since its birth in 1967, the Party has worked both in the factories and in the communities to carry out such organising.

The crucial and decisive problem facing us today is to advance this work and make it the predominant feature of the Party's work.

As the class contradictions mature in the society, struggles will break out and intensify in many areas and amongst many sections of the people. It is important that the Party and its various specific mass organisations participate in and lead these fields of work, such as the student struggles, the anti-racist and anti-fascist struggles in the community, struggles on the cultural fronts and so on, for all these things will and do make a contribution to the revolutionary movement in the country. But the overall revolutionary movement, and the Party's work, cannot decisively advance unless it is geared to advancing the work of building the Party in the heart of the working class and the industrial proletariat in particular.

## THE LINE OF THE PARTY IN THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

The second issue in building the Party in the heart of the working class is the nature and line of the Party's work. The Party upholds two basic Leninist principles in leading the workers in their struggles to overthrow British monopoly capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. These principles (which are closely bound up with one another) are as follows: 1. it is the Party that has to strive stage by stage to lead, on a revolutionary basis, the economic and all other struggles being waged by the working class; 2. all the political issues and struggles, all of the Party's programmes and lines, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, have to be taken into the working class and the workers' support has to be won for them.

In direct opposition to this stand the Labour Party chieftains, the labour aristocrats and opportunists of all hues. As representatives of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement they are doing their utmost to limit the workers' struggles to the confines of the capitalist system, to keep them under the wing of the bourgeoisie, by preaching: a) that it is the reactionary bourgeois trade unions which must lead the struggles of the workers, and b) that the workers should limit their struggle merely to the economic struggle - within which they should merely be concerned with the winning of one or two concessions from the monopoly capitalist class and its government - and to reforming the capitalist system and maintaining the rule of capital over labour.

All of these elements advocate confining the struggles of the workers to so-called "economic solutions", detaching these struggles from the political issues in society, from the fundamental contradiction in society between labour and capital, and from the historic mission of the working class to bring about the overthrow of monopoly capitalism and the establishment of socialism. Within the economic struggles themselves, they advocate taking the struggles down reformist and social democratic channels, preaching faith in and conciliation with the government, faith in and conciliation with the bourgeoisie, and doing their utmost to convert the militant economic and other struggles of the workers into impotent reformist struggles which do not harm the profits or the rule of the monopoly capitalist class, but actually serve to strengthen them. The essence of this line is to preach to the workers that it is the bourgeois trade unions and their trade unionist - bourgeois - politics that should lead and dominate their struggles.

When the working class first shed its blood to build trade unions

in the early 1800s, these trade unions were the first ever national organisations of the workers as a class, distinct from and independent of the capitalists. They represented a tremendous advance for the workers, providing them with their first ever class defence organisation against the attacks of capital. As Marx and Engels stated in the Communist Manifesto: "...the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trade Unions) against the bourgeois; ...".

With the development of the working class movement, the struggle and the consciousness of the workers took on a more political character, marked by an awareness on the part of the workers that their struggle was not merely a defensive one but a political class struggle against the bourgeoisie. With the rise of the revolutionary ideology of Marxism, and the birth of revolutionary parties in various European countries including Britain, the stage was set for the working class to adopt revolutionary programmes and policies. This meant a qualitative break from the situation where bourgeois theories and ideology dominated even the economic struggles of the workers which were essentially aimed against the bourgeoisie. For although the economic struggles of the workers were essentially revolutionary in content, reflecting as they did in one form the great and antagonistic contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, left to themselves they inevitably tended to develop along the path of reformism, narrow economism and fighting the capitalists within the confines of the capitalist system. The trade unions, although defence organisations of the working class - but at the same time not revolutionary organisations - , tended only to reflect this process and to reflect the demands of the workers in a narrow, reformist and economist way. The injection of Marxism into these struggles of the workers would provide the working class with the revolutionary theory to break from this reformism and economism, whereupon their struggles could be seen as part, and waged as part of a conscious revolutionary movement against the bourgeoisie, a movement that had as its historic mission the overthrow of capitalism and the eventual abolition of all exploitation and all classes. But the British trade unions and their leadership resisted this revolutionary ideology, and the trade unions were further opened up to the ideas and influence of the dominant class, to bourgeois ideology. So the trade unions and their leadership became more consciously and deliberately narrow, economist, reformist and against revolution. Furthermore, when the bourgeoisie, after a fierce struggle, were forced to accept the trade unions, they soon set about buying off the upper strata of workers, turning them into trade union aristocrats to represent their interests in the trade

union movement.

With this, the trade unions became more and more a reflection, propagandist and instrument of the bourgeoisie. They failed to remain "purely economic organisations" - the cliché with which their leaders rejected revolutionary politics - and became increasingly polarised with the bourgeoisie in the intensifying class struggle in the society.

In the latter part of the last century, for example, the main leaders of the trade unions were members of the openly capitalist Liberal Party, supported the Liberals in parliament and preached "responsibility" to the proletariat. By the First World War, the main trade unions and their leadership were openly allied with the bourgeoisie, fully supporting the imperialist war; they promoted the reactionary call of "defence of the fatherland", participated in sending millions of workers as cannon fodder to fight for the capitalists and engaged in numerous deals with the bourgeoisie (such as the banning of strikes) to force the workers to accept even fiercer attacks on their livelihood to "help the war effort". In 1926 also the TUC was on the side of the bourgeoisie in the General Strike and desperately attempted to liquidate and betray this great upsurge and oppose the revolutionary slogans and calls of the workers.

Today, despite the development and growth of new militant trade unions towards the end of the last century and especially in the first 30 years or so of this century, this feature and character of the trade unions has not changed but instead has been even further consolidated. Through their well paid labour aristocrats, the bourgeoisie utilises the reactionary bourgeois trade unions to carry out their attacks, to foist their crisis onto the backs of the workers and attempt to compromise and liquidate every single struggle that the workers take up, and to do their utmost to ensure that revolutionary programmes and ideas are kept out of the workers' movement.

The Labour Party chieftains and labour aristocrats claim that they are the only "real" leaders of the workers' economic struggle, that the workers should rely on their "skilled negotiation" and "expertise" in "handling the government and management" and "keep politics out of this economic affair", etc. Under this signboard, they proceed blatantly to subvert and sell out every single struggle of the workers and push their entire social-democratic politics of unity with the Labour government, of "doing our bit to save the country or industry from the crisis" and of limiting the workers' struggle to begging for one or two reforms from the bourgeoisie.

The opportunists of all hues - in particular the modern revisionists of the so-called "Communist" Party of Great Britain and the bourgeois-inspired trotskyite movements, as well as various neo-

revisionist trends - preach this same basic line. They promote the following "theories" in the working class movement:

a) They hold that the workers' economic struggle should be led by the bourgeois trade unions, and that the workers should reduce their struggle to winning one or two "left" trade union leaders and "correcting" the trade union aristocrats or to building "new", "rank and file" bourgeois trade unions.

b) The heart of this line is that the workers' struggles should be waged strictly within the confines of the capitalist system, within the walls of reformism. Theories are advanced to say that the workers should limit their struggles to this because they may "rock the 'Labour' boat and weaken its chances of winning the next election", or because "there is a limit to what the capitalists can afford" or because the workers should "put their faith in the 'left' trade union leaders who have their interests at heart" and "know how to wage a 'disciplined' struggle with the capitalists".

c) The opportunists maintain that these reformist trade union struggles are the ultimate struggles for the workers; they hold that the only task is to make them more "militant" and/or to adorn them with glittering "revolutionary" - in fact reformist - slogans, and that doing these things in themselves will give the workers a "revolutionary" consciousness and bring about socialism.

d) Under such pretexts as that "the economic and political struggles of the workers are separate", that the "workers will not understand politics" or that "it is arrogant to give the workers a political line", attempts are made to keep revolutionary Marxist-Leninist politics out of these struggles of the workers.

e) In place of Marxist-Leninist politics bourgeois reformist politics, slogans and programmes are promoted, and the workers are called upon to confine their struggles to "getting a 'left' Labour government in power", "nationalisation" of one or two industries, "gaining the 'right' to work", "winning the 'right' to be able to bargain with the capitalists", and so on.

The essence of the entire line of the opportunists is to maintain leadership of the workers' struggles in the hands of the trade union aristocrats of various forms, promote faith in the capitalist system and its state, and confine the workers' struggles to the limits of the capitalist system and the politics of the bourgeoisie.

Another, but far less significant opportunist line is the "theory" that, because the workers' economic struggles are led by the trade union hacks, revisionists and trotskyites, the "true revolutionaries" should not "dirty their hands" in such struggles, that the struggles themselves are "merely reformist" and therefore should be left alone whilst these "true revolutionaries" get on with the task of

"organising for socialism". (Even then these opportunists' "socialism" is one particular brand or other of "nationalised" monopoly capitalism.) The effect of this line is the same as that of all other opportunism, namely to ensure that the leadership and political line of the workers' economic and other battles are left in the hands of the bourgeoisie and so can never be led or develop along the path of revolution.

In all of its work in the working class and in the working class struggles, it is a decisive question for the Party to expose and defeat all these forms of opportunism, which are the dominant trend in the workers' movement attempting to liquidate their revolutionary struggles in every sense.

#### THE PARTY'S PROGRAMME AND TASKS

The tasks of the Party in building its mass revolutionary organisations amongst the working class are:

1) To support, participate in and develop the appropriate programmes to stage by stage lead the economic and all other struggles of the workers, including the struggles for higher wages, against unemployment, racial discrimination and attacks, etc., and give these struggles the revolutionary vigour and content that the workers are demanding so that the battles can be waged with the strategy and tactics of REVOLUTIONARY CLASS STRUGGLE and not class compromise.

2) In the course of these struggles, to develop the crucial work in the working class movement to expose and to combat social democracy, modern revisionism and all forms of ideology that preach class conciliation; to bring to the fore the CLASS NATURE of the state, government, labour aristocrats and opportunists of all hues, etc., so as to assist in the development of the consciousness of the workers that their interests are antagonistic to those of the bourgeoisie and its institutions; and to take Marxism-Leninism and all the policies, programmes and lines of the Party and mobilise the workers' support for them, in particular, continually raising amongst the workers the crucial necessity of the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party and the absolute necessity and inevitability of the mission which the working class has to take up as its decisive and prime programme, the socialist revolution.

3) To constantly build and expand, on the basis of its line, the Party and its mass organisations.

The work and programme of the Party oppose the opportunist lines and programmes - which attempt to keep the working class movement under the dominance of, under the wing of the bour-

geoisie, by the following means.

a) Building various committees on the basis of a purely economic programme which merely entails making the workers' struggles "more militant" these inevitably end up as "militant" wings of the trade unions, subordinating to the struggle for reforms (or leaving out altogether) the decisive programme for the working class of socialist revolution.

b) Limiting the factory work to generalised propaganda and not relating this to or dealing with the concrete conditions in the factory, actually defeating the policies and programmes of the labour aristocrats and opportunists and uniting and organising the workers on a revolutionary basis, providing the essential revolutionary leadership to their struggles.

This does not mean that the Party and its comrades should not also work in the trade unions, for not to do so would leave millions of workers under the influence of the trade union aristocrats, social democrats and other forms of revisionism. We have to organise and lead the workers to expose and fight all the activities and schemes of the labour aristocrats and opportunists in the trade unions, oppose all of their betrayals of the workers' struggles, their policies of class compromise, their trade unionist and reformist politics, etc. The basic standpoint of waging such struggles, however, is not to attempt to convert and change these institutions which have been incorporated into the bourgeoisie's weaponry against the workers, but to win the workers away from social democracy, modern revisionism, etc., to win them to the strategy and tactics of revolutionary class struggles, to the mass organisations of the Party in the working class, to Marxism-Leninism and the Party.

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A further specific problem facing the Party, in its work amongst the proletariat, is the question of unorganised labour. There exists a situation in the country where just under half of the working class and people are basically totally unorganised, in the sense of not even having in their factories and work places the rudimentary organisation of trade unions. The vast majority of these sections of the working class suffer the most acute and extreme capitalist exploitation and oppression, including very low wages, long working hours often without extra overtime payments,

terrible working conditions and safety measures, wholesale sackings when struggle is taken up against these attacks, and so on. Throughout the country, increasing numbers of workers who suffer these conditions are waging many militant struggles, and amongst many other demands, are fighting to form trade unions.

The Party fully supports this movement amongst the unorganised sections of the working class. As a basic policy for these sections, the Party upholds the necessity of ORGANISING UNORGANISED LABOUR and, as a first step towards this, organising the unorganised sections of the working class to form and join trade unions. Furthermore, the Party upholds the necessity of all sections of the working class supporting and assisting in the ORGANISING OF UNORGANISED LABOUR.

The trade unions are reactionary bourgeois institutions, and this basic fact must be constantly explained and upheld amongst all sections of the working class. At the same time, the proletariat and its Party must utilise all forms of struggle and organisation in order to advance the overall class interests of the proletariat. As a result of the history of the trade unions and the fact that they are national organisations containing millions of workers, who are constantly fighting the labour aristocrats and their policies, the formation of trade unions amongst the unorganised sections of the workers will assist in: a) to some extent reducing the degree of exploitation suffered by these workers; b) developing the class consciousness of the workers, the consciousness that their struggle is part of the national struggle of all sections of the working class; c) giving the workers some degree of legal backing and support for their struggles, such as facilitating the organising of support regionally and nationally; d) bringing these sections of the working class further into the arena of the struggle against the labour aristocrats and the opportunists of all hues.

The Party states that in carrying out this work amongst the unorganised sections of the working class, it is essential: a) never to cease from exposing the reactionary and bourgeois nature of the trade unions and the labour aristocrats who constantly attempt to compromise and betray every single struggle of the workers, and b) to uphold that the joining of the trade unions is only a first step in ORGANISING UNORGANISED LABOUR and that the Party programme of uniting and organising the working class on a revolutionary basis is the basic programme which must be taken to and around which must be organised all sections of the working class.

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In order to advance the economic struggles of the workers in the factories and throughout the country, the Party has advanced the

slogan: "OPPOSE ALL ATTEMPTS TO MAKE THE WORKERS PAY FOR THE CRISIS".

