

Communist Workers League of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

Building Revolutionary Communist Bases

At The place of Work

60-page booklet 1974

BUILDING REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST BASES AT THE PLACE OF WORK



"OUR TASK IS TO EXPOSE, ISOLATE AND ATTACK THE BOSSES AND THEIR EXTREME RIGHT-WING HIRELINGS; NEUTRALISE WAVERING ELEMENTS THAT MIGHT BE DRAWN IN TO SUPPORT THE RIGHT AND THE BOSSES; GRADUALLY WIN OVER TO THE SIDE OF REVOLUTION THE CENTRALLY-SITUATED, UNDECIDED, BUT BASICALLY QUITE PROGRESSIVE WORKERS; AND ACTIVELY RECRUIT TO THE RANKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT THE BEST, MOST CLASS-CONSCIOUS LEFT-WING WORKERS...."

PUBLISHED BY THE COMMUNIST WORKERS LEAGUE OF BRITAIN
(MARXIST - LENINIST)

PRICE

EACH DAY IN THIS COUNTRY many millions of working-class people - men and women, young and old, black and white, of British and other nationalities - are exploited by capitalist bosses of varying degrees of wealth and power - men and women, young and old, black and white, of British and other nationalities - at their place of work. Both in the so-called "public", i.e. nationalised industries, and private sectors this exploitation for profit goes on year in, year out, generation in, generation out.

At the very heart of the capitalist system lie the huge monopoly capitalist and imperialist firms which exploit not only workers here in Britain but in many parts of the world, particularly in the colonies and neo-colonies, where struggles are taking place right now for national liberation and socialism. Their fight is against the same enemy that exploits workers here in Britain; and differences of colour, nationality, creed and language cannot deny that fundamental truth on which rests the objective unity of class interest shared by workers and oppressed peoples across this globe. Accordingly, every worker here has it in common with all workers everywhere to organise to overthrow the exploiters and establish the state *political* power of the working class, his class.

The car worker here is objectively the brother of the peasant in India, though the ruling class has been forced by struggle to give the former a better standard of living, more crumbs from profits gained here and from colonial exploitation. The bosses hope that in return the highest paid workers will be loyal to their system. The miner here is the comrade of the carpenter in Australia. The electrician and the painter the comrades of the machinists and labourers of America, France, Norway, and everywhere that the rule of profit-mad bosses prevails.

These monopoly capitalist and imperialist companies have spread their tentacles across many nations. In Britain many workers are exploited by multi-national companies whose origin of operation is America and elsewhere. It is these companies (see table I which lists some of the largest operating here) which constitute the backbone of capitalist exploitation and control the lives of millions of workers

and their families.

LARGEST UK COMPANIES PUBLISHED IN 1973

Company	Capital Trading employed profit(a)	
	£m	(£m)
1 Shell Transport and Trading ..	2,710	526.4
2 British Petroleum ..	2,661	847.8
3 ICI ..	1,972	319.0
4 Rio-Tinto Zinc ..	1,100	147.1
5 British-American Tobacco ..	913	182.6
6 Burmah Oil ..	905	38.6
7 Grand Metropolitan Hotels ..	827	70.7
8 Imperial Group ..	790	92.4
9 General Electric Co ..	783	159.9
10 Unilever ..	655	135.0
11 Courtaulds ..	564	91.3
12 British Leyland Motor Corporation ..	499	88.8
13 Esso Petroleum ..	498	77.0
14 Dunlop Holdings ..	457	77.5
15 Guest Keen and Nettlefold's ..	436	73.2
16 Allied Breweries ..	433	62.8
17 Distillers Co ..	406	71.6
18 Bowater Group ..	388	53.8
19 B&S Charrington ..	386	61.6
20 Reed International ..	355	63.7
21 Sears Holdings ..	343	60.1
22 P & O Steam Navigation Co ..	336	32.1
23 Ford Motor Co ..	295	93.3
24 Great Universal Stores ..	278	67.8
25 Philips Electronic & Associated Industries ..	273	33.1
26 British Insulated Callenders Cables ..	269	50.6
27 Rank Organisation ..	268	21.8
28 Whitbread ..	259	34.2
29 Plessey ..	258	33.2
30 Tube Investments ..	254	36.4
31 Thorn Electrical Industries ..	254	130.4
32 Ranks Hovis McDougall ..	251	38.6
33 Coats Patons ..	250	51.4
34 Rank Xerox ..	247	112.9
35 British Oxygen ..	237	49.2
36 Trust Houses Forte ..	224	34.8
37 Associated British Foods ..	221	56.3
38 Joseph Lucas (Industries) ..	221	35.9
39 F W Woolworth & Co ..	216	44.8
40 Cadbury Schweppes ..	196	40.9

TABLE I: These huge monopoly capitalist companies make many millions of pounds profit each year from exploiting the labour power of their employees.
(Source: "Labour Research" magazine)

The scenes of daily exploitation to be witnessed in Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Birmingham, Cardiff and London have their counterpart wherever workers are yet unfree from the "law and order" of capitalist dictatorship. In city and countryside, town and village, the scramble for maximum profits goes on. We struggling workers and other progressively-inclined people have allies amounting to billions of people in the imperialist and capitalist countries, and in the colonies and in socialist countries, such as China and Albania, where the bosses and their hirelings have been defeated already and where workers are now in control of their own destinies.

The basic approach the Communist Workers League of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) has to the important question of building revolutionary communist bases at the place of work in industries is to be seen in an international context of the fight of workers against those who exploit their labour power for profit. And though each country has definite features that characterise the struggle, i.e. features peculiar to the class war being waged in a particular country as a result of hist-

orical development and so on, these in no way invalidate the basic fundamental internationalism which is the hallmark of revolutionary communism. Perhaps no words sum up this objective unity of workers of all lands better than those uttered by James Connolly, the great Irish revolutionary Marxist theoretician and fighter, who stated "*The socialist of another country is my fellow patriot, as the capitalist of my own country is my natural enemy.*" Our plan for attacking the bosses' system by building revolutionary centres in industry is a complementary part of the fight for freedom and socialism everywhere. As the peoples of the colonies and neo-colonies hack away at one leg of the international system of exploitation, so we here in this country must seriously organise to hack away at the other leg which tramples us down. Failure to grasp the internationalism of the fight amounts to adopting the stand of the ruling class of your own country, tailing the coat of your own exploiting class. There can be absolutely no question of the workers of Britain throwing off the capitalists here unless they actively side with - in the spirit of international working class solidarity - all those in all lands who are waging wars to end the power of the profiteers.

We must recognise that the world situation is changing rapidly and that revolution is indeed the main trend in the world today. We must understand that globally we are now living in a new era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. In this situation the contradictions between capital and labour are intensifying within the capitalist and imperialist countries themselves, including Britain, and things are growing very acute as the bosses seek to pass the burden of their crises onto the backs of the working class, who in turn strike back at them.

THE VANGUARD ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

Revolutionary communist politics do not as yet have a solid base within industry in Britain (see footnote I at bottom of this page). However, there is no reason to feel that Marxist-Leninists cannot succeed in building revolutionary communist bases in industry. As long as we make a realistic plan, based on knowledge already gained from political activity and study, some of it within industry; as long as we patiently work away at testing our ideas in practice, and grasp the fact that the task will not be accomplished

(I) The National Question is not dealt with in this paper

overnight, but will take a long time and will be uphill for the most part, then there is no reason at all why we should not succeed. Indeed, because Marxism-Leninism is the theory and practice which alone serves the working class interest, once a correct line has been worked out and as long as it is abided by, then a successful outcome is inevitable.

To succeed our thinking must be based on a clear understanding of several basic matters. Why is the working class - and particularly the industrial section of the working class - so important for communists and revolutionary struggle? We must be clear on the fundamental revolutionary role of the working class as the leader - and the only leader and *vanguard class* - of the British revolution. As Marx pointed out, when capitalism came into being it also created a vast army of wage labourers, the modern working class. That force was created by capitalism and is alone big enough, exploited enough, objectively united enough in its social and economic position, and ultimately revolutionary enough to smash capitalism and build socialism; i.e. destroy the dictatorship of the bosses and replace it with the democratic dictatorship of the working class.

We must also be quite clear as to the maximum objective of our industrial base-building plans. We must know what we are working towards. In a nut-shell that maximum objective can be stated as follows: *Revolutionary communists understand that the essential question facing the people of Britain is that of political power - is the capitalist class to hold onto it as at present, or is the working class to organise to take it from them. We believe that we should fight in essence not merely for minor reforms, which would leave the wealthy still in power, but for the complete liberation of the working class from the rule of capitalist exploitation. Revolution means to work for the overthrow of the British ruling class and the establishment of working class political power - that is THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS. This means the dictatorship of the working class over the overthrown ruling class. It means the replacing of bourgeois democracy, which in reality is the dictatorship of a small number of capitalist owners of the means of production, distribution and exchange over the masses*

of the people, by proletarian democracy, which is the democratic dictatorship (democratic because workers are the overwhelming majority in the total population) of the people, under working class leadership, over the overthrown capitalist class and its supporters. This fundamental political change, the expropriation of the expropriators, is the essence of revolutionary change: political power for the working class in Britain, a Britain in which the state machine, industry, commerce, science and technology, agriculture, transportation, energy, education, culture and all other aspects of social and economic life, will be owned, controlled by, and represent, in all spheres, the class interest of working people. Revolution is the only way in which these advances can possibly come about, for it is a fact that those who now possess political power, privilege and property will never willingly give up their profits paradise; there is not a single example anywhere in the world, either historically or currently, whereby the transition from capitalism to socialism has taken place peacefully or by any means other than a workers led, socialist revolution. This then is the maximum strategic goal that building revolutionary bases in industry will contribute towards. This is the political context into which our industrial plans fall. **POWER FOR WORKING PEOPLE AND AN END TO EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN.**

The industrial section of the working class is furthermore unique in that it is at the heart of the capitalist system of production. (See tables 2 and 3.) Great armies of workers, sometimes as many as twenty, thirty, forty thousand and more are linked under the direction and control of a single structure of chargehands, foremen, superintendents, managers, area managers, executives, directors and shareholders: in steel, motor manufacturing, coal, transport, plane-making, construction, agriculture, and so on throughout Britain. Without the physical and mental work of these industrial workers not a penny of profit would emerge from the machines, assembly tracks and the rest of the industrial apparatus of the capitalists. The working class is the dynamo, the wheel at the centre of the capitalist system of profit. Here is where it all goes on, day and often night-shift. Give Marxist-Leninists strong revolutionary bases in these central industries; give them a hardhitting and lively newspaper sold nationally and frequently, reporting on all the various struggles and giving scientific leadership; give us a national organisation that knows well the skills of the

TABLE 2: General break-down of numbers of workers in all industries (Source: "Monthly Employees in employment: all industries Digest of Statistics" HMS Office, Sept. 1973)

	At mid-June each year					Thousands	
	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	
Great Britain							
Total employees in employment	22,828	22,645	22,600	22,404	22,027	21,648 ⁽¹⁾	21,650 ⁽¹⁾
Males	14,358	14,151	14,027	13,832	13,542	13,424	13,319
Females	8,470	8,494	8,573	8,573	8,486	8,224	8,331
of whom:							
Total, Production industries ⁽²⁾	11,221	11,017	11,009	10,846	10,450	9,870	9,596
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	433	413	392	370	345	421 ⁽²⁾	416 ⁽²⁾
Mining and quarrying	551	486	441	415	401	393	377
Manufacturing industries	8,701	8,613	8,729	8,741	8,432	7,886	7,613
Construction	1,546	1,506	1,443	1,322	1,249	1,222	1,258
Gas, electricity and water	424	413	397	382	369	369	347
Transport and communication	1,603	1,584	1,546	1,567	1,564	1,545	1,520
Distributive trades	2,798	2,774	2,714	2,651	2,582	2,555	2,588
Insurance, banking, finance and business services	648	665	691	954	971	963	983
Professional and scientific services	2,620	2,690	2,762	2,818	2,904	2,916	3,031
Catering, hotels, etc.	582	571	596	569	559	680	722
Miscellaneous services (excluding catering, hotels, etc.)	1,532	1,529	1,506	1,240	1,235	1,226 ⁽¹⁾	1,279 ⁽¹⁾
National government service	565	584	566	549	552	569	580
Local government service	825	818	817	842	864	904	934

Sources: Department of Employment
Ministry of Health and
Social Services (Northern
Ireland)

⁽¹⁾ Excludes private domestic service.
⁽²⁾ The estimates of agriculture are taken from the June censuses of agriculture and exclude a small number of employees of agricultural machinery contractors. It should also be noted that the figures include seasonal and temporary workers.