This slogan and programme have played an important role in providing the workers with a clear-cut programme which serves to unite them in their struggle and opposes all the propaganda carried out by the bourgeoisie that it is the workers who have "caused the crisis" through their so-called "high wage demands" and who, therefore, should "make sacrifices" to solve it. It opposes the propaganda of the social democrats and other opportunists who constantly assert that the workers have a "responsibility" to "solve the economic crisis" in the country. The Party's slogan, first advanced in 1975, exposes all these schemes and lies of the bourgeoisie and its agents as nothing but a deliberate attempt to make the workers pay for the crisis in order to maintain and boost their vast profits. The slogan has served to show to the workers that their struggle for higher wages, against unemployment and so on, is part of the political class struggle against the attempts by the bourgeoisie to unload their crisis onto the backs of the people, part of the struggle of the working class to resist the attacks of the monopoly capitalist class. It opposes all the programmes of the opportunists which have tried to suggest to the workers that merely by "smashing the social contract", "winning a flat-rate £10 increase in wages" or "regaining free collective bargaining" all of their problems will be solved. The Party's slogan has shown that these struggles are directed against the overall process whereby the bourgeoisie are consciously and deliberately increasing their all-round attacks on the workers, thereby opposing the schemes of the opportunists to mislead and disarm the working class into merely asking for a "new social contract" or the "right to bargain" with the capitalists, under which the self-same attacks are going to continue, and the bourgeoisie's rule and profits be unharmed.

In summing up the Party's policy on the work in the working class movement, we quote from Lenin in "What is to be Done?", where he states:

"Revolutionary Social-Democracy has always included the struggle for reforms as part of its activities. But it utilises 'economic' agitation for the purpose of presenting to the government not only demands for all sorts of measures, but also (and primarily) the demand that it cease to be an autocratic government. Moreover, it considers it its duty to present this demand to the government on the basis, not of the economic struggle alone, but of all manifestations in general of public and political life. In a word, it subordinates the struggle for reforms, as the part to the whole, to the revolutionary struggle for freedom and socialism".

## The Party's Line and Programme in the Struggle against Racism and Fascism

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF FASCISM BY THE MONOPOLY CAPITALIST CLASS

The Party considers that the struggle against the growing fascism of the monopoly capitalist class is a crucial and frontline political struggle for the working class and people. On the one hand the basic and overall direction of the bourgeoisie is to develop fascism and, whilst recognising and fighting the various other weapons in the arsenal which the bourgeoisie uses against the workers, if the frontline attacks on the working class are not fought, the most serious set-backs in the revolution, in the interests of the people, are going to occur. On the other hand, the struggle against fascism, illustrated in the militant battles in Lewisham, Ladywood, Digbeth, etc., highlights and shows the path forward for the working class as a whole, the path of revolutionary struggle against the forces of the state, representing a decisive break with the peaceful trade union type struggles to which the opportunists attempt to bind the working class.

Fascism is becoming an increasing danger to the working class and people in Britain, as it is for the people throughout the world. Fascism is the most openly terroristic form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class, of the rule of capital over labour. It is the form to which the bourgeoisie increasingly resorts when it can no longer suppress the revolution, no longer suppress the workers' struggles whilst still maintaining its cover of "democracy". Today, the British monopoly capitalist class is more and more resorting to fascism as it attempts to force the working class to pay for its crisis and accept its bankrupt political system.

This whole trend of fascism is being used by the bourgeoisie because it increasingly finds the other weapons in its arsenal against the workers, in particular social democracy and deception, are failing it. On top of this, the crisis hitting the entire capitalist world, and in particular the British monopoly capitalist economy, is daily intensifying as a result of the inherent, insoluble and sharpening contradictions within the capitalist and imperialist system and as a result of the rising revolutionary struggles of the people throughout the world. The bourgeoisie is determinedly trying to cling

onto its parasitical and decaying exploitative system and is prepared to go to any lengths to defend its system and defend the massive profits robbed from the British working class and the world's people. This does not mean the British bourgeoisie is not using many other tactics and methods to try to suppress the working class, such as social democracy and the opportunists of all hues. Force and deception are the two basic methods used by the bourgeoisie to maintain its rule and to suppress the people. Both tactics are used, either together or separately, by the bourgeoisie in its class struggle against the working class and people. Whilst the British monopoly capitalist class has historically placed much emphasis on its weapon of deception, social democracy and reformism, in its rule over the working class and people, the overall direction of the British bourgeoisie is to use and develop fascism more and more as its other tactics and methods increasingly fail.

This trend of developing fascism in society is seen for example in the financing, promotion and fostering of the nazi movement, with such organisations as the Hitlerite National Front. But these nazi thugs and gangs are merely one arm of the state's apparatus. The process of developing fascism is manifested throughout bourgeois society. It is being seen in the all-round fascisation of the state. Increasing legislation and harsh prison sentences etc.; proposals to greatly increase such attacks on all sections of the working people; numerous laws and measures such as immigration acts and "dependents' registers" to further attack the national minority communities; stepped-up police harassment of the working people in the communities, attacks on strikes and pickets, racist attacks on national minorities, attacks on communists and open protection of the nazis, and so on; the greatly increased propaganda for fascism in the bourgeois media, including propaganda for racism, forced repatriation, "law and order", a "stronger" state, the glorification of Hitler, etc; the grooming and promotion of "academics" in the universities to concoct totally unscientific theories in the attempt to give credence and justification for fascism and racism; the deliberate apartheid-style housing policies being practised by local authorities; all these are part of this process. In this process are participating all sections of the bourgeoisie, as represented by the three main bourgeois parties, Labour, Conservative and Liberal; in slightly different ways and to a lesser or greater extent all of them are engaged in this process and in propaganda for fascism in society,

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The nazi parties are being groomed by the bourgeoisie to play a

very specific role in this process going on throughout the society. Firstly they are being groomed to act as a front-line for the bourgeoisie, an armed militia, in the communities and factories, carrying out fascist and racist physical attacks and murders against national minority people and workers as a whole, and to provide an open centre for rabid nazi and racist propaganda, in a way and to an extent which would be impossible for the other parties without becoming totally discredited; in this way the nazi movement paves the way and acts as a spearhead for the whole development of fascism in the society. Secondly, the nazis are being groomed with the aim of building and training a nazi organisation to be brought to power by the bourgeoisie when the need arises to become openly and totally fascist, when the other bourgeois parties fail to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the people and the bourgeoisie culminates the whole process that it is developing by installing the nazis as the governing party. Thirdly, the nazis are being groomed as a party that is attempting to win the workers over to racism and fascism. The bourgeoisie are, and always have been, racist and fascist. Their aim today is to build a mass fascist party. In the mid-1970s they assembled and organised a collection of fascists to establish various national parties. Over the last four years, they have been going all-out to develop these into mass nazi parties, promoting them as "workers' parties" that "care" about the plight of "British workers". They have promoted these organisations as being against "corruption", "monopoly capitalism", "the US", etc., gearing their propaganda to appeal to sections of the working class to try to win them to fascism, in exactly the same way that the National "Socialist" Parties set out to do in the '20s and '30s.

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The ideology of "British patriotism", "British nationalism", glorification of the monarchy and the "union jack" are ideological weapons of the bourgeoisie in its attempts to consolidate this growth of fascism. This ideology is totally racist, colonialist and anti-working class, based on the alleged "superiority" of the British nation, on the alleged "common" interests within the "nation" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and on the glorification of the bloody colonial robbery, plunder and aggression of the British Empire.

This ideology is used and promoted by all sections of the bourgeoisie. It is for instance the heart of the propaganda of the trade union aristocrats who try to force their "Labour" Government's wage policies onto the workers and who, under the plea of "every one pulling their weight to get the nation out of the crisis", call upon the work-

ers to "make the nation great again". It is the heart of the propaganda of all the bourgeois politicians and news media in promoting their racism; it was also the heart of the massive reactionary "jubilee" campaign organised by the bourgeoisie in 1977. The open fascists merely concentrate this entire reactionary ideology. All sections of the bourgeoisie promote it (as they have always done) and at this time they are spending a lot of time and money trying to force the workers to accept it.

A decisive part of the bourgeoisie's propaganda for fascism is its racist ideology. The roots of this racism lie in the barbaric plunder, first by the British colonialists and then by the British imperialists, of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, etc., where its racist and "white supremacist" ideology was used and is used today to justify its brutal aggression, annexation and plunder of these peoples and their countries and the attempted suppression of their revolutionary movements. Today, for instance, this racist ideology is still used on a large scale against the Irish people to attempt to justify to the workers British imperialism's economic, political and military domination of Ireland. This racism of the bourgeoisie is nothing new; it is a basic feature and cornerstone of its exploitative system and of its robbery of the people.

The promotion of racism is further assisted by the opportunists in the working class movement. Their propaganda centres around pretending that the working people are the source of racism, not the monopoly capitalists. From this standpoint they promote such erroneous and basically racist ideas as that, for instance, the fascist gangs are only against the interests of "black people" rather than all working people. They state that the cause of racism is "high unemployment and bad conditions", suggesting that one section of the working class will "naturally" turn against another when faced with such problems. They state that racism is designed to "divide and rule the people". They negate the fact that racism is used to justify and further vicious attacks against sections of our class; they distort one of the purposes of the bourgeoisie's racism and other attempts at creating disunity in the working class which is to further their attacks against the entire working class; they promote the idea that the working class is easily divided rather than increasingly united as a class in the common struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. These examples, together with their slogans of "black and white unite", etc., are all promoting the same basic ideology of the bourgeoisie, which boils down to saying that the issue is not one of class against class, but is one of race, of "black" and "white" workers fighting or being divided, of there being a few "racist bigots" who merely stir up this "inherent feeling" amongst

the people. Such an analysis merely serves to exonerate the monopoly capitalist class as the actual source of racism and racist attacks in the society.

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The fight against racism and fascism is part and parcel of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Our Party holds that the anti-fascist struggle must be led by the working class and its Party and waged on the basis of revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeoisie. This entails not only fighting the nazi movement, but all the manifestations of the development of racism and fascism in the society, the reactionary ideology of British patriotism, etc. The Party holds that in this struggle it is necessary to ally with all forces or individuals who are opposed to fascism. However, it is the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party that must lead this struggle and at all times the Party must constantly explain to the people, and organise them on the basis of the fact that it is monopoly capitalism which is the source of and force behind the development of fascism and that it is only with its overthrow that fascism will be ultimately defeated.

#### OPPORTUNISTS OF ALL HUES ATTEMPT TO LIQUIDATE THE ANTI-FASCIST, ANTI-RACIST STRUGGLE

In developing the anti-fascist struggle, the Party has had to isolate and oppose two main opportunist trends in the working class movement on this question. In furthering the anti-fascist struggle it is crucial to be constantly vigilant against all manifestations of these erroneous trends and lines.

The first of these lines detaches the anti-fascist struggle from the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. The anti-fascist, anti-racist struggle is promoted as a struggle in itself, directed only against the open nazi thugs. The main programme of the anti-fascist struggles is said to be forming a "broad united front" with all forces and classes to fight for and protect so-called "democratic rights" under the capitalist system. This line creates illusions that basic democratic rights for the working class and people can be gained under the monopoly capitalist system; it hides the actual source of racism and fascism and the entire fascisation of the state being organised by the monopoly capitalists and attempts to organise the anti-fascist, anti-racist struggle on a reformist basis, totally divorced from the revolutionary struggle against British monopoly capitalism.

The modern revisionists and trotskyites promote this line in its most concentrated and blatant form. They present fascism and racism as some "nasty" and "unacceptable" features of the society, and promote the view that the problem with the government, police and other state agencies is that they "do not go far enough or do enough" to stamp out the fascist and racist gangs. These opportunists call upon the workers to "fight" fascism and racism by allying with the bourgeoisie itself, reducing their struggle basically to "forcing" the government, police, etc. "into action". The opportunists oppose the principle of ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO FASCISM under such pretexts as "the police are not the enemy", "it will antagonise the government and 'progressive' politicians", "it will give the anti-fascists 'bad' publicity" (in the bourgeois media), etc. Their line is to promote class compromise with the bourgeoisie and use the anti-fascist struggle to spread their entire social democratic politics of diverting the working class movement away from revolution into reformism and maintaining the capitalist system. They are attempting to liquidate the anti-fascist struggle by tying it to and handing over leadership to the very forces which are developing fascism in the society, the monopoly capitalists, by attempting to spread ideological and political confusion within the anti-fascist, anti-racist movement and increasingly by resorting to physical attacks to try to suppress its advance.

The second erroneous trend which the Party has fought against detaches the anti-fascist struggle from the class struggle, but from the standpoint of completely opposing it on the grounds that it is "only a reformist struggle" and not the "real struggle" against monopoly capitalism and for socialism. This line attempts to counterpose other important tasks which the Marxist-Leninists have to engage in and lead (such as exposing social democracy, the economic struggle, building the Party, ideological work amongst the people, etc.) to the task of leading the anti-fascist struggle.

The neo-revisionists and some of the trotskyite cliques promote this line in its most concentrated form, with such theories as:

- a) the anti-fascist struggle is a "diversion" from the economic struggles of the workers and from working in the proletariat;
- b) the "Labour" Party and social democracy are the "main enemies of the working class" and the Hitlerite National Front is "not worth worrying about";
- c) since racism and fascism are caused by capitalism, the task of the people is to get organised for the "real" struggle of overthrowing capitalism, a struggle which, according to these opportunists, has nothing to do with fighting the racist and fascist attacks of the bourgeoisie;

d) whilst the anti-fascist struggle is "important", nevertheless because the "'Party' is being built" there is "too much other work" to be able to engage in it.

All these lines of the neo-revisionists and other opportunists go entirely against Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the working people. Firstly they begin by separating the economic and political struggles and declare that there is a basic contradiction between them, in particular between the economic and the anti-fascist struggles. But, as Comrade Engels pointed out, the economic and the political are just two of the three constant forms of proletarian struggle (the other being ideological). Having falsely separated them, the opportunists and especially the neo-revisionists then take "sides" as to which is the "most" important struggle and try to divide the workers' movement on the basis of calling upon the workers to participate in only one or the other of these struggles against the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, having separated and isolated the two struggles in this way, they then set about raising the most narrow and economist slogans in the economic struggle (which is bound to occur as soon as it is declared separate from politics) and in the political struggle raise similar narrow reformist slogans and demands which are basically no different from those of the revisionists and trotskyites.

The second principle that is violated is to separate the immediate aims of the working class movement from its overall comprehensive struggle to overthrow the system. Again the opportunists "take sides" on the issues. Some state that the "short term" needs of the working class (by this they mean the struggle for reforms) are all-important and the "long term needs" (i. e., "socialism") are subordinate to this and should in fact be forgotten. This is the basic reformist bourgeois politics. Other opportunists state that "socialism is everything" from the standpoint of saying that the working class movement and its immediate aims are nothing and thereby turn their "socialism" into empty and sideline windbagging programmes. The Marxist-Leninist Party leads and builds the revolutionary movement of the working class, guiding the proletariat in its struggle to overthrow the monopoly capitalist system and establish socialism. It fights for the immediate aims and needs of the working class movement as an integral part of, and to further prepare and organise, the whole revolutionary movement to overthrow British monopoly capitalism. As Marx and Engels stated in the Communist Manifesto: "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that

movement." Also Comrade Stalin stated: "Thus, the spontaneous working class movement, the working class movement without socialism, inevitably becomes petty and assumes a trade unionist character - it submits to bourgeois ideology... On the other hand, socialism without the working class movement, no matter on what scientific basis it may have arisen, nevertheless remains an empty phrase and loses its significance... Socialism can be combined with the working class movement and thereby be transformed from an empty phrase into a sharp weapon."

In the anti-fascist struggle, for instance, the party carries out constant propaganda and preparations for the overthrow of monopoly capitalism and ensures that the struggle is led along this path. At the same time fascism is one form of capitalism, and not to fight the fascists today means not to take on and fight the monopoly capitalists' front-line attack on the workers. It merely serves to let the fascist tactics of the bourgeoisie develop unhindered, whilst waiting for the "real" and "pure" struggle to arrive in the distant future.

#### UNDER PARTY LEADERSHIP THE ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT HAS DEVELOPED STAGE BY STAGE

The Party of the proletariat leads the working class in fighting the economic, political and ideological struggles against the bourgeoisie. The Party holds that it is all these struggles of the working class that must be strengthened and developed on a revolutionary basis and provided with Marxist-Leninist leadership, integrating Marxism-Leninism and the Party's line with these struggles and leading them along the path of proletarian socialist revolution.

The heroic and militant struggle of the people against racism and fascism is a testament to the fine, self-sacrificing and revolutionary spirit of the working class and people never to accept fascism and to wage uncompromising struggle against the bourgeoisie until its final and inevitable defeat. This movement has developed stage by stage over the past years guided and led by the Marxist-Leninist Party. The struggle erupted in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the youth and students led by the Party took up the active struggle against racist and fascist ideologues. The Party raised the slogan that "FASCISTS HAVE NO RIGHT TO SPEAK OR ORGANISE" and developed a nationwide campaign against these ideologues. This campaign culminated in the militant struggles against the fascist ideologue Eysenck in late 1972 and early 1973, resulting in him being thrown off the platform in a number of

colleges. The Party had constantly stressed in these struggles that the bourgeoisie was making the ideological preparations for the promotion of fascism in the working class on a large scale. During the middle and latter part of 1973, the Party gave the call to develop the struggle in the communities against the Hitlerite National Front as the concentrated force of the bourgeoisie's development of fascism. Throughout this period the opportunists had at each stage vehemently opposed active resistance to the fascist ideologues, saying that it was "too extreme" and that people like Eysenck "should not be called fascists", etc. But because of the work of the Party and because of the growing upsurge amongst the people as a whole, by 1974 the line of FASCISTS HAVE NO RIGHT TO ORGANISE had been taken up nationally in nearly every college and university up and down the country.

By early 1974, the monopoly capitalists had begun the promotion of the nazi movement, in particular the Hitlerite National Front, in the communities on a large-scale, especially with the holding of a number of nazi demonstrations in the main cities, the escalation of racist attacks and propaganda and the bourgeoisie's wide-scale publicity for the fascist groupings in the press, etc. Throughout this period, the Party participated in numerous demonstrations against the fascists and racists and more and more working people began taking up the struggle against them. The Party went through a long period of struggle in these demonstrations and in other programmes (a) to put forward the line that racism and fascism had to be actively fought and defeated, and the anti-fascist struggle organised as part and parcel of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, and (b) to defeat the influence of the revisionists and trotskyites who, whilst now "agreeing" to the necessity of "fighting" racism and fascism (as opposed to their line in the universities), were all saying that there should be peaceful "resistance" to fascism, that, for instance, anti-fascist demonstrations should go nowhere near the nazis and that the entire struggle should be organised on the basis of social democratic bourgeois politics. As the Party struggled against this line and as the programme of ACTIVELY FIGHTING BACK was increasingly taken up by the broad masses of the people, the opportunists became more and more exposed in the anti-fascist movement.

By late 1975, the consciousness of the mass of the people was such that the revisionists became quite discredited and the main body of the anti-fascist movement rejected their line and leadership. Seeing the way the anti-fascist movement was developing, the trotskyites "changed" their line on peaceful resistance and declared that they "agreed" with the line of active resistance. The

Party stated then, and events in the recent anti-fascist struggles have subsequently vividly proved, that the trotskyite leadership was definitely not interested in active resistance to fascism. They were sent into the movement by the bourgeoisie as a contingent to try to spread every confusion on the line of active resistance, and by one method and theory after another attempt to liquidate and diffuse the people's resistance.

In the middle of 1976, at a time when deliberate and calculated attacks, murders and open racist propaganda against the national minority people were being escalated by the National Front, police, Government and press, the Party declared that the working class and people could no longer tolerate "peaceful demonstrations" and so-called "peaceful resistance" and that a whole struggle had to be put in motion in which battles were actively waged against the fascists and racists.

In that year the Party raised the slogan "FIGHT BACK AGAINST NAZI AND GOVERNMENT ORGANISED RACIST ATTACKS", both to centre the struggle around the line of FIGHTING BACK and also to oppose the line of opportunists of all hues that the Government was not racist and could be relied upon to fight the nazis.

Under the leadership of the Party, defence committees were established and built in the national minority communities to unite and organise the people to FIGHT BACK to defend their communities against racist attacks, whilst a number of units in the Party built anti-racist, anti-fascist committees around this line and programme in the communities and factories. In the demonstrations, for example, the Party began organising its contingents to arouse the people to actually engage in active struggle against the fascists. Then in the summer of 1977, the National Executive gave the call for the formation of PEOPLE'S FRONTS, mass organisations to unite and organise the people in their struggle against the attacks of the bourgeoisie, especially the racist and fascist attacks. These mass organisations provided the Party and the people with the necessary programme and organisation to consolidate and lead the upsurge that was developing in the anti-fascist movement.

It is as a direct result of the Party's work, as detailed above, and the basic sentiment of the working class and people, that the upsurge against fascism and racism has occurred over the last year or two. Broad sections of working people on a nation-wide scale have taken up the line of active resistance and fighting back, as was seen by the battles in Lewisham, Ladywood and Digbeth amongst others, with the influence of the opportunists and their peaceful "opposition" being seriously weakened.

With this upsurge, the task confronting the Party was to actually lead it. Having created the conditions for it to be brought about, it was then necessary to follow this through, not just to sit back and applaud the heroic spontaneous fighting spirit of the working people but to provide scientific, tactical and ideological leadership to these struggles.

As a result of the leadership and participation of the Party in the anti-fascist struggle, large numbers of comrades have been jailed, fined and arrested. Such sacrifices by our comrades are entirely necessary and are not a "waste of time" or "detracting from the factory work" as the opportunists suggest. It is a necessary response, which must be carried through, to lead the people in active struggle against the racists and fascists, against the bourgeoisie's class strategy, against its frontline attacks on the workers. The Party of the proletariat has to be right in the thick of the struggle and leading the fight back on a proletarian class basis. Anything else would make the name of the Marxist-Leninist Party a sham and would represent a frank betrayal of the people's struggles.

#### THE PARTY'S PROGRAMME FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM AND FASCISM

As pointed out previously the Party established the PEOPLE'S FRONTS in a number of areas in order to advance the work of uniting the people in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. The programme adopted by the PEOPLE'S FRONTS was as follows:-

1. to fight back against nazi and government organised racist attacks;
2. to oppose all attempts to make the working people pay for the economic crisis;
3. to support the struggles of the working and oppressed people of the whole world;
4. to oppose all manifestations of the reactionary "nationalism" and "patriotism" which is promoted by the bourgeoisie and which forms the ideological basis of the fascist movement.

The Party gave the call for building the PEOPLE'S FRONTS in order to further its work of going deep amongst the people and seizing the initiative to lead their militant struggles against the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

The situation in the country at that time was that firstly the bourgeoisie was intensifying its all-round attacks on the working people, while, secondly, as a result of the work of the Party over the previous year (for instance its popularising of the line of FIGHT-

ING BACK AGAINST NAZI AND GOVERNMENT ORGANISED RACIST ATTACKS) and as a result of the militant sentiments of the masses of people, tremendous upsurges were taking place against these attacks, especially against the growing racism and fascism, but also on all other fronts. In order further to unite the people, carry through their struggles and provide them with correct Marxist-Leninist leadership, the Party gave the call to build appropriate organisations, the PEOPLE'S FRONTS, amongst the working people.

The PEOPLE'S FRONTS adopted a programme that firstly was able actually to gain the support of the people and unite and organise them around the line of FIGHTING BACK. Secondly, the programme was aimed at ensuring that these struggles were not organised as isolated struggles in themselves, as for instance had been the experience in a number of areas in regard to anti-fascist committees, but instead were organised on the basis of being part of the whole class struggle against the bourgeoisie, an integral part of the revolutionary movement. So, whilst the policy of the PEOPLE'S FRONTS concentrated on leading particular struggles in local areas, such as the anti-fascist, anti-racist struggles, also embodied in the programme were the tasks of fighting all the attacks of the bourgeoisie, opposing the reactionary ideology of the ruling class and supporting the struggles of the people all over the world.

Large numbers of people are up in arms and making heroic sacrifices to oppose and defeat the reactionary schemes of the bourgeoisie. The Party has a serious responsibility to provide scientific and all-round Marxist-Leninist leadership to advance these struggles to the next stage in FIGHTING BACK AGAINST NAZI AND GOVERNMENT ORGANISED RACIST ATTACKS and upholding the programme that NAZIS HAVE NO RIGHT TO ORGANISE. It is necessary to ensure that effective resistance is provided to deal with the increasing racist and fascist attacks being launched against the people. It is necessary further to unite and organise the people to advance the anti-racist, anti-fascist struggle. Finally it is necessary that this struggle led by the Party is guided to solve the problem of defeating racism and fascism once and for all, with the overthrow of British monopoly capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

## The Crucial Role of Ideological Work in the Revolutionary Movement

The role of theory and of serious ideological work amongst the Party's cadres and in the working class movement are very important questions in the revolution, in the work of the Party and in the work of the mass organisations. As Comrade Stalin stated in "Foundations of Leninism":

"Theory is the experience of the working class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect. Of course, theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illuminated by revolutionary theory. But theory can become a tremendous force in the working class movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice; for theory, and theory alone, can give the movement confidence, the power of orientation, and an understanding of the inner relation of surrounding events; for it, and it alone, can help practice realise not only how and in which direction classes are moving at the present time, but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future. None other than Lenin uttered and repeated scores of times the well-known thesis that:

'Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.'"

At all levels of the Party's work, it is a crucial necessity to carry out serious, detailed and continuous ideological work to criticise and expose bourgeois ideology, to deepen the Party comrades' grasp of Marxism-Leninism and the Party's line and to arm the working class with revolutionary ideology.

For instance, in the economic struggles, despite all the tremendous militancy shown by the workers, the dominant line in the workers' movement is still that of social democracy which, with its class compromise and conciliation, etc., constantly tends to hold back, diffuse and promote ideas of reform in each and every struggle that the workers engage in. Among the advanced workers modern revisionism is the chief force upholding social democracy and obstructing the decisive rupture with it. In the anti-fascist

struggle, the bourgeoisie and opportunists are going all out to spread maximum ideological confusion as to the source of racism and fascism and the nature of the attacks, as to who should be relied upon to fight back and how the ultimate victory over racism and fascism will be brought about. It is a crucial necessity for the Party, in the course of providing practical revolutionary leadership to these struggles of the people, to constantly expose and criticise, right amongst the people, all of these social democratic, opportunist and other bourgeois ideas, and particularly the ideas of modern revisionism.

The Party, since its inception, has always recognised the importance of this ideological work, and has paid serious attention, for instance, to a) building a centrally organised research institute to take up and deal with important ideological questions facing the revolutionary movement both nationally and internationally, and b) organising national and local programmes in the units of the Party for the study of Marxist-Leninist classics, the Party's line and history, and for doing research etc.

The standpoint in carrying out this work has always been to further consolidate the cadres around Marxism-Leninism and the Party's line and to advance the revolutionary movement, dealing with the main ideological questions confronting it and ensuring that the Party develops the correct and appropriate strategy and tactics to lead and advance this movement. The Party has taken a firm stand against the two basic opportunist lines as promoted by the neo-revisionists:-

a) Developing so-called "correct" Marxist-Leninist theory totally divorced from revolutionary practice and work. Ideological work is turned into an academic exercise that has nothing to do with the short and long term needs of the Marxist-Leninist centre and revolutionary movement, whilst theory becomes a dead dogma that is never used to guide revolutionary practice and taken to the people, so that, for instance, wrong lines that exist in the mass movements are not concretely and effectively exposed and criticised.

b) Stating that the working class has no need of revolutionary theory, that this theory will "emerge in the course of struggle", and that it is "arrogant to give the working class theory". This line states that Marxist-Leninists should be content with the most generalised and superficial analysis, study and grasp of revolutionary theory in consolidating its ranks and guiding revolutionary work and the mass movements of the people.

It is important to guard against all manifestations of these neo-revisionist lines, and that the Party continuously advances and strengthens its ideological work in line with the policy outlined above.

## THE ROLE OF THE PARTY'S ORGAN, "WORKERS' WEEKLY"

A decisive organ in the Party's ideological work and propaganda is WORKERS' WEEKLY. Workers' Weekly is the central organ of the Party in disseminating its line and programme both to the Party's cadres and activists and to the working class and people in the mass movements. The Party has always upheld the importance of producing a national Marxist-Leninist newspaper and building a professional centre in terms of cadres and resources to bring the production of such a newspaper about. The specific form and orientation of the paper has changed from time to time in accordance with the concrete needs of the Party and the mass movement. For instance, in 1972 and 1973, when the paper first went daily, the decisive task was to implement the building of the central organs of the Party and to solve a number of technical problems in production and distribution and so, for a period, the paper contained quite a large number of reprints from revolutionary journals and organisations from other countries. In early 1974, the production of a weekend edition was initiated in order to solve the specific problem of escalating the mass work of the Party in various areas. At the same time, the basic orientation of the Party's organ has been to represent and disseminate the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, in order to raise the ideological level of the cadres and masses and as an instrument for organising revolutionary work, arming the comrades and masses of people, especially the advanced sections, with the line, policy, analysis and directives of the Party. The Party has consistently opposed the opportunist line that states that a "revolutionary" newspaper of the proletariat should be a populist "rag", that aims itself at the lowest political and ideological level of the working class movement.

The Party's policy on propaganda also includes the producing by the local units of leaflets, local newspapers and other forms of propaganda. This is important work in order that units can carry out specific agitation, deal with specific conditions in their areas, organise wide-scale distribution etc., that could not necessarily be covered through Workers' Weekly. This propaganda all serves to supplement the work of distributing Workers' Weekly and is never an alternative to it. Not only does this form of propaganda have a specific role to play in the revolutionary work, that must be supplemented by the circulation of the Party's newspaper, but also this form of propaganda provides an introduction for the paper, acquainting workers with the concepts and ideas of Workers' Weekly and creating the conditions for the expansion of its readership.