Please note: the statistics in this pamphlet are chosen at random, and are selective only in that they were not interfered with and distorted by the '3-day week'

Industrial analysis of employees in employment: Great Britain

THOUSANDS

Industry (Standard Industrial Classification 1968)	August 1973*		
	Males	Females	Total
Total, Index of Production industries†	7,210.3	2,453.1	9,663.3
Total, manufacturing industries‡	5,355.7	2,292.6	7,648.3
Mining and quarrying	346.6	14.7	361.3
Coal mining	303.5	10.6	314.2
Food, drink and tobacco	451.1	305.2	756.3
Grain milling	18.0	5.6	23.7
Bread and flour confectionery	77.7	45.0	122.7
Biscuits	16.9	29.7	46.5
Bacon curing, meat and fish products	58.7	52.9	111.6
Milk and milk products	48.0	17.0	65.0
Sugar	9.5	3.0	12.5
Cocoa, chocolate and sugar confectionery	34.1	41.1	75.2
Fruit and vegetable products	28.4	32.8	61.3
Animal and poultry foods	21.7	4.8	26.5
Vegetable and animal oils and fats	5.9	1.5	7.4
Food industries not elsewhere specified	19.1	14.6	33.7
Brewing and malting	59.4	13.1	72.5
Soft drinks	19.4	12.3	31.7
Other drink industries	19.1	12.4	31.5
Tobacco	15.0	19.3	34.3
Coal and petroleum products	35.7	4.5	40.2
Coke ovens and manufactured fuel	11.4	6	11.9
Mineral oil refining	18.8	2.2	20.9
Lubricating oils and greases	5.6	1.8	7.4
Chemicals and allied industries	299.1	124.4	423.5
General chemicals	113.8	22.0	135.8
Pharmaceutical chemicals and preparations	40.0	34.1	74.1
Toilet preparations	10.6	18.1	28.7
Paint	18.8	7.5	26.2
Soap and detergents	9.3	6.0	15.3
Synthetic resins and plastics materials and synthetic rubber	38.7	7.4	46.1
Dyestuffs and pigments	15.5	2.7	18.2
Fertilizers	9.5	1.7	11.2
Other chemical industries	42.9	25.0	67.9
Metal manufacture	459.2	60.1	519.3
Iron and steel (general)	230.1	21.2	251.3
Steel tubes	44.0	6.7	50.7
Iron castings, etc.	78.8	8.7	87.5
Aluminium and aluminium alloys	45.1	9.0	54.2
Copper, brass and other copper alloys	40.4	9.1	49.4
Other base metals	20.8	5.4	26.2
Mechanical engineering	795.2	148.9	944.1
Agricultural machinery (excluding tractors)	23.3	3.4	26.7
Metal-working machine tools	54.7	9.0	63.7
Pumps, valves and compressors	64.4	14.6	79.0
Industrial engines	23.7	4.2	27.8
Textile machinery and accessories	31.1	5.1	36.2
Construction and earth-moving equipment	33.4	3.9	37.4
Mechanical handling equipment	54.5	7.9	62.4
Office machinery	18.7	7.9	26.7
Other machinery	189.4	36.6	226.0
Industrial (including process) plant and steelwork	144.4	16.7	161.1
Ordnance and small arms	13.4	3.7	17.0
Other mechanical engineering not elsewhere specified	144.3	35.9	180.2
Instrument engineering	98.9	56.6	155.5
Photographic and document copying equipment	10.1	4.2	14.3
Watches and clocks	6.0	7.0	12.9
Surgical instruments and appliances	16.2	11.7	27.9
Scientific and industrial instruments and systems	66.6	33.7	100.3
Electrical engineering	484.3	319.2	803.6
Electrical machinery	102.4	33.9	136.3
Insulated wires and cables	32.4	10.0	42.4
Telegraph and telephone apparatus and equipment	47.9	35.8	83.7
Radio and electronic components	63.2	74.1	137.2
Broadcast receiving and sound reproducing equipment	28.9	40.0	68.9

TABLE 3: Detailed break-down of workers in production and manufacturing industries.

(Source: "Department of Employment Gazette", HMS Office, October, 1973)

CONTINUED

Industrial analysis of employees in employment: Great Britain (continued)

THOUSANDS

Industry (Standard Industrial Classification 1968)	August 1973*		
	Males	Females	Total
Electrical engineering—(continued)			
Electronic computers	35.8	13.8	49.6
Radio, radar and electronic capital goods	54.7	21.6	76.3
Electric appliances primarily for domestic use	44.2	24.7	68.9
Other electrical goods	74.8	65.4	140.2
Shipbuilding and marine engineering	160.6	11.2	171.8
Shipbuilding and ship repairing	135.6	8.7	144.3
Marine engineering	25.0	2.5	27.5
Vehicles	698.6	97.7	796.3
Wheeled tractor manufacturing	26.0	2.3	28.3
Motor vehicle manufacturing	449.3	63.1	512.4
Motor cycle, tricycle and pedal cycle manufacturing	12.1	3.9	16.0
Aerospace equipment manufacturing and repairing	172.6	26.4	199.0
Locomotives and railway track equipment	15.1	0.8	16.0
Railway carriages and wagons and trams	23.5	1.2	24.7
Metal goods not elsewhere specified	392.4	163.2	555.8
Engineers' small tools and gauges	50.6	12.3	62.9
Hand tools and implements	13.9	7.4	21.3
Cutlery, spoons, forks and plated tableware etc.	8.0	6.1	14.0
Bolts, nuts, screws, rivets, etc.	26.3	12.7	39.0
Wire and wire manufactures	30.4	8.5	38.9
Cans and metal boxes	15.0	12.8	27.7
Jewellery and precious metals	12.7	6.7	19.4
Metal industries not elsewhere specified	235.7	96.9	332.5
Textiles	297.6	252.3	549.8
Production of man-made fibres	28.9	5.1	34.0
Spinning and doubling on the cotton and flax systems	35.8	29.8	65.6
Weaving of cotton, linen and man-made fibres	27.3	20.4	47.8
Woollen and worsted	57.8	46.5	104.4
Jute	5.1	3.3	8.4
Rope, twine and net	3.0	3.6	6.6
Hosiery and other knitted goods	43.1	83.5	126.5
Lace	2.4	2.7	5.1
Carpets	28.8	15.8	44.6
Narrow fabrics (not more than 30 cm wide)	5.6	7.7	13.2
Made-up textiles	8.4	13.8	22.3
Textile finishing	35.5	14.8	50.3
Other textile industries	15.8	5.2	21.0
Leather, leather goods and fur	24.3	18.4	42.7
Leather (tanning and dressing) and fellmongery	14.8	4.3	19.1
Leather goods	6.6	11.6	18.1
Fur	3.0	2.6	5.5
Clothing and footwear	102.4	301.1	403.5
Weatherproof outerwear	3.9	14.3	18.3
Men's and boys' tailored outerwear	21.6	64.5	86.1
Women's and girls' tailored outerwear	12.5	32.7	45.3
Overalls and men's shirts, underwear, etc.	4.8	31.0	35.8
Dresses, lingerie, infants' wear, etc.	13.8	82.2	96.0
Hats, caps and millinery	1.8	4.3	6.1
Dress industries not elsewhere specified	6.2	24.7	30.9
Footwear	37.7	47.3	85.0
Bricks, pottery, glass, cement, etc.	230.6	64.7	295.4
Bricks, fireclay and refractory goods	44.5	4.5	49.0
Pottery	27.3	28.6	55.9
Glass	55.0	17.0	72.0
Cement	12.6	1.1	13.8
Abrasives and building materials, etc., not elsewhere specified	91.2	13.5	104.8
Timber, furniture, etc.	222.4	52.4	274.8
Timber	81.1	12.1	93.2
Furniture and upholstery	75.1	17.5	92.7
Bedding, etc.	11.9	11.0	22.9
Shop and office fitting	27.1	3.8	30.9
Wooden containers and baskets	12.4	3.7	16.1
Miscellaneous wood and cork manufactures	14.8	4.2	19.0

CONTINUED

Paper, printing and publishing	387.8	186.6	574.4
Paper and board	56.7	12.6	69.3
Packaging products of paper, board and associated materials	52.7	35.2	88.0
Manufactured stationery	20.3	18.2	38.6
Manufactures of paper and board not elsewhere specified	17.5	12.2	29.7
Printing, publishing of newspapers	31.0	8.4	39.5
Printing, publishing of periodicals	77.5	26.4	104.0
Other printing, publishing, bookbinding, engraving, etc.	132.0	73.4	205.4
Other manufacturing industries	215.1	126.2	341.3
Rubber	86.7	26.3	113.5
Linoleum, plastics floor-covering, leathercloth, etc.	13.8	3.1	16.9
Brushes and brooms	4.7	5.5	10.3
Toys, games, children's carriages, and sports equipment	17.9	27.6	45.4
Miscellaneous stationers' goods	4.3	5.2	9.5
Plastics products not elsewhere specified	74.3	45.2	119.4
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	13.5	12.8	26.3
Construction	1,233.4	85.8	1,319.2
Gas, electricity and water	274.6	60.0	334.5
Gas	82.2	23.1	105.2
Electricity	154.5	32.5	187.0
Water supply	37.9	4.4	42.3

Estimates in these columns are subject to revision when the results of the 1973 census of employment are available.

socialist agitator, organiser and political educator of the masses....then does the working class have the muscle it needs to effect social change, revolutionary change. Only a genuine revolutionary Party can lead the fight for socialist revolution to a successful outcome. Only when serious inroads into the working class have been made with communist - as being different to militant trade union ideas and economism - ideas and organisation can such a genuine Party come into existence. No such genuine Party exists, and to pretend that it does only misleads the working class and diverts it from building a Party that will really provide leadership. (See footnote I at the bottom of this page.) Table 3 shows that in production industries alone in Britain there were nearly 10,000,000 workers. When it is taken into account that almost all of these men and women have never had any contact with communist ideas in a systematic way; and that none of the existing Marxist-Leninist organisations in Britain

(I) The detailed position of the CWLB(M-L) on the Party Building Question is to be published in a separate document.

have conducted investigation and a class analysis of the basic characteristics and condition of the industrial working class, let alone a class analysis of other classes and strata; and that no organisation can claim to have a sizeable number of Marxist-Leninist workers as members,

accepting that even genuine communist parties will always have a membership far smaller than the total for the working class as a whole precisely because they are *vanguard* organisations and composed of only the most class conscious of workers...taking these factors into account, and no doubt others, how ridiculous and arrogant is the presumption by some that they amount to being "the Marxist-Leninist Party, the vanguard Party of the workers".

The truth is that the working class in Britain has no Party to advance and defend its interest. And no such Party can come into being if it does not have a base within the industrial proletariat. In this connection we in the CWLB(M-L) are convinced that the place to start building the house is with strong foundations, not by first putting up the name plaque, and expecting by virtue of that act that the rest of the house will somehow or other get put together at sometime in the future. The title of "vanguard of the working class" must be earned, not assumed. It is the most advanced workers that must be won, both to build a genuine Party and to fill its ranks in increasing numbers. Conditions must be created before a Party can come about, and the CWLB(M-L) considers that an important, if not determining, part of the task is to make a plan for winning industrial workers to the theory and practice of revolutionary communism, Marxism-Leninism. A genuine Party is not "created" and then "given" to the working class. Genuine Parties are built, not simply declared, and must have a scientific basis - a class analysis - and must possess from that analysis the main instrument for actually mobilising the working class in large numbers on a revolutionary basis - a genuine Marxist-Leninist programme. Neither as yet exist, and neither will they until far more industrial workers play an active and creative part in the Party building process.

BUILDING INDESTRUCTIBLE LINKS WITH WORKERS IN INDUSTRY

Marxist-Leninists must set about the establishment of links with the working class that are, under any circumstances, destruction-proof as far as attempts to crush the revolutionary movement by the ruling class are concerned. On any positive issue we communists must be there fighting with workers, no matter how small or large the issues. Communists must provide concrete, scientific and militant leadership. That is the reason for their very existence. On short and long term matters the communist revolutionary voice must be heard in work-places throughout the country.

This job of building bases at the place of work cannot be accomplished from outside the factory or depot walls. Respect, indestructible links, knowledge of actual conditions, involvement in the day-to-day struggle, politically educating workers and bringing to them in a creative manner the science of revolutionary socialism; learning from workers whose knowledge of the class struggle, production and technological know-how is unsurpassed by any other class in society; raising the central questions of ideology and concepts such as the dictatorship of the proletariat; building and maintaining strong links of friendship inside and outside the place of work; getting to know their families and assisting with any problems, though taking care not to interfere; helping to encourage the political development of the wives of workmates who, in many cases, are tied to working in the house, somewhat isolated and not so directly a part of the shop-floor fight.... how can these tasks (and if this sort of activity is not the life-blood of "integrating with the people" then what is?) possibly be accomplished from outside the factories, depots and elsewhere where working men and women are daily converging? The answer is, of course, that they can only be accomplished if we submerge ourselves in workplace after workplace and become friend, confidant, and struggling comrade of workers throughout this land. Anybody who doubts this argument has the job of explaining how those outside the place of work can possibly undertake serious revolutionary work, such as the organisation of strikes and other forms of anti-capitalist struggle. We believe that in the absence of such a planned approach and direct integration all that can be done is for some

people, divorced from workers, to arrogantly strut about outside work-places instructing the people as to what they "should" be doing; and that will meet with a definite response from those inside. This does not mean that communists should not leaflet, sell revolutionary papers, such as the "Voice of the People", and organise factory-gate meetings if we haven't yet established a base on the inside. That would be a mechanical approach to the problem and would leave the employers a free hand. What it does mean is that we must not rest content with doing this distribution from outside and should definitely agree that the place to concentrate upon is inside, and that's where we must be in a much bigger way than at present.

Conditions are different in different places of work and different industries and different branches of even the same industry, so tactically what must be done can only be worked out in view of a concrete understanding of concrete conditions. Therefore, in addition to, and guided by, the general line being argued here, there will always be limitations in that a study not only of individual industries, production sites etc will have to be made, but also, if there is to be successful mobilization, there must be conducted a thorough, lively and continuous investigation of each individual workplace we are involved in so as to ensure that the general line is not allowed to become a substitute for an actual knowledge of specific conditions at local level. Only a detailed knowledge of shop-floor conditions will provide us with a basis for drawing up specific tactical campaigns. Analysis of the facts based on comprehensive investigation, the drawing up of action programmes and their skilful and militant implementation, this is what is called for in order to move the fight forward and combat a worship of spontaneity and aimless agitation varnished with hollow rhetoric. We must stand against an anarchic approach to industrial base-building, and for a planned, campaign-style struggle for long and short-term goals, bearing in mind at all times the maximum political target, socialist revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist class and the liberation of the means of production so that industry will produce for need instead of profit. Subjective assessments must be guarded against. Experience at the workplace should be regularly summed up and incorrect policies abandoned in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. Reports should be drawn up dealing with company and industry profits and these should be used as ammunition

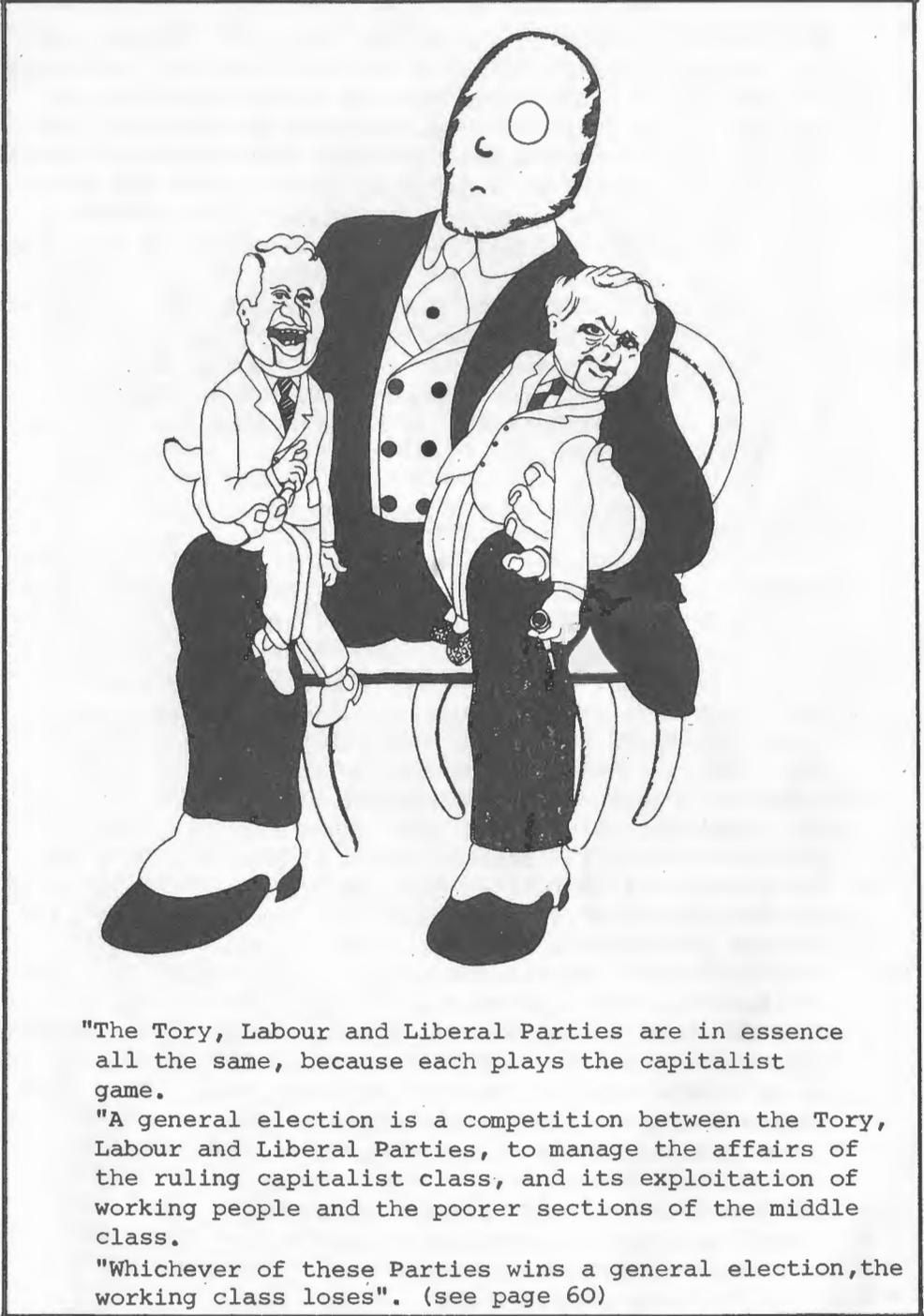
to expose the employers' exploitation of the labour force. This information and the rich experience in struggle gained from the implementation of this industrial base-building programme will be invaluable as part of gaining knowledge vital to the drawing up of a class analysis (see footnote I at the bottom of this page) of Britain.

The recruitment of industrial workers to the ranks of the revolutionary movement is one of the most important and immediate aims of industrial work. Communists must look to cadre recruitment as a major task. Fresh blood, new minds, people with differing experience, from various trades, various histories; comrades in positions whereby their political standing is such that when they propose that the job stops until demands are met, then the job actually stops; comrades with their feet on the floor, with a realistic, not abstract, approach to the struggle; comrades who speak the language of the people and who can influence and articulate the revolutionary mass line; workers who can teach us and others and who are modest enough to understand that their own knowledge is limited and can only develop when they study and apply socialism as a science.....these workers are badly needed and will inevitably form the backbone of a mighty revolutionary mass movement on the shop floor and a workers' revolutionary Party, when it is formed.

The Marxist-Leninist movement must have this orientation towards workers, otherwise it will not overcome its present isolation, smallness and fragmentation, and will not develop into a force capable of presenting a real challenge to the capitalist class. This is the only way forward, the area of agitation that can deliver the goods as far as welding together an indestructable force for socialism. There is nowhere as rich for us communists to concentrate on, nowhere else we can go to find the strength we must find, no other source of life and continuity for the carrying out of our stated aims. To fail to adopt this course would be to condemn the socialist case to the scrap-heap, to sell out the class struggle.

The recruitment of friends, candidate and full members; the electing within the movement of the best people to the highest positions of authority and responsibility; an honest, active, objective and lively work-style carried out in the language of working people....this is the meat of

(I) The issue of a Class Analysis is not dealt with fully here



"The Tory, Labour and Liberal Parties are in essence all the same, because each plays the capitalist game.

"A general election is a competition between the Tory, Labour and Liberal Parties, to manage the affairs of the ruling capitalist class, and its exploitation of working people and the poorer sections of the middle class.