The crucial necessity of exposing, criticising and defeating the ideas of the bourgeoisie and opportunists in the working class movement can never be underestimated or taken for granted as something that will "occur spontaneously in the course of struggle", as the neo-revisionists suggest. All of the guidelines which have been presented have to be implemented, the problems confronting the Party in this work have to be resolved, and an all round development and deepening of the Party's ideological and propaganda work brought about.

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### The Party's Policy on National Minorities in Britain

The national minorities form an important section of the working class in the country. As national minority workers they are subjected to double exploitation and attack by the monopoly capitalist class. They suffer all the economic, political and ideological oppression suffered by the working class as a whole and in addition, because they are national minorities, they suffer further attacks on all these fronts.

Most of the national minorities in Britain are peoples of the countries that have suffered and are still suffering from the brutal plunder, domination, aggression and annexation by British imperialism. Throughout this century, and in particular in the last thirty years, the British ruling class has in furthering these attacks been "encouraging" and forcing people particularly from its colonies and neo-colonies to come to Britain. They have done this for one reason and one reason only, to make maximum profits from the immigrant community, from the double exploitation and oppression that they impose.

The national minorities are subjected to the most vicious exploitation by the monopoly capitalists, being forced to work as cheap labour in their plants up and down the country. They face open racial discrimination in terms of jobs, housing and on all other fronts by the monopoly capitalists and their government. Increasing racist attacks, intimidation and abuse are launched against them by the nazi and police thugs, and other agencies of the state. In order to further these attacks, the bourgeoisie does its utmost to slander and debase the national minorities through its racist propaganda, both to create the conditions for furthering the attacks and also in an attempt to intimidate the national minority people into liquidating their resistance against them. Furthermore, this racist propaganda is consciously used by the bourgeoisie to attempt to spread ideological confusion and create political diversions in the working class movement as to the nature and cause of the exploitation and oppression that is suffered by the entire working class.

These attacks on the national minority workers and people are attacks on the entire working class. Not only is it a section of the working class that is being attacked in this way, but also the bourgeoisie uses these attacks to further its oppression and exploitation of the entire working class.

Our Party totally denounces all the racist attacks, discrimination and oppression being launched against the national minority people. It totally denounces any and all forms of racist immigration acts and legislation aimed at any section of the international proletariat. It denounces and actively opposes the racist and great power chauvinist ideology and practice of the British monopoly capitalists, which are backed up and repeated in various ways by the labour aristocrats and opportunists.

#### THE PARTY'S BASIC POLICY ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

The Party's basic policy on the question of national minorities in Britain can be summed up in the following points:-

1. The national minorities in this country are an integral part of the British working class, united in the common struggle against monopoly capitalist exploitation and, like all sections of the working class, have the revolutionary aspiration to bring about the overthrow of the monopoly capitalist class and the establishment of socialism. The Party and its organisations organise national minority workers and people alongside and as a contingent of the British working class to fight back against all the attacks being launched by the monopoly capitalists and for proletarian socialist revolution in Britain.
2. As is the case for all revolutionary work amongst all sections of the people, it is the proletarian Party that must lead and organise any specific work carried out amongst the national minority people. Furthermore, all Marxist-Leninists in Britain, whatever country they are from and whatever nationality they are, should unite with and join the Marxist-Leninist Party, come under its discipline and carry out their responsibilities to the full in building and strengthening this Party and providing the essential Marxist-Leninist leadership to all the revolutionary struggles of the people. From the inception of the Internationalists and the birth of the Party, national minority revolutionaries have played an important and integral role in building the Marxist-Leninist centre in Britain and in developing its work.
3. The Party holds that it is necessary to organise specific revolutionary work amongst national minorities in order to further the

work of organising them for revolution. This requires the Party establishing specific national minority organisations to deal with the concrete problems facing the communities. The task of organising the various national minority people rests primarily on the shoulders of the Party's cadres from the respective communities, and specific cadres are designated by the Party to lead this area of work.

4. In carrying out its proletarian internationalist duty, the Party has a serious responsibility to organise the British working class to actively support the revolution and Marxist-Leninist Parties throughout the world, build concrete ties and relations with these Marxist-Leninist Parties and strengthen the ties between and the unity of all sections of the international proletariat.

Since Britain is an imperialist power with the result that large numbers of people have immigrated from other countries, the Party also has a further specific responsibility, as well as the opportunity, to advance this work. In particular this involves organising among the national minorities, primarily through the Party's national minority organisations, to provide concrete assistance and support for the revolutions and Marxist-Leninist Parties in the national minorities' countries of origin, through such means as propagating and gaining support for the line of the respective Parties, exposing and criticising all lines promoted by the opportunists in these countries and by their representatives in Britain, providing financial and other material assistance and, when appropriate, through the sending of cadres.

In implementing its line on the question of national minorities, the Party has established and led a number of national minority organisations, such as the Caribbean Workers' Organisation, Pakistan Progressive Study Group, African Progressive Study Group and the Indian Workers' Movement (Britain) (the latter taking its general ideological and political leadership from the Hindustani Ghadar Party - Organisation of Indian Marxist-Leninists Abroad).

These organisations are mass organisations led by the Party; their basic programmes centre on supporting the revolutions, the Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations and the Marxist-Leninist line for the revolutions in the various countries from which the respective Marxist-Leninists originate. Their programmes include:-

- a) leading their communities to fight back against all attacks being launched against them by the monopoly capitalist class, especially the racist and fascist attacks;
- b) mobilising their communities as an integral part of the British working class for the revolution in Britain and for the work and programmes of the Party.

To solve the particular problems of the racist, fascist and other attacks being launched against their peoples, the Party and its national minority organisations have set up and built organisations to unite the people specifically around the line of fighting back to defend their communities from such attacks. These include West Indian Defence Committee, East and West Pakistani People's Association and Indian Defence Committee. These organisations have been established and built whenever it has been appropriate, depending on the internal and external conditions in particular periods or particular areas.

The Party has a policy of establishing and leading mass organisations to support the national liberation struggles and struggles for proletarian revolution of the people in countries the world over, and to oppose attacks of the British state on national minority peoples from these countries in Britain, organising support and solidarity for their struggles among people of all nationalities in Britain. On this basis the Party for example set up Irish Support and Friendship Committee in 1976 to build support and friendship for the Irish people's struggle.

In order to advance the overall work amongst national minorities, the Party has paid serious attention to forming, under the leadership of the Central Committee, commissions and committees, etc. to concentrate on solving particular ideological, political and organisational problems in the work.

#### THE PARTY HAS FOUGHT AGAINST THE MAIN OPPORTUNIST LINES ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

In developing the national minority work the Party has fought against and repudiated two main opportunist lines, promoted particularly by the neo-revisionists. The first of these holds that to establish specific national minority organisations to resolve particular problems in the revolution facing these peoples and communities is "racist" and "causing divisions" in the working class. The proponents of this line promote the bourgeois theory that the task of national minorities is to first "integrate" with the British workers. Starting from this bourgeois and racist premise that there is a basic difference between national minority and "British" workers, they assert that the Marxist-Leninists should address themselves only to dealing with the problems of "British" workers. This straight-forward chauvinism towards the national minority peoples states that the national minority people should lose their nationality once

they become citizens in Britain and members of the British working class. It opposes the right of a section of the working class to get organised under Party leadership to defend its interests and to fight back against the particular attacks against it. It completely negates the fact that the organising of national minority workers to resist the attacks on their community both serves to meet the immediate needs of the community and also, in doing so, serves to strengthen the resistance and defend the interests of the working class as a whole. Furthermore, this line violates basic principles of proletarian internationalism as to the duty of the proletarian party outlined previously.

The second of these opportunist lines holds that national minorities in Britain are not an integral part of the British working class, its struggles and its revolution, and should not support the Marxist-Leninist centre in Britain. Instead, it holds, they should only be concerned with supporting the revolution in the mother country and on occasions organise the national minority community, for instance to fight racist attacks, but as something totally divorced from the overall struggles of the British working class. The so-called Marxist-Leninists who promote this line state that they should remain "neutral" on the question of the proletarian Party in this country because this is the "concern" of the "British" Marxist-Leninists. Since this line is a frank violation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, its promoters have increasingly exposed their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism on every other question as well. Thus, for instance, they are now promoting open bourgeois and opportunist propaganda that the indigenous workers are all "racists" and "cannot be united with", whilst on the revolutions in the countries of origin of the national minorities, they have done everything to spread confusion as to the correct Marxist-Leninist path for these countries. They have treacherously become centres for opportunist lines and programmes and participated in attacking the genuine Marxist-Leninists both here in Britain and in the various countries.

A few years ago the Party expelled from its ranks a revisionist clique which attempted to peddle a version of this line inside the Party. This clique paid lip service to Marxism-Leninism and to the need for a Marxist-Leninist Party to lead all the revolutionary work in the country. In practice they attempted to put themselves above the discipline of the Party, refused to unite actively to build and strengthen the Party and implement its line, stating that whilst the Party should lead "English work", national minority work should be led by "national minorities", or in other words by this revisionist clique. Under the hoax that this work was "under the discipline

of the Party back home", they attempted to make the Party's national minority organisations totally separate from the collective discipline and line of the Party and organise them on the basis of their own brand of revisionist politics, which of course had nothing to do with the line and programme of any Marxist-Leninist Party. They declared that to subject their work to the democratic centralist procedures and principles of a Marxist-Leninist Party (i. e. reporting to leading organs, participating in all the basic programmes of the Party and implementing in all areas the line of the Central Committee) was "interference", "manipulation", "fascist activity" and other openly anti-communist lines. Finally, when called upon to account for their criminal activities, they made a futile attempt to split the Party. Subsequent to being expelled from the Party, this clique have further exposed themselves as nothing but a gang of trotskyites, splitters and wreckers of the revolutionary movement, adopting open revisionist politics and becoming informers to the state.

The Party's work amongst the national minorities has made a number of advances in the last year. In carrying out the necessary programmes and tasks to further strengthen and develop this work it is of the utmost importance to be constantly vigilant on both of these opportunist lines concerning the question of national minorities in Britain.

## On the Question of Organising Students and Intellectuals and Other Sections of the Petit Bourgeoisie and on the Question of Organising Youth and Women

Mobilising students, intellectuals and other sections of the petit bourgeoisie for revolution is an important question for the Marxist-Leninist Party. All these sections of the people have an objective basis to support and participate in socialist revolution, suffering serious economic, political and cultural oppression under the monopoly capitalist system. Students and intellectuals have played a most important role historically in the revolutionary movement, both in Britain and throughout the world. The roots of our Party came from the upsurge in the youth and student movement in the middle and late 1960's, and in the initial stages they provided a most powerful force taking up the task of rebuilding the Party and taking Marxism-Leninism to the people.

This role played by the intellectuals is an inevitable and necessary outcome of the development of the revolution in any country. As Comrade Lenin pointed out in "What Is To Be Done?": "Class political consciousness can be brought to the working class only from without, that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships of all classes and strata to the state and the government, the sphere of the interrelations between all classes".

From this overall movement in society, and the taking of revolutionary politics into the working class movement and to all sections of the people, the intellectuals and students have played, especially in the initial stages, a crucial role. As Comrade Lenin further described in "What Is To Be Done?":

"The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union con-

sciousness, i. e. the conviction that it is necessary to combine in unions, fight the employers, and strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophical, historical and economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes, by intellectuals. By 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 altogether independently of the spontaneous growth of the working class movement; it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of thought among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia."

It is a crucial task for the Marxist-Leninist Party to organise and unite all oppressed sections of the people around the most advanced and revolutionary class - the working class - in the revolutionary struggle. The Party has consistently opposed the opportunist distortions of the correct Marxist-Leninist stand towards the students, intellectuals and other sections of the petit bourgeoisie.

One such distortion states that all sections of the petit bourgeoisie are reactionary, and that they cannot and should not be mobilised for revolution. Proponents of this line state that it is only the working class that can take up revolutionary politics and become communists, whilst from amongst the petit bourgeoisie it is only possible to mobilise one or two "enlightened individuals". Apart from the fact that it excludes a large section of the people from the revolutionary struggle, this line is part and parcel of and derives from the entire so-called "working class" line which denies the absolute necessity of taking revolutionary politics into the working class movement and instead organises the working class around economist and trade union politics.

Another version of the same line, and one that is promoted by the neo-revisionists, states that it is necessary to re-define students, intellectuals, etc., as "workers", saying that the petit bourgeoisie exists only in the most narrow sense, in terms of small shopkeepers, etc. On this basis, they go on to say that it is therefore "justifiable" to work amongst these sections of the people because they are in fact "workers". Such a line denies that it is possible and necessary for the proletarian party to organise amongst all sections of the working and oppressed people, and promotes the same basic so-called "working class" line that it is only workers who are capable of participating in revolution and joining the Party.

This line not only leads to the consequences detailed above, but by classifying sections of the petit bourgeoisie as "workers" it leads to the other opportunist line that there is no difference in basic class outlook and stand between the working class and the petit bourgeoisie. In the late 1960's the proponents of this line held that it was the students who would have to lead the revolution, as the "workers were so backward". Today its proponents hold that the working class "should be mobilised", but in practice the main base of their organisations is in the petit bourgeoisie.

The petit bourgeois sections of the people, whilst they should be mobilised for revolution, in fact form a social basis for opportunist ideology in the revolutionary movement. This arises from their class position in society, the actual relations that exist between these sections of the people and the bourgeoisie. To suggest that no distinction should be made between the working class and the petit bourgeoisie inevitably means that the way is opened up for the growth, consolidation and domination of bourgeois ideology in the revolutionary movement.

It is the proletariat that must lead the revolution. This has to be reflected at all levels in the class composition of the proletarian party. At the same time, under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party and armed with Marxism-Leninism, the petit bourgeoisie can be organised for revolution, with the advanced elements coming forward to throw off all the negative features of this class and take their position as communists in the Party.

The Party, in implementing its line, has carried out consistent revolutionary work amongst sections of the petit bourgeoisie. In particular, the Party has continually paid serious attention to the work amongst students, recognising the tremendous revolutionary enthusiasm and eagerness to take up revolutionary ideas that exists amongst this section of the people.

As stated above, the roots of our Party come from the revolutionary youth and student movement of the middle and late 1960's. In this period, there occurred a tremendous upsurge in the youth and student movement. In the universities, colleges, schools and communities throughout the country, the youth and students dared to stand up and rebel. They opposed the entire decadent bourgeois education system, as well as the consumer and "pop" culture being foisted on to the people by the imperialists. They came forward in their thousands to oppose imperialist wars of aggression, especially that of the US imperialists in Vietnam, and to support the struggling masses all over the world. They rebelled against the atmosphere of class conciliation, passivity and "peace" promoted by the revisionists and fought many militant battles, especially against the education auth-

orities in the colleges.

The bourgeoisie did its utmost to divert and dissipate this movement. They floated their "flower power", drug culture, "music revolution" and other such reactionary schemes. The "new left" went all out to mislead the upsurge with their talk of "student liberation" and other well-worn pseudo-revolutionary reformist programmes.

But this movement could not be suppressed. It was a basic reflection of the fine revolutionary sentiments of the youth and students. The motion and direction of the upsurge was against the monopoly capitalist system as a whole, and in fact it was the beginning of a new era of struggle of the entire people against imperialism and revisionism. This fact was soon evident in the upsurge that took place in the working class movement during the 1970s.

From the heart of this movement of the youth and students, and representing its most conscious and advanced elements, came the Internationalists, forerunner of our Party. The Internationalists arose out of the struggle against imperialism, capitalism and revisionism, and against the "new left" and other opportunist trends that came up at that time to attempt to divert the movement. The revolutionary youth and students who came forward to establish and build the Internationalists represented those who saw the need to adopt Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, and concretely take up the task of re-building the Marxist-Leninist Party after its liquidation by the revisionists and the refusal of the so-called anti-revisionists to take on this responsibility.

As part of this work, the Internationalists built student movements in many universities and colleges, and throughout the late 1960's these led the upsurge of the students. Through their work in leading actual struggles of the students in a number of colleges and propagating the Marxist-Leninist line of the Internationalists and Marxism-Leninism nationally through a number of "Learn from the People" campaigns, the Internationalists established Marxist-Leninist leadership and the supremacy of the Marxist-Leninist line in the national student movement. This work provided an important source of cadres to take Marxism-Leninism to the people at large, and participate in re-building the Party. In January 1970, the English Student Movement (ESM) was formed to consolidate and further the national Marxist-Leninist leadership that the then English Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) (and later the Party) was providing to the student movement throughout this period.

This decisive role that the English Student Movement played was demonstrated in the development of the anti-fascist struggle in the colleges. From the early days of the Student Movement a number of local struggles were waged against fascist speakers in

the colleges. In 1971/72, large-scale ideological work was done nationally by ESM against fascist ideologues such as Eysenck. In 1972/73, ESM led a number of large and militant mass struggles against Eysenck in London, Birmingham and Leicester. Through this and other such programmes a situation was created by the end of 1973 where the line of the ESM that "FASCISTS HAVE NO RIGHT TO SPEAK" was taken up by the vast majority of students throughout the country. This was reflected in the resolution - calling for the implementation of this programme using whatever means were necessary - which students forced the NUS to adopt in February 1974.

The Party considers that it is now necessary to further organise the student work. The existing situation is that the opportunists, in particular the modern revisionists and trotskyites, have been doing their utmost to liquidate all the revolutionary struggles of the students, and liquidate the advances made under the Party's leadership in the early 1970s. Preaching their class collaborationist politics, they have capitulated to the right wing and its attempts to regain influence in the student movement and even - in the case of the modern revisionists - made open alliances with it. They have attempted to reverse all the correct and just stands taken by the students, such as on Ireland, the anti-fascist struggle, etc.

Despite the efforts of the opportunists to impose economist and reformist bourgeois politics on the students and their frank betrayal of various struggles, the students have escalated their resistance to the attacks of the bourgeoisie. They have fought against the reactionary education system, and adopted various militant tactics to back up their struggle on the economic and other fronts for higher grants, etc., against racism and fascism, against the cuts, etc. Students have increasingly come out in support of the struggles of the working class. Overseas students have played a militant role in all these struggles, as well as mobilising support for the revolutionary struggles at home. Over the issue of the government's racist imposition of discriminatory fees, the overseas students fought militantly alongside the entire student body to oppose this. In a number of areas the advanced sections of the students have come forward in this period to take up Marxism-Leninism and get organised under the Party's leadership.

The basic programme of the English Student Movement is as follows:-

1. To organise support in the student movement for proletarian socialist revolution, for the Party's line and programme and for Marxism-Leninism. As an integral part of this programme, to build the ESM and its local branches as a contingent of the Party in the universities and colleges.

To wage a fierce ideological struggle against all forms of opportunism.

Finally, to provide a reserve of cadres for the Party and to organise students to actively support and participate in the programme of the local branches of the Party, thus in practice upholding the principle that it is only under the leadership of the working class and its Party that students can make their contribution to the revolution.

2. To provide actual leadership to the various struggles of the students against all the economic, political and ideological attacks being launched against them by the bourgeoisie.

Also, through providing such leadership, to defeat in practice the opportunists' programmes of betrayal.

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The Party's policy concerning intellectuals who are not in educational institutions and who cannot join and participate in the programme of ESM is the following. Besides participating in the basic work of the local units of the Party, these supporters should apply the Party's line in their areas of professional work and develop revolutionary work and appropriate organisations in these fields. so as to influence professional people on a wide scale in support of the revolution and the Party.

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Amongst other sections of the petit bourgeoisie, the Party's programmes will accord with the actual needs and situations in the Party and in the revolutionary mass movement. The Party will always uphold the basic principle of the necessity for the proletariat and its Party to mobilise and organise all sections of the working people for revolution.

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#### ON THE QUESTION OF ORGANISING THE YOUTH

The necessity of organising the youth is a further issue to be taken up for solution. In the recent anti-fascist struggles in particular, wide sections of the youth and students have been taking a forefront role, coming forward to make many sacrifices with tremendous revolutionary spirit. The youth and students constitute a great reserve for the revolution, a force with great revolutionary enthusiasm which, armed with Marxism-Leninism and organised under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party, can and will make great contributions to the revolution and provide a source of cadres for the Party.

The Internationalists and the Party have always attached due importance to the question of organising the youth. The English Internationalists consciously took the line of the Necessity for Change Conference to the youth, as well as to the working class and the national minorities. For a period a newspaper was published for youth entitled "English Revolutionary Youth", and in some local areas concrete organisational steps were taken to organise the youth.

The life of the youth under the capitalist system is one of large-scale unemployment, acute exploitation in the factories, a decadent educational system, and a life devoid of prospects and future. The agencies of the state carry out naked repression against the youth, in order to try to quell their rebellious enthusiasm. The activities of the police against the youth on the streets, in the clubs, etc., are concrete examples of this. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie are going all out to attempt to divert and pacify the youth, with their so-called "social schemes", punk rock, and other such reactionary programmes. The bourgeoisie is also encouraging its organised nazis to concentrate on the youth and attempt to mobilise sections of them for fascism.

A tremendous revolt against all this injustice and fascist oppression is seething amongst the youth. This has been demonstrated by their militant participation in the anti-fascist struggles, by the recent upsurges in the struggles in the schools, and by the struggles over the past decade and more in the colleges and universities. The Party has a serious responsibility to continue to provide leadership and organisation to the youth and students, taking up their revolutionary enthusiasm and spirit and uniting it with the drive, the aspirations and the leadership of the working class so as to direct it along the path of socialist revolution.

#### ON ORGANISING WOMEN FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Only with the complete overthrow of the monopoly capitalist system and the establishment of socialism can women achieve their emancipation. Under capitalism, the vast majority of women face double exploitation and oppression. They are exploited and oppressed as part of the working class as a whole; they also suffer further economic, political, cultural and ideological attacks as a result of their particular position as women. For example, they are exploited economically as a source of cheap labour; they are politically discriminated against; they are the target of bourgeois and imperialist education and culture which teaches passivity and subservience on all fronts, the circumscription of woman's role

to marriage, the family and the home.

With the decay of imperialism and the development of fascism, monopoly capitalism more and more viciously attacks women, attempting to degrade and dehumanise them, to turn them into mere chattels. In so doing it attacks the working class to its very core, attacking women, the family and men also.

The line of the so-called "women's liberation movement" however does not serve the emancipation of women. It promotes that women should have the same aspirations as bourgeois men, or that women should reduce and limit their struggle to gaining the same "freedom" and "independence" as men. It strives to create diversions in the working class movement, stating that the issue is one of "men versus women" and not class against class, as well as to discredit the cause of genuine women's emancipation. It promotes the reformist illusion that women's double oppression can be reduced, within the capitalist system, to the "single" oppression suffered by men. In fact both the double oppression of women and the "single" oppression of men are inescapable consequences of the capitalist mode of production.

Emancipation of women can only be achieved as part of the emancipation of the working class and all oppressed people, through proletarian socialist revolution. Hence the task of women is to participate actively in revolution as part of the entire working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist Party, to overthrow the imperialist system.

In actively participating in the revolutionary movement certain objective problems confront women. These include, amongst others, the problem of caring for and bringing up children whilst being involved in revolutionary politics, and of building a communist family life and providing a communist education for the children. Under the leadership of the Party, the Little Red Guards was established in November 1977. This was an important step in solving the problem of how to educate the children in communism, providing an organisation where they can assist the Party, learn about revolution and make their contribution to the revolutionary movement. This concretely assists parents and families who want to work full time in the revolutionary movement and who want to bring up their children according to communist principle.

The solving of the concrete problems of organising women for proletarian revolution and genuine emancipation is an important question that the Party has paid and will always pay serious attention to, developing the necessary and appropriate programmes and organisations to ensure this.

## The Party's Work on Culture

Since its inception as the English Internationalists, the Party has consistently upheld the importance of the question of culture. Culture is part of the superstructure; it reflects the economic base of a society. It is used by the imperialist bourgeoisie to protect their economic base. Therefore culture does not stand above classes but is an important arena of class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Following World War II, the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, as part of their plans to dominate the world, intensified their schemes to swamp the entire capitalist world with the imperialist culture. Fostering parasitism and decay, egocentricity, passivity, mysticism, nihilism, detachment, all the characteristics of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the imperialist culture strives to enslave the working people and convert them into the willing servants of big capital. The fact that this culture is also one of the most profitable sectors of the economy is a reflection of the parasitism and decay of the bourgeois class, which employs vast human and material resources in the business of propagating their degenerate ideology. This culture is presented as something "popular" in an attempt to destroy the real aspirations of the people for social emancipation and proletarian revolution.

The imperialist culture, in ideology, life style, social form, ideas, literature, art, etc., represents the savage frontal attack by the imperialist bourgeoisie on the culture and ideology of the working class, on Marxism-Leninism, with the aim of rendering the working class and people powerless to resist its onslaughts. Consequently, the opposition to the imperialist culture is an integral part of the revolution, and one which can only rest on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin pointed out that:

"The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition,

reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression."

For the victory of the proletarian revolution and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism it is absolutely necessary to continually fight and repudiate imperialist culture and ideology in a thoroughgoing and systematic fashion.

As well as the struggle against imperialist culture and ideology, an important task of the Party is the promotion of art and culture that serves the development of proletarian revolution. The proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party develop revolutionary culture to serve and advance the proletarian socialist revolution, as part of the Party's programme, serving to assist in arousing the people for revolutionary struggle and in arming them with the Party's Marxist-Leninist line. Out of the revolutionary struggle of the working people under Party leadership to achieve their historic mission develops genuinely popular culture of revolution. This culture, together with the revolutionary culture of the world proletariat and the historical revolutionary culture that has sprung from the revolutionary movements of the working class, is what constitutes our revolutionary culture.

Imperialist culture is used massively in the development of fascism and to create the conditions for war. The Party's forerunner, the English Internationalists, took up the issue of imperialist culture in an all-sided way, exposing, for example, how the imperialists float hundreds of pseudo-scientific, metaphysical ideas (such as the so-called "population explosion", fascist genetics, etc., etc.) which distort reality and create the ideological basis for all manner of fascist measures such as mass sterilisation, euthanasia etc. Popularisation of fascist violence, sadism, bourgeois individualism, escapism and so on through war films, punk rock, pornography, science fiction, crime fiction, etc., are all part of this imperialist offensive.

The youth in particular are the target of this kind of attack: being a skinhead, a punk, a mod or a rocker, or belonging to some nazi sect is presented as the way to break out of "the system". Senseless violence, degeneracy, prostitution, drug addiction, etc., are offered as an "alternative" to the oppressive life of bourgeois society, which is characterised as "the Establishment". This is an attempt to subvert the revolutionary aspirations and potential of the youth, and spread confusion as to what the actual situation is, namely that the nature of the bourgeoisie and its state is violent and degenerate and the only alternative is to take up the path of proletarian socialist revolution.

The Internationalists took up the issue of imperialist culture in the 1960s in the context of the struggle against modern revisionism,

which had capitulated to imperialism over the whole front of culture, as on all other questions. In the 1960s the modern revisionists and trotskyites held that imperialist culture was "progressive", reflected the "rebellion" of the people against the "old establishment" and was a reflection of "working class culture". They became one of the prime centres for the promotion of this imperialist culture within the working class movement. Today, the opportunists of various hues are hard at work producing and promoting plays, films, songs, etc., that regurgitate imperialist ideology using "left" phrases, such as their promotion of "punk rock" and the so-called "working class" culture of merely highlighting evil symptoms of "the system". There is nothing "revolutionary" about this culture. This "left" culture of the opportunists is not a culture of class struggle and revolution, but a culture of reformism and maintaining the rule of capital. The issue is sharp and clear-cut: imperialism or proletarian revolution. A radical break with imperialism is just as necessary in culture and ideology as it is in politics and organisation. The "moving left" policy of the revisionists on the cultural front is nothing but the cultural expression of their "parliamentary road" and reformist programmes and is intended to obscure the actual nature and direction of the class struggle. Just as the anti-fascist struggle must be waged with the perspective of proletarian revolution, and not some "anti-fascist reform" of the system, so in the field of culture there can be no intermediate "progressive" culture which serves neither the bourgeoisie nor the proletarian revolution. Only if this issue is grasped can opportunism in culture be dealt with whatever forms it adopts.

The Party holds that culture is something that embraces social form, personal relationships, family, dress, life-style, morality, etc., etc., and not just art, literature, theatre, film, music and the circumstances of their production and performance. The Party's experience is that the revolutionary political work cannot be fully consolidated unless these basic issues of culture are resolved and definite lines and policies put forward to transform them in a revolutionary way. The necessity to make a thoroughgoing break with the culture of imperialism, its life-styles, moral values, social forms and art, has been upheld by the Party and its forerunners ever since the days of the Necessity for Change Conference in 1967. As with the revisionists, trotskyites, etc., any compromise on this issue, such as depicting some aspects of imperialist culture as harmless or "not entirely bad", represents opportunism in ideology and is bound to lead to opportunism in political practice and line.