"Whichever of these Parties wins a general election, the working class loses". (see page 60)

building a genuine communist mass base. More members of the movement means more work can be undertaken, a richer movement and a continuous flow of fresh approaches to the many problems. In our recruitment perspectives the Marxist-Leninist movement must have the target of recruiting industrial workers as a definite priority. If the movement does not have this priority fixed in its thinking, then it will develop an unbalanced class content and will probably, sooner or later, start to deviate from its revolutionary line and run the risk of turning into its opposite, that is turning into a counter-revolutionary movement. This happened in Russia, for example, and we must learn well from such negative examples, though this is not to imply an adequate explanation for the degeneration that has taken place there.

TAKE CARE TO AVOID THE TWO MAIN ERRORS

Regarding the content of our political industrial base-building, and this applies in other areas as well, there are two main mistakes to be avoided: one is *left sectarianism*, the other is *right opportunism*. Both are deviations from scientific socialism which objectively aid the capitalists.

Sectarianism frequently manifests itself in the taking of a "leftier than left" line, in running about like a headless chicken shouting slogans that for the most part are meaningless for workers who are hearing about revolution for the first time in their lives. For example, to confine our industrial work to talking about the need to "Go out and smash capitalism and make revolution and destroy the running dogs" and on and on is more likely to turn workers away, who, if approached in a more serious way, would genuinely want to learn about socialism. It would push them away instead of drawing these potential allies closer. Such airy-fairy sloganising is abstract and is no substitute for reasoned argument and slogans that really do give a lead. Additionally, such sectarian ranting has nothing to do with the most urgent and pressing problems as many workers, at a relatively low level of political development, see things. In our statements, leaflets, pamphlets, papers, speeches and posters we must take into account, and start with, the level of consciousness that

exists, not the level we would like to see existing. We say in the CWLB (M-L) that abstract sectarian ranting about issues that workers do not relate to and in a style that is akin to a middle-class bible thumper is no substitute for carefully working out programmes of action which take into account both the immediate issues facing workers and the need to develop their thinking politically. Sectarian ranting, simply waving the Red Book, or flashing in an abstract way pictures of Mao Tsetung...all are an expression, in reality, of the inability of those who pursue this style of work to get down to the job of winning people to revolution. Such ranting is a front. The great socialist revolution in China was not made by Mao Tsetung and other leaders waving a picture of comrade Lenin about, but to the contrary by concretely applying Leninism to the problems and tasks of the revolutionary struggle. We reject artificial "revolutionising" and see it as a sign of a middle class tendency within the movement which must be corrected. This is just one type of sectarian manifestation.

Right opportunism, the second deviation from scientific socialism, has as one manifestation the attempt to confine our line to minor reforms of wages, conditions, hours etc, as though these were ends in themselves, rather than a means whereby struggle on these important issues provides revolutionaries with opportunities for escalating the level of political consciousness of the work force to a revolutionary level. Unless this is the way these types of struggles are waged then the bosses will usually be able to accommodate these demands, if they are forced to, within their system, and no serious challenge will ever be posed to their domination of the means of production, or to the overall capitalist system and their state political power in general. We would not be leading the fight for socialist change in society, but instead would be hiding our politics and tailing workers. While we must be in there fighting for immediate reforms, improved wages, conditions and hours etc, we must simultaneously fight *reformism*, because reformism will at the end of the day still leave the capitalists in charge; indeed reformism is the line that the capitalist class itself will - and does - promote in order to confuse workers into thinking that somehow, in a never-never land, time and place, their demands for a socially just system will be met...if only they are patient, don't cause trouble, and keep on working.

Our job is to constantly expose reformism, the main representative (but by no means the only one) of which is the capitalist Labour Party.

In a nub, the line we propose is one of skillfully combining the short term with the long term, the immediate demands concerning wages, conditions and so on, which are definitely on the minds of workers, with political demands for social changes of a fundamental nature; a line which accepts that it is wholly right for industrially-based comrades to fight, and fight harder than any other, for the immediate demands relating to any and every aspect of matters of concern; a line which does not counterpose immediate issues with the long term task and objective of making the socialist revolution to destroy the dictatorship of the capitalists. Every genuine Party, for example the Bolshevik Party in the period of Lenin and Stalin, the Party in Albania, the Party in Vietnam, and the Party in China, has fully understood that in its programme, on all fronts relating to party-building work, to leave out or push into the background the maximum goal of revolution is to make a right opportunist error, for it leaves in the programme only demands that are reformist and can be accommodated, at a push, by the reactionary ruling class. On the other hand, to eliminate or push into the background demands (which relate to and receive the support of workers) concerning immediate issues will render a programme and a style of work sterile and abstract as far as working people are involved, and will be sectarian in so much as it will exceed their existing level of political consciousness. In a word, industrial programmes that fail to take up immediate and burning issues, and instead only talk about "making revolution", the maximum goal, will leave most workers cold and will make them think that communism is little to do with them.

If handled properly, there is no objective contradiction between fighting for immediate demands and fighting for socialist revolution. In fact the contrary is true, i.e. that unless the two are combined in a single programme of demands in place after place the struggle for revolution will be seriously delayed and disrupted. Yes, communists must be there fighting for higher wages, an end to productivity deals, having to work overtime to make ends meet, the eradication of industrial diseases and injury, and the scourge of unemployment (see tables 4, 5, 6, 7, and comments).

Industry (Standard Industrial Classification 1968)	OPERATIVES WORKING OVERTIME†			Average per operative working overtime
	Number of operatives (000's)	Percentage of all operatives (per cent)	Total (000's)	
Food, drink and tobacco	178.4	34.6	1,814.4	10.2
Coal and petroleum products	3.9	17.6	37.3	9.5
Chemicals and allied industries	58.8	25.3	542.7	9.2
Metal manufacture	119.3	31.9	1,098.4	9.2
Iron and steel (general)	37.5	21.1	370.4	9.9
Iron castings, etc.	32.5	47.7	278.5	8.6
Mechanical and marine engineering	288.9	46.9	2,484.8	8.6
Instrument engineering	34.9	34.8	244.6	7.0
Electrical engineering	147.6	29.5	1,099.3	7.4
Vehicles	217.3	38.3	1,552.2	7.1
Motor vehicle manufacturing	157.6	39.5	1,115.5	7.1
Aerospace equipment manufacturing and repairing	36.3	34.8	258.3	7.1
Metal goods not elsewhere specified	151.5	38.0	1,210.9	8.0
Textiles	101.5	22.6	875.7	8.6
Spinning and weaving	20.1	20.2	175.0	8.7
Hosiery and other knitted goods	13.9	13.1	93.3	6.7
Leather, leather goods and fur	9.2	29.0	73.7	8.0
Clothing and footwear	29.1	8.9	147.5	5.1
Footwear	9.2	13.1	44.4	4.8
Bricks, pottery, glass, cement, etc.	75.8	35.7	767.5	10.1
Timber, furniture, etc.	72.4	39.3	582.2	8.0
Paper, printing and publishing	136.5	37.4	1,270.9	9.3
Other printing, publishing, bookbinding, engraving, etc.	53.1	40.3	490.3	9.2
Other manufacturing industries	74.8	31.4	676.4	9.0
Plastics products not elsewhere specified	31.0	35.3	289.3	9.3
Total, all manufacturing industries*	1,699.8	33.1	14,478.6	8.5

* Excluding shipbuilding and ship repairing.
† Other than maintenance workers.

Analysis by division of inspectorate

Division	Fatal accidents	Total accidents
Northern	16	7,935
West Riding and North Lincolnshire	18	8,808
Midlands (Birmingham)	13	5,371
Midlands (Nottingham)	6	5,766
London and Home Counties (North)	12	4,325
London and Home Counties (East)	8	4,633
London and Home Counties (West)	6	4,412
South Western	9	3,186
Wales	9	4,897
North Western (Liverpool)	6	5,884
North Western (Manchester)	4	4,545
Scotland	31	7,645
Totals	138	67,407

TABLE 4: This table exposes the myth of the "fourty-hour week" for millions of workers. For example, in mechanical and marine engineering 46.9 % of workers do on average, for the period, 8.6 hours extra per week.

(Source: "Department of Employment Gazette", HMS Office, October, 1973)

TABLE 5: Many firms do not pay sufficient attention to the safety of workers, and many accidents and deaths could be avoided if more cash was devoted to providing adequate safety facilities. The factory inspectorate is little more than useless as a force for ensuring that even the existing laws are abided by by many employers. Under socialism this area will be an important priority. (Source: as above)

TABLE 7: This table shows that Industrial production for all industries (taking 1970 as the base year = 100) has been rising steadily in recent years.
SOURCE: HMS Office, "Monthly Digest of Statistics", September, 1973)

WHAT THESE STATISTICS SHOW US

THE STATISTICS IN THIS PAMPHLET, OBTAINED FROM OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS (APART FROM WHERE OTHERWISE STATED) ESTABLISH THAT CAPITALISTS ARE EXPLOITING WORKERS IN BRITAIN ON A TRULY MASSIVE SCALE (TABLE 1); THAT MILLIONS OF WORKERS HAVE TO WORK CONSIDERABLE OVERTIME TO MAKE ENDS MEET (WHICH AFFECTS NOT ONLY THE WORKER, BUT HIS OR HER WHOLE FAMILY) - SEE TABLE 4; THAT UNEMPLOYMENT IS WIDESPREAD, THAT YOUNG AND OLD ARE THE VICTIMS OF THE UN-PLANNED SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM AND ITS ANARCHIC MODE OF PRODUCTION (TABLE 6); THAT THE WORKING CLASS IS PRODUCING MORE FOR THE CAPITALISTS (TABLE 7); AND THAT ON TOP OF ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION TENS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS ARE INJURED ANNUALLY AND MANY ARE KILLED AT WORK (TABLE 5).
IN OTHER WORDS: DAY-IN, DAY-OUT, MILLIONS OF WORKERS ARE ROBBED OF THE FRUITS OF THEIR LABOUR POWER, AND AT THE SAME TIME THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE WAGE PACKET IS STEADILY REDUCED OWING TO THE MAD SCRAMBLE FOR PROFITS WHICH IS THE ROOT CAUSE OF INFLATION

Order	Weights	Total industries 1,000
1968	...	97.2
1969	...	99.9
1970	...	100.0
1971	...	100.5
1972	...	102.2
1968	1st qtr.	96.5
	2nd qtr.	97.2
	3rd qtr.	97.5
	4th qtr.	98.1
1969	1st qtr.	99.2
	2nd qtr.	100.5
	3rd qtr.	99.9
	4th qtr.	99.9
1970	1st qtr.	99.7
	2nd qtr.	99.5
	3rd qtr.	100.2
	4th qtr.	100.4
1971	1st qtr.	100.2
	2nd qtr.	100.9
	3rd qtr.	100.6
	4th qtr.	100.4
1972	1st qtr.	98.0
	2nd qtr.	102.7
	3rd qtr.	102.4
	4th qtr.	105.7
1973	1st qtr.	109.8
	2nd qtr.	110.3
1972	Jan. Feb. March	99.9 93.1 101.0
	April May June	101.7 103.1 103.5
	July August Sept.	101.8 101.4 103.9
	Oct. Nov. Dec.	105.1 105.7 106.1
1973	Jan. Feb. March	107.9 110.3 111.2
	April May June July	109.7 110.1 111.0 111.1

Regional analysis of unemployment: September 10, 1973

TABLE 6: Unemployment, an inevitable product of capitalism
(Source: HMSO. "Department of Employment Gazette", October 1973)