Throughout its history, the Party has paid attention to ensuring

that appropriate programmes and work are devoted to developing the criticism and opposition to bourgeois/imperialist culture, as well as stage by stage, in the course of revolutionary struggle and executing the Party's line and programme, developing new revolutionary culture for the Party's work and the revolutionary movement. In 1970 the English Student Movement held a conference on literature and art, and in 1972 a conference on culture was held under the slogan "Seek Truth from Facts to Serve the People". Then in 1974 the Party held a one-day conference with a group of artists who, under the influence of the Party, were taking up the struggle against the metaphysics and anarchism of the bourgeois avantgarde. As progressive artists came forward as a result of the Party's work, the issue of Party leadership and putting revolutionary politics in command (rather than culture, or anything else, in command) became central to the work among these sections of the people. It was in the context of leading this struggle that the Party set up the Progressive Cultural Association (PCA) in 1976.

Over the past two years, in the course of setting up and leading the work of PCA, the Party has taken further steps to solve various practical and theoretical questions relating to revolutionary art and culture. It has done this in the course of criticising and defeating a number of opportunist lines, such as that artists are "a special kind of person", that they are "difficult" to organise, that they have to "do their own thing", or that in order to attract people, artists have to make some kind of compromise with the bourgeoisie, either as regards content or as regards form. Other such lines include the idea that producing "revolutionary culture" is an activity in itself, totally divorced from the needs of the Party and the revolutionary movement, or that cultural work is a "special" kind of activity that does not need to come under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, etc. In particular, the Party has fought against the "working class line" in art and culture which states that the way workers live and what they produce in the way of art is inherently revolutionary; that anything the workers "like" must be progressive; that the revolutionisation of art and culture is a secondary question; that culture is a separate activity from "politics" etc. All such lines and views represent resistance to developing art and culture to directly serve the revolution; they amount to hanging onto bourgeois art and culture, allowing the continuation of bourgeois rule in this sphere of life, and are incompatible with proletarian socialist revolution.

In April last year, the First Revolutionary Conference of the PCA summed up these struggles and all the work and took a number of decisions and practical organisational steps to concentrate and develop further the cultural work of the Party. The main opportunist

ist deviations were exposed and repudiated at the Conference, and the role of the PCA as the Party's centre for cultural work was further elaborated.

The Conference put forward that the criterion for distinguishing revolutionary culture from opportunist culture is whether or not it assists in actually taking revolutionary politics and ideology to the people and assists in the whole process of organising the people for revolution under Party leadership. For culture to do this it must popularise the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line on all the issues facing the working people, it must take to the people, and serve to arm them with, revolutionary ideology and politics, Marxism-Leninism, and it must be integrated with and spring from the actual class struggles being led by the Party. PCA has to develop culture which actually serves the all-round practical needs of the revolutionary movement and the Party. Revolutionary cultural work and the activists concerned with its production and dissemination are not separate from or above this movement; they are an integral part of it, directly serving, and integrated with, all the Party's work and programme and the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. The Conference put forward the slogan "Destroy the old to build the new" in order to stress that struggle and criticism against bourgeois and opportunist culture is an absolute necessity in developing the new revolutionary culture and that this struggle should be continually waged and deepened.

Working people have cause to celebrate, and a duty to learn from, the advanced achievements and struggles of the world's proletariat and people and the Conference upheld the responsibility of PCA to popularise these achievements, in particular to popularise the glorious achievements of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The overall line of the Conference was that our new culture and art must serve the needs of the revolutionary movement and its Marxist-Leninist Party.

With the solving of these basic problems, the Conference highlighted that the main emphasis in the work of PCA and in cultural work in general is the development, production and dissemination of new revolutionary culture, especially in music, theatre and film, and through the PCA's journal, in accordance with the needs of the Party and the national and international revolutionary movement.

The Party will continue, at all times, to pay due attention to developing its work on the cultural front, as an important auxiliary in the Party's overall programme for organising the proletarian revolutionary movement.

## On Bourgeois "Democracy" and the Bourgeois Dictatorship

The situation in monopoly capitalist society is that the working class and people live under a bourgeois dictatorship. Under this dictatorship, exercised by means of the monopoly capitalist state machine, the working class is denied all basic rights of ownership and control over the means of production, the fruits of their labour, and the society at large. It is the power of capital that rules and dominates the entire society; basic rights exist only for the monopoly capitalists to exploit and plunder the working people to make their maximum profits.

The capitalists came to power in the country with such slogans as "freedom", "liberty" and "democracy", as part of their opposition to feudalism. But these slogans have never been applied to or meant for the working class and people. In fact, the only basic difference, in terms of freedoms and rights, between workers under capitalism and serfs under feudalism is that the workers have the "right" to sell their labour power to the capitalists. They have the right to "choose" who is to exploit and oppress them. Outside of this "freedom", the workers still have no basic rights or freedoms. They remain slaves, wage slaves, who are viciously exploited and who, in the words of Marx and Engels, live "only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital."

In the course of history, as the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie developed, the bourgeoisie at certain stages of the struggle were forced to concede various legislation concerned with granting certain so-called rights to the working class. These "rights" have never changed the basic position of the working class under the capitalist system or altered the nature of the bourgeois dictatorship.

Even the meagre "rights" that the bourgeoisie were forced to concede were only gained after many years of the fiercest struggle and sacrifice by the proletariat. The bourgeoisie conceded

such "rights" only in order to attempt to diffuse the struggle of the proletariat and consolidate and maintain their state power. History has shown that the bourgeoisie have never hesitated to attempt to forcibly take away even these concessions whenever they have considered it necessary to their rule to do so, and will never hesitate to do so in the future. History also shows that such turns towards open fascism through the declaration of "a state of emergency", martial law, etc., can take place with extreme rapidity. Thus for instance, the bourgeoisie today are carrying out an all round fascisation of their state, as they have done on occasions in the past, withdrawing many of the supposed "rights" of the working class, such as demonstrating, striking, picketing, etc., in order to foist their crisis onto the backs of the workers and suppress the mounting revolutionary movement.

Furthermore, history has also shown that, as soon as the bourgeoisie were forced to "grant" such concessions to the working class, they set about attempting to manipulate them so that they actually served their own interests. Thus, for instance, as soon as the bourgeoisie, after many decades of struggle, were forced by the workers to concede the right to form trade unions, not only did they set about implementing such measures as banning strikes and pickets etc. to attempt to make their concessions a mere formality, but they also set about buying off the leaders of the trade unions and stage by stage turning the trade unions into their own instruments for carrying out attacks on the working class.

These facts show that the rights of the working class under the capitalist system are a sham. Bourgeois "democracy" is a hoax and a fraud for the working class and people. Whilst the proletariat and its Party must fight resolutely for the maintenance and extension of such meagre "rights" as exist within bourgeois "democracy", true and genuine proletarian democracy can only be and will only be achieved with the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the establishment of the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Marxist-Leninist party can have no illusions and has none about bourgeois "democracy" and totally repudiates the revisionist thesis as to the supposed "democratic or liberal aspect of the bourgeoisie". The centre for this opportunist thesis are the modern revisionists who assert that the British bourgeois state can be peacefully transformed into a proletarian state, that the British "democratic" system and constitution are such that socialism can be won through the ballot box, that the "democratic" nature of the British bourgeoisie will mean that they will succumb to "mass pressure", and that parliament is a basic instrument of democracy for the

proletariat in the country and will continue to be so under socialism. They echo all the bourgeoisie's propaganda concerning bourgeois "democracy" and attempt to create illusions in the working class that basic democracy and rights exist or can be won under the capitalist system. Being open collaborators and agents of the bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists are attempting to bolster up and prettify, right in the working class movement, the tattered mask of bourgeois democracy. They are seriously attempting to disarm the proletariat on all fronts for the mighty battles with the bourgeoisie that are fast developing in the society. By so doing, the modern revisionists are attempting to achieve their aim of leading the working class on the road of further subjugation, attack and oppression - an aim which the Marxist-Leninists must go all out to defeat. In repudiating the revisionist theses and methods of work, the Party states that there must be constant vigilance against all their manifestations; the Party activists and the broad masses of people must be constantly educated in the fraudulent nature of bourgeois democracy and against the treacherous features of the modern revisionist line. The Party and its mass organisations must be organised on the basis that there exists no basic democracy or rights for the proletariat under the monopoly capitalist system.

At the same time, as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin constantly explained, it is necessary for the Marxist-Leninist party to take advantage of any legal conditions and rights that have been conceded, however temporarily, by the bourgeoisie, and carry out legal work on a number of fronts. It is necessary to utilise these conditions to the maximum in order to further the work of the Party on specific fronts; this includes wide-scale distribution and propaganda, or standing in elections when and where appropriate, etc., etc.

In carrying out this legal work, it is crucial that the basic nature of the revolution and bourgeois "democracy" be kept to the fore, firmly opposing all opportunist ideas which get the principles of the necessity of legal work caught up in social democratic illusions about the bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore the legal work itself cannot be organised on a social democratic basis, and, when participating in this kind of work, due preparations, both ideological and organisational, must be made to ensure that it develops on a **Marxist-Leninist** basis.

## The Struggle of the Welsh and Scottish People and the Proletarian Revolution in Britain

The Party fully supports the struggle of the Welsh and Scottish people against national and class oppression. The Party considers that the Scottish and Welsh working class and people comprise definite nationalities, within the British working class and people, who have been ruthlessly colonised, deprived of their national rights and turned into cheap labour for British monopoly capitalism. Scotland and Wales are nations within the state of Britain. They became so as a result of brutal annexation and colonisation by the English colonialists in the 16th Century and onwards.

The Scottish and Welsh working people suffer double exploitation at the hands of British monopoly capitalism. First and foremost, they suffer exploitation and oppression as sections of the British working class and people. Secondly, they suffer national oppression, discrimination against them on the economic and political fronts, and the suppression of their national culture, language and way of life. These attacks on the national rights of the Welsh and Scottish working people are aimed at the working class and other oppressed sections of the people. The big bourgeoisie do not suffer such national oppression; the bourgeoisie of Scotland and Wales have long since been fully incorporated into the British monopoly capitalist class.

The Party considers that the correct and only path for the ending of the class and national oppression facing the Scottish and Welsh working class and people is with the English working class, as one class, the British working class, with all oppressed sections of the people unified around it, under the leadership of one Party. The task to be accomplished is to overthrow the source and basis of both the class oppression of the entire British working class and people and the national oppression of the Scottish and Welsh working people, the British monopoly capitalist class, and establish a proletarian state of the British working class. The Party upholds that it is only under such a state that the national rights of the Scottish and Welsh working people will ever be fully respected and upheld.

The Party considers that this basic line accords with the wishes and aspirations of the Scottish and Welsh working people. This was the line taken up in the 1920s, when the vast majority of the advanced sections of the Scottish and Welsh working class came forward with the advanced sections of the English working class to build the then revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain for the entire British working class.

The Party is totally opposed to the great power chauvinism of the labour aristocracy and sections of the opportunists who state that there is no issue of national oppression facing the Scottish and Welsh people, and that there is no issue of the working class having to solve the historical question of the national rights of the two peoples.

The Party is equally opposed to the bourgeois, narrow nationalist line that attempts to divert the Scottish and Welsh people away from striking at the cause of both their class and national oppression, the British monopoly capitalist class. This line promotes that their future does not lie with the entire British working class, but instead that their struggle should be to first establish an "independent" Scotland or Wales within the British monopoly capitalist system (i. e., devolution government) or to establish separate national states (either under monopoly capitalism or socialism).

## **Unity with the Irish Working Class and Small Farmers and our Sister Party, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) : On the Relations Between the Two Revolutions Led by their Respective Parties**

The Party upholds the crucial importance of the British working class and people actively supporting the struggle of the Irish people for national liberation against British imperialism and for class emancipation from all forms of capitalism. It holds that the British proletariat must be mobilised in support of the slogan BRITISH IMPERIALISM GET OUT OF IRELAND! and that all of British imperialism's economic, political and military domination of the country must be actively opposed by the British working class.

The British working class must oppose all of the British bourgeoisie's anti-Irish propaganda, oppose all of the racist attacks carried out against the Irish community in Britain by the state and demand the complete and total end of British imperialism's connection in Ireland. The Party has consistently developed this work in an all-sided manner, one aspect being the formation of the Irish Support and Friendship Committee.

In supporting the struggle of the Irish people, the Party upholds the necessity of the British proletariat actively supporting the leadership of the Irish workers and small farmers, their Marxist-Leninist Party, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist). It is necessary to uphold the line and programme of the CPI(M-L), to take and explain this programme to the Party's membership and to the working class as a whole. Unity with the Irish workers and small farmers, support for their struggles against British imperialism and Irish monopoly capitalism, and support for their Marxist-Leninist leadership, must be an active stand, an important component part of the programme of the Marxist-Leninist Party in Britain.

In the course of the development of the revolutions in Ireland and Britain, the two Marxist-Leninist Parties have built the most pro-

found unity and the closest links with each other. The Party has, over the years, received considerable support and assistance on many fronts from the CPI(M-L), first in establishing the English Internationalists and in strengthening and building the Marxist-Leninist centre in Britain. The Party has likewise given assistance to the CPI(M-L) on a number of fronts. This close cooperation and unity with our sister Party is something that the Party will always cherish, uphold and strengthen. It is a basic reflection and manifestation of the close and unbreakable unity that exists between the British working class and the Irish workers and small farmers.

#### ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO REVOLUTIONS

It is necessary to consider what are the Marxist-Leninist principles on the relation between the British and Irish revolutions. Marx pointed out:

"For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working class ascendancy. I always expressed this viewpoint in the New York Tribune. Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will never accomplish anything until it has got rid of Ireland."

Lenin says:

"At first Marx thought that Ireland would be liberated, not by the national movement of the oppressed nation, but by the working class movement of the oppressing nation.... However, it turned out that the British working class fell under the influence of the Liberals for quite a long time.... The bourgeois liberation movement in Ireland grew stronger and assumed revolutionary forms. Marx reconsidered his view and corrected it. 'How disastrous it is for a nation when it has subjugated another nation.' The British working class will never be free until Ireland is freed from the British yoke. Reaction in Britain is strengthened and fostered by the enslavement of Ireland.... If capitalism had been overthrown in Britain as quickly as Marx first expected, there would have been no room for a bourgeois-democratic and general national movement in Ireland. But since it had arisen, Marx advised the British workers to support it, to give it a revolutionary impetus and lead it to completion in the interests of their own liberty."

Thus in Marx's time he considered on the basis of the concrete historical conditions that rather than Ireland having to obtain her freedom as a result of the victory of the socialist revolution in

Britain, the situation was that the British workers could not achieve victory in their struggle without the liberation of Ireland, and that therefore it was vital for their own revolution for British workers to support the national liberation struggle of the Irish people. Our Party considers that this analysis, based on the concrete conditions of Marx's time, is valid also today, in the concrete conditions of today. For this reason, while it is true that the support of the proletariat of Britain and of all lands is an indispensable factor for the success of the Irish revolution, it is not true that for the Irish revolution to succeed it is necessary for the proletarian socialist revolution to take place in Britain. The development of the Irish working class, the traditions of armed revolutionary struggle of the Irish people, the decay of British imperialism, the expansion of the prospects for anti-imperialist revolutions of small countries in the world today, the existence and strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist Party, etc. - all these mean that the possibility of the overthrow of British imperialist rule in Ireland prior to the victory of socialism in Britain is not excluded. Any thinking to the contrary has the effect of placing a brake on the revolutionary initiative of the Irish people and represents in its effects succumbing to the "great power" demagogy of British imperialism.

The revolution in Britain is proletarian socialist revolution against British monopoly capitalism, while the revolution in Ireland is also proletarian socialist revolution against the British imperialists and Irish monopoly capitalist class, but with the first item on the agenda being the working class leading the people to overthrow British imperialist domination and establish a nationally independent, reunified People's Republic. Britain is an oppressing nation, and Ireland is an oppressed nation, and on this concrete particularity the unity of the two peoples is founded. As Lenin pointed out:

"The proletariat of the oppressing nations ... must demand freedom of political secession for the colonies and nations that are oppressed by 'its' nation", while "the Socialists of the oppressed nations must particularly fight for and put into effect complete and absolute unity, including organisational unity, between the workers of the oppressed nation and the workers of the oppressing nation."

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The CPE(M-L) repudiates all varieties of bourgeois and opportunist theories on the national question and on the relation between the Marxist-Leninist Parties in Britain and Ireland. Thus, for example,

it totally opposes the revisionist theory upheld by the "Communist" Party of Great Britain of the British party being the "mother" party to the parties in the colonial and neo-colonial countries, including Ireland, as instanced by the proposal of the revisionist leadership in earlier years for a congress of Communist Parties of the "Commonwealth", and by the interference of the revisionists both in the old party in Ireland and in the national movement. This is "great power" chauvinism and entirely contrary to the Leninist principles outlined above. Similarly, the CPE(M-L) repudiates the trotskyite theory of a single party for Britain and Ireland. The CPE(M-L) repudiates the theory put forward by the trotskyites and others that the reason the British working class should support the Irish people is because the repression being developed in Ireland will otherwise be used in Britain. It is the proletarian internationalist duty of the British working class to support the struggles of the Irish people. In point of fact, only by supporting the Irish people and the people of the whole world, can the British working class bring about the proletarian socialist revolution in Britain. Whilst the British proletariat must wage struggle against all repression, its support for the Irish people is not a question of and is not from the standpoint of "avoiding repression" per se. In any case such repression is occurring against the British workers at the present time and it will certainly increase as the class contradictions in Britain intensify.

The CPE(ML) further opposes the neo-revisionist theories and practice in relation to Ireland which are characterised by:

1. Extending general "support" to the Irish people but, contrary to Leninism, failing to do so through recognising and supporting the Marxist-Leninist party in Ireland;
2. Providing lip service to supporting the Irish people but failing concretely to agitate in support of the national liberation struggle;
3. Opposing the national liberation struggle, branding the petit-bourgeois nationalist forces, who combat the terrorism of British imperialism through the erroneous tactic of terrorism, as "fascist".

#### THE MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF ONE PARTY FOR EACH COUNTRY

The question of the necessity of separate parties for Britain and Ireland depends on the Marxist-Leninist principle of there being one party for each country.

Owing to the manner of development of capitalism the world is

divided into nations and, whilst capital continually transcends national boundaries, this has the effect of exacerbating not eliminating contradictions between nations and nationalities. Hence the abolition of national division cannot be achieved except through the overthrow of capitalism and the development of socialism and communism. Consequently the proletariat, whose principle is thoroughly internationalist, must nevertheless deal with the problem of organising the socialist revolution in the context of existing national boundaries.

However, nations are comprised into various national or multinational states. The existence of these states on the one hand gives rise to the tendency to break down nationalities and form a single national life based on the integrated economic life while on the other hand it forces the proletariat of the different nationalities into a common struggle against the exploiting classes whose state it is. Thus there arises a specific common motion of the whole society, distinct from that of any other state. From these circumstances arises the necessity of organising revolution on the basis of existing states. The problem of organising revolution in each country has its own particularity based on the particular relation of classes and nationalities. Whilst the proletariat of each country depends on the support of the proletarians of all countries, no revolution is totally dependent on any other. It is on this basis that the Marxist-Leninist principle of one vanguard party of the proletariat in each country arises.

The proletariat of each country has its own separate leadership while the proletariat of each country supports the proletariat of every country. Hence, the principles of fraternal assistance and proletarian internationalism on the one hand and, on the other, of one Marxist-Leninist party and one revolution relying on its own efforts in each country.

The Seventh All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in April 1917 adopted a resolution which concluded:

"The interests of the working class demand the amalgamation of the workers of all the nationalities of Russia into common proletarian organisations, political, trade union, cooperative, cultural and so forth. Only such amalgamation of the workers of the various nationalities into common organisations will permit the proletariat to wage a successful struggle against international capital and bourgeois nationalism."

Stalin pointed out at this Conference:

"We have still to settle the question of how to organise the proletariat of the various nations (in Russia) into a single, common party. One plan is that the workers should be organised on national lines - so many nations, so many parties. That plan was rejected by the Social Democrats. Experience has shown that the organisation of the proletariat of a given state on national lines tends only to destroy the idea of class solidarity. All the proletarians of all the nations in a given state must be organised in a single, indivisible proletarian collective.

"Thus, our views on the national question can be reduced to the following propositions:

- a) Recognition of the right of nations to secession;
- b) Regional autonomy for nations remaining within the given state;
- c) Special legislation guaranteeing freedom of development for national minorities;
- d) A single, indivisible proletarian collective, a single party, for the proletarians of all nationalities of the given state."

In applying the above considerations to Britain and Ireland it can be seen that in the conditions of a single state of UK and Ireland, it would, under definite conditions, not be inappropriate to organise on the basis of a single party with certain definite organisational principles. For example, the Executive Committee of the Comintern passed, on the basis of the recommendations of the Second Congress of the Comintern and on the special appeal of Lenin, a resolution calling for a unity congress to include all communist groups and organisations of Great Britain and Ireland:

"In Britain, a single Communist Party must be organised on the basis of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International. To achieve this in the space of four months a general congress of the communist groups and organisations of Great Britain and Ireland must be summoned. In this congress there must participate

- 1) The United Communist Party,
- 2) The Communist Party (BSTI),
- 3) The Shop Stewards,
- 4) The Scottish Communist Group,
- 5) The Welsh Groups,
- 6) The Irish Communists (on a federal basis),
- 7) The Socialist Labour Party,
- 8) The left wing of the Independent Labour Party."

This was put forward in particular circumstances and at a time

when the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" was a single state, and even then it is to be noticed that Lenin advocated Irish membership on a federal basis.

The massive upsurge in the national liberation struggle of the Irish people during and immediately after the first imperialist world war led to the break up of the so-called "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." A new bourgeois state, formally independent from Britain but neo-colonially dependent on it, was formed in Ireland. This state laid claim to the entire thirty-two counties of Ireland in accordance with the whole history of Ireland as a single nation and in accordance with the wishes of the entire nation with the exception of a handful of national traitors. However, in order to continue its plunder of the Irish people, the British imperialists forcibly partitioned the country, arbitrarily truncated Ireland to a twenty-six county state and annexed six counties as a direct colony into the so-called "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland". This colony was administered through the colonial government at Stormont on the basis of special colonial legislation. Thus there arose the situation where there are now two states: England, Scotland and Wales constitute a unitary state of Britain, comprising the English, Welsh and Scots nationalities; Ireland constitutes a state which is arbitrarily truncated, part of its territory and its people being forcibly annexed as a colony by Britain. The Party is completely opposed to the theory of "two nations", or two states, in Ireland and does not recognise the so-called "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland".

From these considerations there arises the principle of one Marxist-Leninist Party for Britain, one for Ireland.

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On the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of fraternal assistance and proletarian internationalism on the one hand and of one Marxist-Leninist Party in each country on the other - it is on this basis that the relations of our two sister Parties have been based and will always continue to be based. It is on this basis that our Party pledges itself to furthering the unity between our two peoples, to furthering the unity between our two sister Parties and to furthering the support for the heroic struggle of the Irish workers and small farmers, led by their Marxist-Leninist Party, against British imperialism and Irish monopoly capitalism, for national and class emancipation.

## On the Question of Uniting with Marxist-Leninists Outside the Party and Dealing with the Neo-Revisionists

The first principle that the Party has upheld throughout is that the CPE(ML) is the Marxist-Leninist Party of the proletariat. The CPE(ML) arose from the ECM(ML) and this in turn came from the English Internationalists which was founded in August 1967. Since the inception of this movement, the Marxist-Leninist centre has grown and strengthened, and the CPE(ML) was founded in 1972 as the genuine Marxist-Leninist Party in the country. The CPE(ML) has never entered and will never enter into any discussions or programmes on the basis of liquidating this glorious Party, its history and Marxist-Leninist line. The entire perspective of the Party is that it is the Party which is going to lead, which is leading the British working class in proletarian socialist revolution, and that there is no other group or organisation in the country which is going to provide the necessary Marxist-Leninist leadership for this revolution.

The second principle is that there must be one and only one Marxist-Leninist centre in any country. The situation whereby there are individuals and organisations outside the Party who are at least claiming to be Marxist-Leninists is a situation that the Party has always considered as its responsibility to deal with and resolve. It is necessary for the proletarian party to ensure that these groups or individuals either become associated and united with the Party or their line and organisation is exposed as being against Marxism-Leninism, so that there is no basis of unity with them.

This question of there being one Marxist-Leninist headquarters in the country is a very basic question for the success of the British revolution. In this our Party is in accord with the words of Comrade Enver Hoxha who stated at the 7th Congress of the PLA that "Facing a savage enemy of many faces, who strives to infiltrate our ranks by all manner of means, the Marxist-Leninist parties also thoroughly understand the need which the working class of each country has for unity, for a truly revolutionary leadership, its Marxist-Leninist Party, of which there is only one, because

Marxism-Leninism is only one and the proletarians have no differing opposing interests among themselves."

Ever since its inception as the Internationalists, the Party has carried out its responsibilities in dealing with groups and individuals outside its ranks who claim to be Marxist-Leninist.

It has always taken an open and resolute stand against neo-revisionism, as it has done against all forms of opportunism. In fact, the Internationalists grew up out of the struggle against, not only the betrayal by the modern revisionists, but also against the lines and methods of work of the neo-revisionists. The historic Necessity for Change Conference, in 1967, which culminated with the forming of the English Internationalists, represented such a fierce struggle against neo-revisionism, in particular against all its lines such as the "impossibility of rebuilding the Party" "the impossibility of taking Marxism-Leninism back to the workers, youth and students", "the impossibility of leading the people's struggles", "the backwardness of the British working class", against its opposition to the upsurge of the youth and student movement and against the programme of the anti-revisionists of merely "developing more theory" and engaging in sideline and factional polemics against one another. It was at this conference that the English Internationalists recognised that there was no force in the country capable of taking up or willing to take up the task of rebuilding the proletarian party; at this conference the English Internationalists took upon themselves the solemn task of carrying out this decisive undertaking. Throughout the Party's history, it has always taken such a stand and never compromised on its opposition to and struggle against neo-revisionist lines, methods of work and organisation. It has upheld that the unity of all Marxist-Leninist forces must be around the Marxist-Leninist line and policy of the British revolution and in opposition to all forms of opportunism.

At the same time, the Party has also always encouraged, between serious groups and organisations which claim to be Marxist-Leninist and which participate in the revolutionary struggle, a spirit of meeting to discuss and clarify lines, seeking possibilities of resolving differences and attempting to unite on specific practical programmes in the struggle against monopoly capitalism. Whilst never capitulating or compromising on its Marxist-Leninist line, the Party has consistently upheld the spirit of organisations attempting to reach agreement on the fundamental issues of the revolution, and not letting secondary and other differences harm the unifying of the Marxist-Leninist forces. It is by engaging in such a process that the Party has been able, stage by stage over the past 11 years, to create a situation whereby a) all genuine Marxist-Leninists can be

unified and united with around the Party and b) basic differences between Marxism-Leninism and neo-revisionism can be exposed to the members and supporters of various organisations and to the working class movement as a whole.

Thus, in carrying out this work, the Party has opposed the two basic erroneous lines on unifying the Marxist-Leninist centre as follows:

1) Narrow sectarianism, which states that it is sufficient merely to declare all forces outside the Party sham and counter-revolutionary and declare that no attention whatever should be paid to them by the Marxist-Leninist Party. The Party has always considered that the problem of groups and individuals outside the Party could never be resolved simply by declaration or by ignoring them. The proletarian party, to deserve its name as such, cannot remain on the sidelines on this question, but must take an active stand to deal with and resolve the problem.

2) The right opportunist line which upholds "unity at all costs" and "unity on the basis of 'revolutionary' theory alone" or "unity by declaration". This line completely ignores the fact that unity must be based on revolutionary theory and practice, clarifying and resolving basic questions of the revolution and strengthening the single Marxist-Leninist line and policy for the British revolution. It negates the principle that unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces can only be built and forged in the struggle against the monopoly capitalist class and for socialist revolution and in the struggle against opportunism of all hues. This "unity for unity's sake", and "unity" in isolation from furthering the common struggle against the enemy, can only bring about a situation where the Marxist-Leninist line becomes compromised and revisionist and neo-revisionist tendencies are brought into the Marxist-Leninist centre.

Furthermore, the experience of the British communist movement over the past 13 years has shown that this kind of "unity" is geared to perpetuating all of the factional lines, petty fiefdoms and basic sectarian attitudes of various groups. Any such unity by its very nature can only be short-lived and lead to fiercer and more extensive splits and divisions occurring. This line, in fact, has been seen to be one of actually obstructing the genuine uniting of the Marxist-Leninist forces. It has been raised consistently over the last 13 years by certain groups every time their existence has become more threatened in order to try to avoid either being forced into agreement around the Marxist-Leninist line and organisation or **exposed** as having no interest in leading the revolution.

In applying these principles to the various organisations claiming

to be Marxist-Leninist, and deciding to what extent the possibility of unity exists, the Party has always been guided by the line and practice of each group separately, studying this in relationship to the stage and state of the revolutionary movement at any particular time.

The Party is confident that by upholding its Marxist-Leninist line and practice on the British revolution, persisting in dealing with and sorting out all those individuals and groups outside the ranks of the Party who claim to be Marxist-Leninist, the situation in the next few years will be clarified even further, and greater advances will be made in unifying all the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces around the Party, and in further exposing in the communist and workers' movement all the sham Marxist-Leninist individuals and organisations which represent nothing but another form of opportunism in the working class movement.