	South East	Greater London	East Anglia	South West	West Midlands	East Midlands	Yorkshire and Humberside	North West	North	Wales	Scotland	Total Great Britain	Northern Ireland	Total United Kingdom	London and South Eastern	Eastern and Southern
Unemployed excluding school-leavers and adult students																
Actual	98,469	49,686	10,262	29,826	43,487	26,290	48,777	88,764	53,597	31,387	83,019	513,878	28,079	541,957	67,906	40,825
Seasonally adjusted* Number	107,400	—	12,000	33,600	43,700	27,500	51,900	91,400	56,100	33,500	87,400	545,200	29,100	574,300	73,500	45,800
Percentage rates†	1.4	—	1.9	2.5	1.9	2.0	2.6	3.2	4.3	3.5	4.1	2.4	5.6	2.5	1.3	1.6
School-leavers (included in unemployed)‡																
Boys	1,088	674	93	139	1,178	309	727	1,724	1,240	590	982	8,070	723	8,793	882	299
Girls	560	350	96	96	760	192	612	880	795	457	498	4,946	529	5,475	453	203
Adult students (included in unemployed)‡																
Men	1,032	299	47	357	1,409	505	1,906	2,443	1,761	795	2,039	12,294	1,451	13,745	372	707
Women	278	79	25	146	929	178	938	1,014	1,173	724	843	6,248	1,754	8,002	93	210
Unemployed																
Total	101,427	51,088	10,523	30,564	47,763	27,474	52,960	94,825	58,566	33,953	87,381	545,436	32,536	577,972	69,706	42,244
Men	84,031	42,495	8,629	25,282	36,445	22,559	42,651	76,203	45,375	26,075	66,980	434,230	21,306	455,536	58,015	34,645
Boys	3,008	1,743	247	514	1,984	749	1,585	4,239	2,392	1,318	2,547	18,583	1,313	19,896	2,268	987
Women	12,739	6,015	1,461	4,349	7,929	3,657	7,402	11,962	9,062	5,501	16,234	80,296	9,079	89,375	8,277	5,923
Girls	1,649	835	186	419	1,405	509	1,322	2,421	1,737	1,059	1,620	12,327	838	13,165	1,146	689
Married females‡§	3,403	1,350	429	1,378	2,240	1,198	2,195	3,755	3,143	1,940	8,062	27,743	4,464	32,207	1,947	1,885
Percentage rates†																
Total	1.3	1.2	1.6	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.7	3.3	4.5	3.5	4.1	2.4	6.3	2.5	1.3	1.5
Males	1.8	1.7	2.2	3.0	2.7	2.6	3.5	4.5	5.7	4.3	5.3	3.2	7.0	3.3	1.8	2.0
Females	0.5	0.4	0.7	1.0	1.1	0.8	1.2	1.3	2.3	2.0	2.1	1.1	5.0	1.2	0.4	0.6
Length of time on register																
Males																
Up to 2 weeks	17,180	8,830	1,553	4,209	5,953	3,533	6,683	11,572	6,685	4,256	8,328	69,952	2,183	72,135	11,903	6,830
Over 2 and up to 4 weeks	7,060	3,847	610	1,789	2,930	1,570	3,481	5,784	3,223	2,108	5,516	34,071	1,937	36,008	5,017	2,653
Over 4 and up to 8 weeks	11,313	6,201	940	2,935	4,850	2,421	5,237	9,628	5,551	3,314	7,387	53,576	2,893	56,469	7,956	4,297
Over 8 weeks	53,209	26,400	5,835	17,256	25,135	16,189	29,139	53,896	32,726	17,824	49,336	300,545	15,746	316,291	36,666	22,378
Total (unadjusted)‡	88,762	45,278	8,938	26,189	38,868	23,713	44,540	80,880	48,185	27,502	70,567	458,144	22,759	480,903	61,542	36,158
Females																
Up to 2 weeks	4,327	2,052	424	1,284	2,049	996	1,948	3,516	2,448	1,671	2,993	21,656	1,497	23,153	2,831	1,920
Over 2 and up to 4 weeks	1,637	835	151	470	878	476	823	1,500	1,179	672	1,943	9,729	1,165	10,894	1,106	682
Over 4 and up to 8 weeks	2,374	1,273	280	729	1,671	612	1,594	2,489	1,909	1,106	2,454	15,118	1,673	16,791	1,637	1,017
Over 8 weeks	6,455	2,960	809	2,418	4,785	2,113	4,511	7,011	5,580	3,171	10,757	47,610	5,679	53,289	4,148	3,116
Total (unadjusted)‡	14,793	7,120	1,664	4,901	9,383	4,197	8,876	14,516	11,016	6,620	18,147	94,113	10,014	104,127	9,722	6,735

* See article on page 270 of the March 1973 issue and on page 717 of the August 1972 issue of this GAZETTE.

† Numbers unemployed expressed as a percentage of the estimated total number of employees (employed and unemployed) at mid-1971.

‡ The number of unemployed including men, school-leavers and adult students, and the analysis by duration of unemployment are not adjusted to take into account additions and deletions in respect of the statistical date but notified on the four days following that date.

§ Included in women and girls.

But we do this as communists, understanding that it is the system of capitalism which is the root cause of the many problems of workers and other exploited people, and since this is a fact, workers must fight to change society so that they as a class have political power and not the bosses. In other words, we are talking of the need to practice a revolutionary attitude towards reforms, to fight reformism because it is part of bourgeois ideology; never to treat reforms as an end in themselves, but a means to the end of involving the masses of workers in struggle against the system with revolutionary politics firmly in command. In this way - by drawing a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the reformist crumb-seekers - will workers come to know about communism, will we win, over time, the support, respect and political unity of working people, as we show them day in, day out, that communists and only communists are the champions of their class struggle. Respect must always be earned, and never assumed.

Often, exactly what precise tactics to employ will not be clear. But, as it has been for the CWLB (M-L) during the last three years on other matters, such as the development of "Voice of the People", so it will be with industrial base-building. We are learning and will continue to learn how to solve problems. The correct tactical line between right and left opportunism will rarely advertise itself, but will often be concealed by the complexities of this or that situation, and the speed at which things happen. But if we study and look at things scientifically and are prepared to see the fruit of this crucial work grow and flower, then, because we serve the working class interest, and because workers are looking for genuine leadership in the class struggle and are not un-generous when mistakes are made - we will mobilise and achieve revolutionary ends. There is no room, or real basis, for defeatism in the face of these historic tasks. Defeatism is being felt by the class enemy, and with good reason. History is against them. Their system is in dire crisis. Ultimately, they cannot solve their problems which can only get worse as the crisis develops on a world scale for their system. They cannot solve their problems because they are the problems of dying. We can solve ours because revolution is a force that is coming into being as more and more people come into hostile contradiction with a system that benefits the few at the expense of the

vast majority of the population. Ours are problems of growth. The two types of problems are thus qualitatively different.

WHERE SHOULD WE CONCENTRATE OUR EFFORTS? WHAT SHOULD OUR ATTITUDE BE TOWARDS THE TRADE UNIONS? HOW DO WE FIGHT AGAINST THE ANTI-WORKING CLASS DEVIATIONS OF REVISIONISM AND TROTSKYISM? FOUR SPECIFIC SITUATIONS

The direction of revolutionary communists into industrial situations where the maximum political returns can be reaped is important. There must be a plan. This draft document is put forward as the basis of a plan. Spontaneously working here or there according to whim is no good. Priorities must be worked out. In particular, the industries, or sections of industries vital to capitalist production, those with very large numbers of workers, especially where they are concentrated; even the smaller industries and plants, such as components factories in the motor industry; these are the areas we must concentrate on, and much more work has to be done to locate the achilles heels of their system.

The temperament of comrades must be looked at; their background, especially their class background; how they get on with workers; their whole style of political work; all should figure in deciding who should go where to do what. Those from middle class backgrounds who adopt revolutionary communism should not have their background held against them. But it must be taken into account, for such comrades will bring with their strengths, their weakness as well, often the tendency to vacillate in difficult times. The prospect is one of understanding that there will be no instant success, but hard, painstaking work, a lot of learning, a great deal of satisfaction as the seeds begin to grow, and plenty of physical work on top of the political jobs to be done.

In Britain, about half the working class are members of the trade unions. There is no room here for a detailed analysis of the role of the unions in the class struggle. It needs to be pointed out, however, that their present stand, or lack of one, has historical roots. The trade unions were the most primitive and earliest forms of defence against the emergent capitalist system, especially towards the end of the 19th century. Their aim was then, and is supposed to be still, the defence of

members against attacks on working and living standards. Their main role was defensive. They never set out, in this country, to overthrow capitalism. Thus the essence of trade unionism was reformism, not revolution. The political thinking of the movement, certainly at executive level, has in the main always been *social democracy*, which is a bourgeois ideological position. True, the movement has waged many militant struggles throughout its history, but they have been struggles for more *within* the capitalist system, not to end that system. Hence, in terms of basic changes, the trade unions have acted as a restraining force in that they objectively assisted the imprisonment of working class politics within the confines of capitalism. *Economism*, which amounts basically to limiting demands to wage and conditions reforms, treats the fight for reforms as an end in themselves. This is in fundamental contradiction with the real interest of the working class. For generations workers have, under the "leadership" of reformists, protested against the *effects* of capitalism. Were this to continue workers would labour under the system for further generations, and would in no effective manner be able to combat the latest and more repressive methods of keeping them down.

We said above that the unions are "supposed to be still" fighting for reforms. The effectiveness, in terms of wages and length of necessary hours being worked indicates that they are not even achieving substantial "reforms". The purchasing power of the pound is fast being reduced as a result of inflation caused by the mad scramble for profits and the un-planned system of capitalism. So in real terms the unions are failing to defend the living standards of many members. As far as hours worked go, the table shows that for many millions the "fourty-hour" week is simply a myth. To exist under the system workers and their families need more than the wages provided for working a straight fourty hours. They *must*, in many instances, work overtime. There is no freedom of choice here. So, even at the level of elementary defence and reformism, the union movement is failing, as far as millions of workers and their families are concerned, to deliver the goods. Things are

getting worse, not better. Of course, the main cause is the crisis of capitalism, the burden of which the employers are seeking to shove onto the shoulders of workers. But that being true, the fact remains that the vast majority of so-called leaders in the trade unions are selling workers short. Characters like Sir Sidney Greene, Lord Feather and Woodcock before him, the out-and-out reactionary Frank Chapple, Tom Jackson, Murray, who is now pounding the "social contract" drum with the newly-elected capitalist Labour Party, and many, many others like them are nothing more than traitors to the working class movement and their own fee-paying members. Even the so-called "lefts", such as Jones and Scanlon, have failed to play any leading role in the fight to really defend and advance the class interest of millions of workers. They now seek to do deals with Wilson in return for a few minor "reforms" here and there.

If all this is so, then the question is what should communists do in this situation? Should they, firstly, be members of the trade unions. Many of the questions before us are not new. Lenin in his famous text "Left-wing Communism an Infantile Disorder" dealt with this question, when he argued correctly that revolutionaries must be and work where workers are, wherever they are, and that communists must not abandon workers to reactionary and social democratic misleaders who work hand-in-glove with the class enemy. We should not leave these sell-outs with a free hand. This they would like. We must fight within the working class against the misleaders. To actively oppose their line, we must be within the union movement, because millions of workers are there. To say we shouldn't be there because we disagree with social democracy would to all intents and purposes amount to taking a *sectarian stand that would isolate us from a huge amount of working people, the very people we say we wish to recruit*. It must be born in mind that the rank and file of the trade unions are the victims, not the main promoters of reformism and are growing increasingly conscious of the true role of their misleaders.