## The Party Will Play its Role to the Full in Strengthening the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE !

The slogan raised by Comrades Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto" - WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! - is a basic principle guiding the Marxist-Leninists and proletarians throughout the world. The Party's key task is to lead the revolution in Britain, and this revolution must be carried through as part and parcel of the revolution of the workers and oppressed people throughout the world to overthrow imperialism and all reaction on a world-wide scale. The Party considers that all genuine Marxist-Leninists are also internationalists. They are linked by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and by the common cause of the world's people, with the revolutionary centre in every other country. This basic principle of Marxism-Leninism has to be actively implemented by building and strengthening the close cooperation between Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations throughout the world, and thus strengthening the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement - a task which is of crucial importance for the world's people.

In each country there must be and can only be one Marxist-Leninist party. This party leads the revolutionary struggle in the country, and to do this it must be based on Marxism-Leninism, fully mobilise all the forces for revolution in that country, rely on its own resources and on the strength and wisdom of the working class and revolutionary masses in the country. It must rely on its own analysis, based on the application of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, of the particularity of the class struggle in the country and develop its strategy and tactics for successfully leading it to victory. No one else can do this. As Lenin said, communists have to learn "to apply the general principles of communism to the specific relations between classes and parties, to the specific features in the objective development towards communism, which

are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study and predict."

The second point is that the Party upholds the Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism. This proletarian internationalism is based firstly on each Marxist-Leninist party solving the strategy and tactics of the revolution in its own country; and secondly on actively building and strengthening the unity with the other Marxist-Leninist parties in the International Communist Movement and actively supporting all the revolutionary struggles of the world's people. The struggle of the workers and oppressed people throughout the world is one struggle, a common struggle for the victory of communism, and the Party must seriously share its revolutionary experience with, and learn from, the other Marxist-Leninist parties and in an all round way strengthen the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement, which serves, not only to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist movement internationally, but also nationally in each and every country.

The call of Marx and Engels, WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! , points to the unity of the international working class in their common struggle against imperialism and all reaction, whose ultimate goal is the establishment of communism, the classless society and the abolition of all national boundaries. The struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie rages throughout the world. It is a fight to the death over which system for the world: capitalism and imperialism or socialism. The imperialist bourgeoisie organises internationally against the international proletariat; the revisionists do likewise. The organising of the proletariat internationally is an essential task to ensure the victory, on a world wide scale, over the forces of imperialism. So proletarian internationalism is a fundamental principle of Marxism; WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE ! is a fundamental principle of Marxism.

The dialectical relationship between parties' self-reliance and their internationalism is summed up by Lenin:

"There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception".

This is the direct opposite of the so-called "internationalism" of the Soviet modern revisionists who, under such slogans as "international dictatorship of the proletariat", interfere in the affairs

of other parties and countries in an attempt to take away their self-reliance and make them submit to revisionism, to disarm them and leave them defenceless against Soviet social imperialism. With similar abuse of Marxist terms, the Chinese revisionists are now calling for an "internationalism" which, under the hoax of a so-called "world united front" against one or two superpowers, negates the decisive fact that the proletariat and its party in each country has to overthrow its own bourgeoisie, and that this is its primary contribution to the defeat of the imperialist system on a world scale. In place of this they preach outright class collaboration. These kinds of "internationalism" are complete distortions of the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism.

The other, "opposite" distortion negates internationalism with the slogan "internationalism begins at home", which implies that as long as you are fighting the bourgeoisie at home you are automatically doing your internationalist duty and so there is no need for the Marxist-Leninist parties to actively build the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. Marx scathingly opposed this line when it was advanced in the Gotha programme of the German party in 1875. To the programme's pious phrase: "The working class strives for its emancipation first of all within the framework of the present-day national state, conscious that the necessary results of its efforts, which are common to the workers of all civilised countries, will be the international brotherhood of peoples", Marx's retort was: "The internationalism of this programme stands infinitely below that of the Free Trade Party. The latter also asserts that the result of its efforts will be 'the international brotherhood of peoples.' But it also does something to make trade international, and by no means contents itself with the consciousness that the peoples are carrying on trade at home!"

The concentrated expression of proletarian internationalism is in the unity and cooperation of Marxist-Leninist parties. This cooperation must be built in an active and practical way - for example, sending delegations, holding joint meetings, issuing joint statements, holding bilateral and multilateral meetings to discuss common problems, and giving practical and political support.

No matter what the stage of the revolution or size of the Marxist-Leninist forces in any particular country, whether its immediate aim is national liberation or socialist revolution, it is the proletarian revolutionaries and genuine Marxist-Leninist organisations that the Party upholds and supports. In those countries where no Marxist-Leninist party yet exists, the Party supports various national liberation organisations, for the movement they are leading is objectively against imperialism, is in the interests of the people

and is a component part and necessary stage of the proletarian socialist revolution. At the same time the Party upholds the line that it is only with the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party that the liberation struggles of the people in the colonies and neo-colonies can be led through to total victory. Lenin said:

"We, as communists, should and will support bourgeois liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organising in the revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited".

Proletarian internationalism means active support on many fronts for the revolutionary struggles of the people throughout the world. It means all-round and whole-hearted support for and popularisation of the genuine socialist countries, which at this time means the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The establishment of socialism is the highest achievement of the international proletariat, and the socialist countries are a mighty base area for the working and oppressed people and their Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world.

The Party of Labour of Albania is in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism of all hues and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The PLA, and the great bastion of socialism that the Albanian people are building under the leadership of this Party, have the wholehearted support of our Party and of all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties in the international movement.

#### HISTORICAL STRUGGLE TO BUILD THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

At different stages in its history the International Communist Movement has assumed different forms and taken appropriate measures to solve definite problems. In the 1840s the proletarian revolutionary movement was scattered, with no coherent philosophy and political programme. Marx and Engels joined the underground Communist League in 1847, bringing science and consciousness to the proletarian revolutionary movement, and fighting all the bourgeois socialist trends that were continually trying to disintegrate it. Out of this struggle came the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848 which gave the call WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! and proclaimed the internationalist character of the proletarian movement. The Communist League fulfilled a definite historical need for the proletariat.

With the onset of reaction in 1850, the working class suffered a serious setback. In 1864 Marx and Engels set up the International Workingmen's Association, the First International, in order to weld together the proletarian forces and regroup them. They saw that the proletarian revolution would only develop successfully if it was based on its own consistent ideology, Marxism, and that the workers had to be won over from the various ideological trends that were current in various countries, particularly those of Proudhon, Lassalle and Bakunin. Again, this was a definite historical necessity for the proletariat.

By 1874 the International Working Men's Association had gone as far as it could in achieving this, and the decision was taken to dissolve it. Marx wrote:

"The international activity of the working classes does not in any way depend on the existence of the International Working Men's Association. This was only the first attempt to create a central organ for that activity; an attempt which was a lasting success on account of the impulse it gave but which was no longer realisable in its first historical form after the fall of the Paris Commune".

Because of the work of the First International and the rapid growth of the working class movement, by the 1880s a number of mass working class socialist parties had been established. Within these, bourgeois trends of reformism and utopianism were active. Once again there was a concrete need for an international organisational form, with the aim of consolidating the working class parties and strengthening their Marxist ideological basis. To carry this out, Engels led the founding of the Second International in 1889, in which Marxism was the dominant ideology. Bourgeois trends in the working class movement were becoming isolated.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! was again the call of the Second International, but after the death of Engels, the leadership of the International was usurped by opportunism. In 1914, at the outbreak of the imperialist war, they issued the reactionary social-chauvinist slogan of "defence of the fatherland" in direct opposition to the proletarian internationalist slogan of converting the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war. These "leaders" betrayed Marxism in an all-round way and seriously disrupted the international communist and working class movement.

Out of the struggle against the renegades of the Second International, waged by Marxist-Leninists the world over, led by Comrade Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the Third International (the Comintern) was set up in 1919 under the leadership of Lenin. The Comintern was formed with the definite task of founding new Communist Parties in many countries, parties genuinely

independent of the bourgeoisie, founded on revolutionary Marxism and nothing else. The new parties were built on the shoulders of the revolutionaries in the various countries; the line for each party was worked out with the comrades from the countries concerned to fit the concrete conditions in these countries. In the course of this work, the Comintern cut through the confusion created by the opportunist leaders of the Second International, and affiliation to the Comintern became conditional on breaking off relations with the Second International. The new International took Marxism-Leninism deep amongst the working masses all over the world. Detailed guidance was given to the new parties. In the period of the Comintern, the new Communist Parties "passed from the stage of infancy to a higher stage of revolutionary maturity and organisation" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA). Having fulfilled this historic task, the Comintern ceased its activity in 1943.

After the dissolution of the Comintern, the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) became a centre for consultation in the International Communist Movement. Also multilateral meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties, such as the 1957 meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow and the 1960 meeting of the Representatives of the 81 Fraternal Parties also held in Moscow, continued, and there were detailed discussions on the general line and tactics of the International Communist Movement. For example, the Cominform expelled the Titoite revisionists who had betrayed Marxism-Leninism and were restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia, a decision which was also upheld in the meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties from all over the world.

When the Khrushchov clique usurped power in the Soviet Union after the death of Comrade Stalin this posed a serious threat to the International Communist Movement. The leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union betrayed the principles of proletarian internationalism and broke all norms governing relations between parties. In order to spread revisionism in the International Communist Movement, they exerted all kinds of pressure on the fraternal parties, and carried out wild attacks and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and other parties. In interfering in the affairs of the fraternal parties, dictating what stands they should take, and openly slandering and accusing them, the Khrushchov clique was acting in direct opposition to the whole spirit and norms of the Comintern. There, leadership guidance, resolution of differences through comradely discussion, respect for the independence and integrity of the parties. Here, the method of "conductor's

baton" and the "mother party". Enver Hoxha, reviewing this period of the history of the International Communist Movement, says that the leading Soviet group "have trampled on the Marxist-Leninist norms and principles of relations between fraternal parties, and have established the feudal and patriarchal relations of submission and domination".

No party has the right to take action unilaterally in matters that affect the interests of a fraternal party. The Khrushchevite revisionists consistently went against this principle. For example, in 1948/49 Titoite revisionism was denounced by the International Communist Movement and expelled from its ranks. After Stalin's death, Khrushchov, in line with his all-round sabotage of Lenin's and Stalin's great achievements, set about reversing the verdict on Titoite revisionism. This attempt to fundamentally change the line of the International Communist Movement was carried out with no discussions between or meetings of fraternal parties. With the ideological defeat and exposure of Khrushchevite revisionism, there arose the need to rebuild and strengthen the unity of the International Communist Movement on the basis of opposition to modern revisionism. This was highlighted at the 5th Congress of the PLA in 1966, when Comrade Enver Hoxha said that "the establishment of links for cooperation and coordination of actions in conformity with the new actual conditions is, in our Party's opinion, an urgent and necessary question".

During this period, a new impetus developed in building the International Communist Movement in opposition to Khrushchevite revisionism. New Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations were born; meetings were held and firm unity was built between many such parties and organisations; joint statements were issued, etc. The Party of Labour of Albania made very important contributions to the development of this most important international movement.

Recently the Chinese revisionists have been seen openly violating all the Marxist-Leninist norms just as the Khrushchovite revisionists did in the period after 1956. The "new" revisionists base themselves on the so-called "theory of three worlds", an openly opportunist theory directed at disarming the proletariat by negating the historical necessity of its class struggle against the bourgeoisie nationally and internationally, and substituting for it the anti-Marxist division of the world into blocs according to the political and military power of states and the level of their economic development - all this was promoted internationally as a "great contribution to Marxism-Leninism". In true Khrushchovite style the revisionist leadership in China has been trying to dictate this "theory" to the Marxist-Leninist parties. Meeting with a principled

rejection from the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces, these renegades have established relations with various opportunist groups, sometimes several in one country, and have even gone to the lengths of attempting to split certain parties over this issue. The Chinese revisionists, today headed by Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, have definitely departed from Marxism-Leninism, from proletarian internationalism and seriously violated all of the Leninist norms for developing relations between parties and strengthening the International Communist Movement.

These activities of first the Khrushchovite revisionists and secondly the Chinese revisionists have caused considerable harm and setbacks to the building and strengthening of the International Communist Movement. Throughout the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement the struggle to expose and denounce this latest international revisionist line has grown from strength to strength in just over two years. In the last few years, especially since the 7th Congress of the PLA, the work of rebuilding and strengthening the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement against imperialism, opportunism of all hues and around Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism has gained new momentum. This has been demonstrated by the Joint Declaration of Latin American Marxist-Leninist Parties made at the 7th Congress itself, the Joint Declaration of Five European Marxist-Leninist Parties, the great internationalist rallies held in Italy, Germany, Portugal, Greece and more recently in Montreal, Canada, and the serious development of multilateral and bilateral meetings between Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations.

This strength and unity in the International Communist Movement can only develop and deepen; the history of the internationalist communist movement from the time of Marx shows that this is a basic and most important task for Marxist-Leninists to carry out.

The decisive issue at stake is to strengthen the unity and cooperation between Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world and to further develop the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement, based on the motion over the last few years. As to the form of this, the history of the International Communist Movement shows that different forms were adopted at different times in order to solve specific problems, and an organised form such as the Comintern was not always feasible or necessary. In the process of building and strengthening the International Communist Movement, the question of what form it should adopt will be and is being presented for solution and through discussion and consultation the correct and appropriate one will certainly be adopted.

The Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) will make its fullest contribution to this task of strengthening the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. Since the Necessity for Change Conference, when our forerunner organisation was founded, and in which representatives of the leadership of revolutionary struggles in various countries participated, our Party has always been active in building unity with Marxist-Leninist organisations abroad and mobilising support amongst the people for revolutionary developments all over the world.

Based on our summing up of the experience of the International Communist Movement, as outlined previously, and the experience of the struggle against Soviet and Chinese revisionism and their trampling on all the basic norms for developing fraternal relations and unity between Marxist-Leninist parties, the Party upholds the Leninist norms and guidelines for governing and developing relations with fraternal parties. The Party considers that the development of correct Marxist-Leninist norms is of crucial importance; it is the experience of the International Communist Movement that revisionism invariably attempts to attack the content by attacking the form, establishing its foothold by attacking and violating the formality of relations between parties. Having breached the formality the revisionists then push their line and create maximum disruption. For this reason, these Marxist-Leninist norms are an indispensable weapon for the international proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties in defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the unity of Marxist-Leninists, in deepening the struggle against opportunism of all hues, and in carrying out the most important task of STRENGTHENING THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.