In practical terms, with many places of work being "closed shops" the issue of union membership will be

decided for us, because if we don't take out a card, we would not be able to work. Within the place of work we should counter the sell-out wheeling and dealing with the revolutionary mass line, insisting, for example, that no agreement of any importance be taken outside mass democratic meetings; that shop stewards and conveners follow democratic decisions instead of presenting the work force with decisions already taken on their behalf and without their consent; that they be thrown out of office and others put in their place if they sell out. The day-to-day struggle presents almost endless opportunities for exercising the revolutionary mass line, explaining that minor reforms cannot solve the fundamental problems of workers and can never, therefore, be looked upon as the be-all and end-all of the battle.

This message cannot be spread on a big scale unless we are constantly where workers are. Cunning scabs in the mis-leadership of the trade unions must be exposed, in front of the maximum amount of workers, isolated, and they and their stooges politically smashed. The mass of working people have shown concretely that they are more than prepared and capable of fighting once a lead is given. The fight against the fascist Industrial Relations Act and the corporate Pay and Price Boards are just some examples of how workers will mobilise. These struggles, which had a definite, if limited, political aspect to them, in fact brought more workers onto the streets in huge demonstrations and mass meetings than did many an economically, reformist-based issue. It is nonsense to say that workers cannot be mobilised on a political basis. And it is a prescription for tailing workers, which is not at all our task as communists.

Although our work on the industrial front is limited, largely because of the inability of the whole Marxist-Leninist movement as yet to solve its problems, the question of working with *revisionists*, mostly members of the degenerate "Communist Party of Great Britain, and *trotskyites*, mostly members of three organisations, the self-styled "Workers Revolutionary Party" (the "Socialist Labour League" in its new disguise), "International Socialism", and the "International Marxist Group", arises. There is not the opportunity here to detail the *counter-revolutionary nature of these organisations*, the role of which is often exposed in the "Voice of the People" newspaper. In short, the CPGB has degenerated into being very little different from the left-lapel of the reactionary Labour Party; it has revised away the revolutionary soul of

communism, and has turned into an organisation, dwindling in numbers and support, which pursues reformist policies. It has no strategy which could possibly enable the working class to make the transition from capitalism to socialism. More than that, it is leading British workers into a most dangerous trap. When the British ruling class sees its profits, privileges and political power seriously threatened it is inevitable that it will throw its police and eventually its troops against workers. What is happening in north-east occupied Ireland right now is but a training ground for that eventuality. The troop activities at Heathrow, and more recently in Hull, and no doubt elsewhere, are part and parcel of the training of the army for use against struggling workers here. Hence not only is the CPGB reformist and selling workers out at that level; it is also committing the deadly crime of leading workers to believe that the ruling class will give up its profits paradise without a desperate and violent struggle to hang on to what they have. If the CPGB has its way, if due attention is not paid in our industrial work to exposing its treachery, then a Chilean-type situation will surely come about here in Britain, because the working class will not be armed - either politically or with weapons - to defend itself against armed attacks, a military takeover, if, or more probably when, that time comes. Pleas for mercy, appeals to the ruling class for it to "be reasonable", to "modify" its repression will definitely fall on deaf ears. For this great act of deceit the so-called "Communist Party of Great Britain" will have to answer, and it is thus crucial that in factory after factory their diversionary line is attacked with the genuine revolutionary communist mass line.

The contradictions that exist between the three main trotskyite organisations are secondary in objective terms to their common denominator of all being counter-revolutionary. They wave the red flag to oppose the red flag. Talk about "revolution" without possessing a revolutionary strategy. Their left phraseology conceals their bitter opposition to communism and to the revolutionary establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Left" in form, but right in essence, they are the modern brands of the historically bankrupt politics of

the traitor Trotsky. Both the revisionist CPGB and the three trotskyite organisations mentioned hate socialist China as much as they profess to hate US imperialism. They represent a deviation from scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. In essence their position is one of reformism dressed up in a red skirt. Whilst the Labour Party offers one - and the largest - distraction for working people who want to change society, the CPGB and the WRP, IS and IMG offer alternative diversions. They are secondary enemies operating objectively in the service of capitalism from within the ranks of the working class and progressive movement. The trotskyite groupings have middle class 'leaders', middle class politics, and in the main a middle class base. Capitalism, in reality, is quite happy to have them around as they pose no threat to it and simultaneously divert potentially good people away from Marxism-Leninism. Many people in the rank-and-file of these organisations are hardworking, honest and serious. However, none of these good qualities can ever be a substitute for a scientific revolutionary line.

In the absence of revisionism and trotskyism being exposed and defeated as bourgeois ideological trends, there can be built no genuine revolutionary Party and movement in this country. Their exposure, and our attacking the main enemy, are but fingers of the clenched fist of communism. However, the fact remains that they exist and are at work in industry and in the universities, etc. Strategically communists are in basic contradiction with their line. How then should we deal with their policies on the shop floor?

The general answer is that particular conditions and situations will determine what tactics are right and what tactics are wrong. Strategically, hard-line revisionists and trotskyites are enemies, but tactically situations may well develop in which, in the interest of getting our line across, in terms of prevailing conditions, it is absolutely correct, in the communist spirit of unity and struggle, to have temporary, tactical alliances. Communists are opposed to sacrificing principles in any situation. But tactics must not be confused with principles. Marxism-Leninism is a science to be applied creatively to concrete and varied situations at each different stage of the class struggle. Marxism-Leninism

is a scientific guide to action, not a dead dogma, nor an ideology to be applied mechanically in the same way in all situations. If we treat it as such, then we will make mistake after mistake - and each one would add power to the elbow of the class enemy. The main enemy is the capitalist class in its various forms, while revisionism and trotskyism are secondary enemies. We must strive to learn the skill of handling contradictions accurately, uniting all forces that can be united to attack the main enemy in any situation. Secondary enemies not be made into main enemies in our minds. We must learn to concentrate our forces, and any temporary allies available, against the main enemy. We must maximise the contradictions between the revolutionary and progressive forces on the one hand, and their enemy, the ruling class, on the other. Simultaneously, we must minimise contradictions within the ranks of those forces that can, albeit temporarily, be mobilised against the main enemy. Also we must exploit to the full contradictions within the enemy camp. In struggling against the ruling class we must at the same time struggle against revisionism and trotskyism, the secondary enemies. The guideline in such tactical questions is whether or not this or that tactical proposal moves the fight for socialism forward, strengthens us at the expense of the employers. Once again, we find that all unity and no struggle will lead to sacrificing revolutionary principles and to degeneration. Similarly, all struggle and no unity as far as secondary enemies are concerned, will lead to sectarianism and communist forces becoming isolated. These two dangers must be avoided. This line relates to tactical questions, and not to matters of fundamental principle. The healthy hatred communists feel for revisionism and trotskyism is natural. And the fight with these forces will at times grow acute. But no matter what happens, we must not allow that healthy hatred to divert us from the main enemy. The depths to which these renegades can sink is bottomless and we must keep our eye on them and effectively sabotage their antics. To fail to attack them would amount to rank opportunism and the subordination of the revolutionary line beneath the bourgeois line. This applies to active social democrats also. Obviously, temporary alliances must never lead communists to dissolve their own organisations to

merge with such opportunists. In any alliance communists must retain their own organisational structures, and must insist on the right to conduct criticism and polemics.

There are four situations of the many that confront us in industry that we should look at briefly at this stage. The first deals with a work-place where there is virtually no organisation at all. The second with a place where revisionists and trotskyites elements are in control. The Third situation deals mainly with the way social democrats abuse the trust placed in them by callaborating with the management. Much of the first two situations may well be present in the third, where Labour Party social democrats may have an alliance with revisionists and trotskyites against the work-force, though pretending, of course, to be for them. Finally, we look at a situation where out-and-out reactionaries - racists and fascists - are in control. Often a mixture of all four are present. Communists must have some general idea of the correct style of work and the correct tactics whereby bad situations can be turned into good situations.

In the first situation, in a factory or other work-place, there is virtually no working class organisation of any sort taking place. For the communist that means a clean sheet, apart from social-democratic ideas that are widely disseminated by the ruling class, through newspapers, radio, TV, etc. But here we find only perhaps a few scattered trade unionists, but by and large nothing else. We should organise the place, get ourselves elected as shop stewards, convenors and so on. We should organise a shop-stewards committee, rank and file committees, works councils, formulate political and economic demands after a thorough investigation of conditions. We should launch struggle against the employers, spread revolutionary ideas, sell revolutionary papers, such as the "Voice of the People". Thus, over a period of time communists must change what was a passive, boss-dominated work-situation into a militant, struggling, active situation, in which many workers are thinking and fighting hard. In this way a political awakening will step by step be set in motion. Political discussions about revolutionary change will become common among a growing number of more class conscious workers. Organisations will grow. Through the

efforts of a small number of communists the balance of power will change within the factory. Political education circles may be set up. The possibility of a social club where workers and their families can meet, and discuss politics can be investigated, with perhaps the employers being asked to provide the place where it could meet. Many workers enjoy football, and there is no reason why communists should not take the initiative and get involved in putting a team together as just one further method of integrating with and serving the work-force in a way that takes into account the existing level of consciousness without opportunistically pandering to it.

By the skillful combining of reform demands with revolutionary demands the general level of class consciousness is raised while at the same time immediate demands relating to wages, conditions and so are also fought for. A reform demand is one that is important to the work-force and can be satisfied by forcing the employers to give in. A revolutionary demand is one that cannot be satisfied within the present system and will expose the political nature of capitalism in a way that will be understandable to workers on the shop floor. The employer faced with these tactics may will try to take the steam out of the new and militant situation by granting the reform demand. This will show the work-force concretely that it has vast power if only it gets organised and starts to use it. On the other hand, the revolutionary demand - for example, to demand that the work-place be controlled and run on democratic lines by the workers themselves - cannot be satisfied by the employer because to agree to it would amount to declaring himself and the mangement redundant. The bosses' rule would be undermined. This they cannot allow. They will be forced to explain to workers why it is that faceless shareholders, a tiny clique of managers, supported by their supervisors and so on, have the right to exploit the labour power of the work-force, have the right to decide what share of the profits should be re-paid in the form of wages to the very people who make those profits possible, have the right to have the livelihood of a large number of workers and their families in their hands, have the right to impose an undemocratic regime onto the people.

As the struggle goes on, pressure on the bosses will intensify. If they refuse to satisfy even the reform demand, they will be in trouble, for more

and more workers will see that their employers are being unreasonable. The employers will be in bad odour. They will, assuming the pressure is kept up, want, sooner or later, to get off the hook. Strikes will interfere with production. They will want to win back the "goodwill" of "their" workers. They will face contradictions within their own ranks at management level: some managers will want to settle, others will stick to their reactionary guns and splutter and fume about "the reds" and refer lovingly to "the old days" when the natives were less restless. Eventually they must give in to at least some of the reforms demands: wages will be increased, hours shortened, conditions improved. This will be a victory, especially in a place that was only a relatively short while ago completely un-organised. The work-force will gain confidence and experience. They will have tasted the power they always had but have only just started to use. Even if there are set-backs, things can never go back to the old days. *And, because reform demands were linked with revolutionary demands which exposed the political as well as the economic nature of the work-place set-up, workers will have received a political lesson in the nature of capitalism. Had the two not been included in the set of demands, this could not have taken place. This is the difference between a set of demands that are entirely reformist, and a set of demands that include revolutionary political demands which force the employers to reveal their true, ugly and anti-democratic position. They are revealed as being concerned with profits not people. And the work-force now sees this plainly.*

Eventually within the work-place there will come to exist a state of *dual power*. This means that there are two power bases within the work-place: one is the dictatorship of the employers; the other is the organised and militant power base of workers. No longer does the employer have things his own way. On the other hand the workers cannot get rid of the employers because society as a whole remains in the hands of the capitalist class, supported and maintained by its parliament, police, soldiers, courts, prisons, civil service, newspapers, radio, TV, national and local government, etc. And the capitalist ruling class will never allow one of its member employers to be permanently dispossessed of his factory.

Here an important point must be grasped: trotskyites, for example, counter-pose some vague thing they call "workers control" against the Marxist-Leninist central

concept of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, which we have already defined. In other words they say or imply that workers can win control and build socialism *without capturing state political power*. Marxist-Leninists argue that this is nonsense and that the working class will only have real control, real democracy, real political power to determine its own destiny *when it has made socialist revolution and overthrown the capitalist class*. Hence, *there will only be democracy on the shop floor in factory after factory when the working class has defeated the capitalists. The creation through mass struggle of dual power situations in factory after factory appears to be a major way of preparing the ground for the final battle for state political power. Not an end in itself, but a step along the road to the seizure of state political power, and probably the furthest workers will be able to go under the dictatorship of capital.*

Precisely what form and content are given to reform and revolutionary demands can only be worked out in individual factories and other work-places. There is no blue-print for these struggles apart from the general outline such as is proposed here. Tactics are determined by a concrete understanding of concrete conditions, by mastering and summing up accurately the situation and putting into effect a tactical plan, that will no doubt differ in detail from place to place and time to time. Secondly, the relationship between local and national struggles will be determined by the strength and span of the Marxist-Leninist movement, together with such factors as the role of the unions at national as well as local levels. These things cannot be summed up here or seen in detail in advance. They will be part of the concrete conditions that communists in each work-place and industry will have to work out within a context of an overall, national plan for mobilising the working class. Thirdly, the building of revolutionary workers councils and other organisations in the factories will be a very important step towards the building of the actual means, the tools, for taking political power. These instrument of socialist struggle in area after area, factory after factory, will, in the decisive phase of the class struggle, when revolution is the order of the day (and that situation certainly does not exist now in this country), constitute the mighty muscle which will politically and militarily set seal to the fate of

a tottering capitalist class. In short, they will be the modern-day equivalent of the soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers which struck the final blow of the revolution in Russia in 1917. Without such organs of working class struggle having been set up, there can be no revolution in this country. This is the measure of the vital importance that communists must attach to the building of revolutionary communist bases at the place of work throughout this land. No doubt other types of revolutionary organisations will have to be assembled, but these will be complementary to, and not a substitute for, bases in work-places, although there is bound to be some overlapping.

Much of the above will apply in the other situations we are considering. In the second of these is the situation in which revisionists and trotskyites and other sell-outs and anti-revolutionary opportunists are in control, whereas genuine communists are maybe new to the place. What should we do? First, we should try to win the confidence and respect of the gang or section where we are working. We should develop a good, honest and open style with those we are in contact with. We should be helpful with workers' problems, listen carefully to what they have to say, make pointed comments in everyday language that get to the root of this or that issue in a way that the revisionists and trotskyites don't. We should take up issues reported in the mass distribution capitalist press, e.g. in the "Mirror", "Sun" and so on, and develop them in a socialist direction. We should proceed step by step; teaching and learning simultaneously. We should win the support of fellow-workers, not in an opportunist, back-slapping way, but by our example and comradeship. We should be lively, not dogmatic and dead in tone; easily approachable, not sectarian; understandable when we talk, instead of using abstract and "terribly revolutionary" language meant for the ears of the already converted, if for any ears at all. To be sure, communists must explain terms such as "proletariat" and "bourgeoisie", but there are other words as well and we should critically examine our employment of language as one vehicle of transmitting socialist ideas. We must always take into account the level of others, and not assume that the listener is already a communist.

In this way communists will create a good impression and will build up support and the beginnings of a base. Having

taken the initiative in these preliminary ways, communists must develop their attack against revisionism and trotskyism. We must explain that these opportunists have no scientific strategy for ending capitalism and building a socialist workers' state, and that therefore, although on some issues Marxist-Leninists may say the same things as these elements (e.g. communists agree, of course, that wages should be increased, oppose productivity deals, bad conditions, and so on), or may at least sound similar to them, in essence they are basically opposed to their counter-revolutionary politics. Because they have no genuinely revolutionary line the revisionists and trotskyites *objectively work to condemn the working class to an existence under capitalism. Communists must explain that for workers to accept the diversionary notions of the revisionists and trotskyites would amount to devoting the rest of their lives to a purely defensive fight against the injustices of capitalism. Without a planned offensive strategy - which the opportunists do not possess - capitalism as a system cannot be overthrown.* In short, communists must stress the relationship between *minimum* and *maximum* targets of the class struggle, must raise ideological issues, and explain basic questions such as the nature of the state, and why the "peaceful transition" argument is un-scientific and misleading. We must show how the demands of the opportunists could be accommodated and employed by the capitalists. For example, they sometimes put forward the line that workers should be allowed onto management boards to discuss production issues and so on. Clearly that could be used by management to obtain assistance from workers in the running of the capitalist system! We should expose the fact that the plans of the opportunists would still leave the capitalist class in power. We should oppose their line in a creative way and show workers that they represent deviations from scientific socialism and are *splitting the working class.*

We will gradually get our message through. We should then then actively oppose their election as stewards and put up communists against them, fight the issues out in an open and mass way. Even if we don't win the first round a dent will have been made and other workers will watch the opportunists with increased vigilance in future. In section after section revolutionary ideas take hold, reserving our main attack for the main enemy, the employers, but

always reserving ammunition of the right type and weight for the opportunists who masquerade as socialists. Workers will come to wonder why they never heard such arguments put forward before, why the opportunists did not put them forward.

Trotskyites often mislead under the cover of appeals to "immediate action" and "call a general strike". Their call for "immediate action" is part of the "left-wing" phraseology that is the currency among trotskyites. On the surface it appears that they are very revolutionary. However, "action" can be of two sorts: good or bad. In itself there is nothing inherently revolutionary about a call to "action". The genuine communist understands that the political content of "action" is the primary consideration, not simply the fact that "action" is being undertaken. In other words "action" that has a solid revolutionary political content is supported by communists, but it is necessary at all times to examine carefully the content of what is being proposed so as to see whether or not, in a given situation, this or that "action" will in fact move the socialist struggle forward.

Calls for "a general strike" provide an example of how trotskyites mislead - or seek to - workers whilst sounding very revolutionary indeed. In order to assess whether or not a general strike is in the objective interest of the working class it is necessary to make at least a preliminary investigation into the balance of class forces in Britain at the present time. The CWLB (M-L), on the basis of preliminary analysis, sees that balance roughly in the following terms. THE CAPITALIST CLASS is highly organised, led by the most experienced capitalist politicians (despite the contradictions within their number on various issues), with a standing army having the latest weapons should it have to be called in. The police - ordinary and Special Branch, the courts, and the whole legal system of their law and order, the prisons, and their civil service to administer their side of the struggle. They have a sophisticated network of communications - the radio, TV, and the capitalist press from the "Mirror" to the "Times". Politically their base is the reactionary section of the middle class which would turn to aid the big capitalists which one day they aspire to be. Also there are the more confused sections of the working class itself, plus the sell-out trade union leaders

such as Chapple, Jackson, Murray and others. The bosses' strategy also relies on the collaboration and reformism of "left-wingers" like Jones and Scanlon, who are currently busy doing deals with the capitalist Labour Government.

On the other hand they know fully well that OUR CLASS, THE WORKING CLASS, is in the following fighting shape: there does not exist anywhere near the level of revolutionary political consciousness to successfully engage in an all-out struggle to overthrow the boss class and seize political power; the working class in this country has NO REVOLUTIONARY PARTY to lead it and co-ordinate the fight; it has no armed revolutionary wing to defeat the bosses army; little military experience and few trained fighters; has not yet developed an organisational capacity to conduct day by day agitation and propaganda and has not even one single daily national paper to assist in conducting a long campaign that will no doubt have many complex twists and turns; lacks adequate printing and other technical facilities which are vital; as yet has no mass revolutionary base among the working class, or among the progressive sections of the middle class; has no nation-wide structure of revolutionary communist bases in the thousands of factories and other work-places; has no substantial training in underground activities which will surely be required as the battle went on; and no REALLY EFFECTIVE PROGRAMME for rallying millions of workers in a revolutionary (as opposed to a reformist and economist) way; and NO CLASS ANALYSIS on which alone can there be built such a programme.

Workers can, if organised properly, smash the capitalist system. But the hard fact is that they are not so now organised. And the ruling class knows this well and would be prepared to even provoke the working class into an all-out fight because they realise that the propertied and protected class could hardly fail to win, as things are.

IT IS NOT FOR US TO FALL INTO THIS TRAP, BUT FOR US AS A CLASS TO DO WHAT HAS TO BE DONE TO ORGANISE EFFICIENTLY AND ADEQUATELY ON A NATION-WIDE BASIS TO ALTER THE BALANCE OF CLASS FORCES IN OUR FAVOUR AND TURN THE PRESENT BAD SITUATION INTO A GOOD ONE.

So, what does the trotskyite proposal for a general strike in the present situation amount to? It boils down to this: -

the trotskyites discard the idea that the working class is weak at the present time from the standpoint of revolutionary organisation. They obviously think that shouting left-sounding slogans is enough; that trade union type militancy is an adequate weapon with which to defeat the capitalist class. And when added to this erroneous line is the fact that the SLL, IS, and IMG see the general strike weapon as a means of defeating Tory governments so as to bring back the equally capitalist Labour Party to government, their real role becomes all the more pernicious. In factory after factory it must be argued by genuine communist revolutionaries that the task before the working class is therefore most definitely not to spontaneously enter into a prolonged battle with the class enemy on his terms, when he is ready and we are not yet organised. Revolutionaries want victory for the working class, not defeat and demoralization which would stem from what in all probability would amount to a massive defeat that would set the socialist cause back years, maybe decades. The real task now is to organise the revolutionary ranks and especially set about the organisation of a REAL COMMUNIST PARTY WITHOUT WHICH WE CANNOT MAKE REVOLUTION.

This is not at all to be defeatist. It is to be realistic and fight when it suits us to fight, and pull our forces back when it suits to do that. We are opposed to *adventurism and romanticising the class struggle. We stand for a scientific evaluation of the balance of class forces at each and every stage of the fight. We know that to fail to take the scientific road will definitely lead workers to defeat, when what we require is total victory.*

Therefore, in work-place situations of the second type, where revisionists and trotskyites and other brands of sell-outs are in control, the above arguments must be hammered home in order to raise the level of political consciousness of the workers, to dislodge the opportunists and to create revolutionary communist bases; this we believe is the way forward in this second type of situation.

When struggling to expose the opportunists it is necessary to understand that within their rank and file there are potential communists who are temporarily diverted. We must differentiate between the hard-line misleaders and rank and file followers within the revisionist and trotskyite organisations. We should try to develop the positive side of the honest but confused members, and not take a sect-

tarian line with them. We should try and win them by taking them to one side and discussing with them in a non-antagonistic way. If they persist in disrupting things, then we must be firm. We must consistently wage a fight against all forces that seek to contain the class struggle within the bounds of reformism. We must expose how the basic line of the opportunists is reflected in their wheeling and dealing with management.

Should we sit on committees with the sell-outs? Again conditions will determine what is tactically right and wrong, but generally, if we are clear thinking and strong then we should have no reason to fear that our politics will become contaminated by mixing it with the renegades. They must not have the field to themselves to mislead. We should challenge their control of any platform, be it a shop-stewards committee or whatever. Attention should be paid to the branch meetings of the unions as well as to the factory situation. Investigation of the line being put forward by full-time trade union organisers and other officials should be made to see whether it should be supported or opposed. Private deals between these organisers and the employers must be opposed, and they must provide their members with all the information they require, instead of, as is the case quite often, keeping the membership in the dark. Tactical errors of both "left" and "right" types will be made from time to time, but as long as mistakes are honestly summed up and avoided again, and as long as basic principles are safeguarded there will be no ever-lasting harm done.

All the above questions are what is meant by *tactical unity*, learning to swim like a fish in water and getting to learn how to live in a river occupied by various types of different and treacherous fish. Over time revolutionary communists will win ground and the opportunists will lose it. We will win one or two to our position and that will be one or two lost to them. They will be exposed as an aid to the bosses' plan for keeping workers satisfied with a few more crumbs every year or two. We will be seen as having the only logical solutions ~~for~~ the problems - long and short term - of the working class, if we do our work properly.

In the fourth situation there will be much of what has

been described above possibly in operation. The third situation is one in which the work-place is organised along trade union lines but by people who are concerned with furthering their own private ends rather than those of the work-force; people who are working hand-in-glove with the employers, self-seekers wearing the cloak of trade unionism who are really self-seekers involving themselves in trade unionism as a stepping stone towards promotion to foreman or something else. Often in this third type of situation, stewards and others will not even bother asking workers for their opinion about matters that effect them. Private deals will be the order of the day. Worse still, the apathy these sell-outs generate by their own lackey-mentality may have resulted in a "couldn't-care-less" attitude among workers who feel demoralised. In this context of out-and-out collaboration a sharp struggle must be waged to expose the servility and selfishness of the sell-outs. Facts and figures must be obtained and as much information relating to the various examples of collaboration must be put together in a dossier and used when the time is ripe. The collaborators must be exposed as being objectively the police-men of the bosses, holding the struggle back, misleading and selling the work-force short.

The names of workers showing signs of class consciousness should be gathered and they should be concentrated on both inside and outside of the work-place. Meetings can be convened in homes and communists should concentrate on getting some systematic opposition going. An important part of tackling the sell-outs in this situation is the demand for real democracy in the formulation of demands. At such mass meetings the communists can, in front of the whole work-force, publicly expose the sell-outs, present the facts in an articulate way, and slowly, step by step, create a lively, active situation in which workers start to fight against the employer and his stooges. The more the stooges try to defend their role, the more it will become exposed and the further they will sink into the quagmire of their own creation. Then they must be opposed in elections; leafleting on a wide scale must be undertaken; the charges against them put simply and backed with the relevant facts. Even if they are not defeated at the first attempt things will be hard and hot for them as more workers scrutinise their performance. In this mass-democratic way can apathy be changed into creative militancy. The scabs will soon see that the situation they thought they had "sewn up"

has blown up in their faces. New stewards should be elected and new demands formulated. In these and other ways will large numbers of workers be mobilised. Strikes, occupations and other tactics can be implemented, always bearing in mind that the content of the struggle must determine its form.

The three situations we have briefly described characterise many work-places in this country. There will be a little of each of them in almost every place. The purpose here is not to mechanically itemise the various problems that confront the communist, but to give some guidance as to their variety and some guide to how we may best approach them in a practical way.

In considering industrial situations we cannot rule out a fourth type of situation, which will, with fascism growing, and fascist organisations making determined efforts to win the working class to their anti-working class lines, no doubt present itself.

This is the situation in which conscious anti-communists, maybe active fascists and racists, are in control in a workplace. This type of anti-working class scum will do anything it can to aid their masters, the bosses. They will strive to locate and get sacked any genuine communists. This situation, which is violently anti-communist, requires somewhat different tactics for us. Much work may have to be undertaken secretly at first until a foothold is gained. Comrades not actually working in such a place may, for example, be asked to distribute the first batches of leaflets and paste-up the first posters in the area. Those on the inside can, for as long as is necessary, maintain privacy, thus making it very difficult for the reactionaries to take action against them because the enemy cannot even be sure who they are. Once again the yardstick for tactics is to study conditions and master policy and tactics.

The fascists and their ilk are the forces most immediately and directly opposed to revolutionary communists fighting for socialism. With a proper plan they can definitely be exposed and politically smashed. The central weakness, the achilles heal of the fascists is quite simply that they are liars and anti-scientific. Their line is based not on facts, but on a distortion of facts, whether they are talking of capitalist society, racialism, immigration, or whatever. The basis of fascism is capital-

ism in crisis (see footnote I at the bottom of this page) and the fascists are limitless in their capacity for distortion, slander and any other form of treachery. In this sort of situation adventurism is a danger that can lead to severe set-backs and we must conduct ourselves in a way that takes the balance of forces in a particular work-place into account at all times. Once again, the more experience we gain, the better we will be able to combat the fascists and all other anti-working class elements. Once a preliminary base has been created communists can start to openly expose the fascists, to attack them politically, to expose their real game, to remove them from control and to set up new committees with new demands that really reflect workers' interests.

Many of these arguments will apply in the nationalised industries as well as in the straight private sector. Nationalisation under capitalism is capitalist nationalisation and anti-working elements are equally at work there as anywhere else.

Communists must also work among the unemployed, hammering home the point time and time again that unemployment is a result of the un-planned, anarchy of the capitalist system of production (see footnote 2 at the bottom of this page).

In our industrial base-building special attention must be paid to mobilising women workers. Women are half the working class and there can be no revolution unless women are mobilised for struggle. We communists oppose the notion that is put forward by the feminists, namely that the real enemy of women is man. This is a divisive argument and one that fails to grasp that the double exploitation of women - exploited at work and then in the home where they have to do a second job - is first and foremost a class question and as such is essentially a part of the struggle for the emancipation of all workers through socialist revolution. The contradictions between men and women workers caused by male chauvinism are secondary in nature to the main contradiction between workers of both sexes and the capitalist class.

(1) The important question of "Growing Fascism" is to be dealt with in a separate document of the CWLB (M-L)

(2) Working among the unemployed will be a subject of further investigation and study by the CWLB (M-L)

Special attention must also be paid to the winning of young workers to revolutionary communism in the process of industrial base-building. This must not be done in a paternalistic way, but in the spirit of socialist equality, recognising that as young people are by and large less contaminated by reactionary ideas, and more active in their ways, they are a great asset and source of strength and new blood to the movement. Hence the transmission of revolutionary ideas is definitely a two-way process between young and older. When a real communist Party comes into being in this country it will no doubt see as one of its priorities the building of a nationwide young communist organisation. The winning now of young workers to revolution will play an important role in providing that future Party with the experience it will need to undertake that work.

All of the above arguments are part and parcel of the building of revolutionary communist bases at the place of work. However, without one special type of organisation none of it will be possible to sustain. That organisation, the main motor and organiser of the work in factories and elsewhere is a disciplined, hardworking revolutionary communist centre or cell. It is the primary organising and leading force, made up of normally at least three people, of a revolutionary level of class consciousness, who have been tried and tested in practice and who are relatively experienced organisers and agitators. On their shoulders falls the task of leading workers along the path of socialist struggle. These centres must be set up in every work-place where we revolutionary communists have a base, or are intent on building one. It will be the main thing the employers will be out to locate and will normally work in secret simply to avoid detection and dismissal. The Marxist-Leninist movement would welcome into its centres any and every working man and woman who showed themselves to be serious revolutionaries, and the centre would act as a recruiting ground for bringing new people into the ranks of organised communism. This would be one major method of creating the right calibre of working class people who will surely constitute the backbone of a real communist Party and mass movement.

The centre will bring its revolutionary influence to bear in the shop stewards committees, where it will have

members. In these and other types of workers' organisations, such as workers' councils, etc; in district committees of the trade union movement; at regional and national level; at conference; wherever communists can find a platform to put their views across, they should strive to be.

As the movement spreads, the question of building a national co-ordinating committee of industrially based communists and sympathisers will be posed. Such an organisation would be dialectically related to Party-building.

Trade-union organised weekend schools, discussion groups and various courses will offer yet another opportunity for communists to get their message across.

Care must be taken not to confuse two basically different types of organisation: the cell or centre will be composed of communists and will be related to, and an integral part of, Party building; and after the Party has come into being will be responsible to it and will act as the defender and advocate of the democratically-arrived at line of the Party. Other organisations, such as a shop stewards committee, will not be Party-building organisations as such, but broad fronts

composed of communists and non-communists but persuing the type of demands discussed above, if revolutionaries have established leadership in them. Of course, the centre will recruit into its ranks shop stewards and others who develop into communists. But the different basis of the two organisational types must be recognised otherwise serious mistakes will be made, and communists will end up only being prepared to work with other communists, without there being any broad front platform for them to integrate with other progressive workers who are potential revolutionaries. To illustrate the point, it is clearly necessary for members of the centres to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat; to insist that every member of a shop stewards committee should also pledge himself or herself to fight for this maximum goal would be nonsense - and dangerous, sectarian, nonsense at that, for the isolation of the communists would be the only possible outcome of such an erroneous line.

DEVELOP A COMMUNIST STYLE OF WORK - BE MODEST, SELF-CRITICAL, HONEST, USE REVOLUTIONARY PAPERS TO SPREAD REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS, BE PATIENT AND WIN RECRUITS TO MARXISM-LENINISM

In the workplace as well as in other fields communists must take care not to allow their enthusiasm for change to degenerate into arrogance. Think before acting and before advocating "a line" or a "solution" to some problem. Think through the likely effect of your ideas. Remember, they might be adopted not because they are objectively the best in the situation, but because there just isn't anyone else around who is as interested or as articulate as you are. So act in a responsible way recognising that knowing a little about socialism is no guarantee of putting forward correct arguments. That requires modesty and serious study of a situation. Any mistakes we make will aid the employers .

On the other hand, communists must not make the opposite mistake of never saying anything for fear of saying something wrong. If that's what we are worrying about we may as well stay at home. Genuine criticism and self-criticism should be a regular feature of our work. Not in a "high-priest" way that some un-stable, middle class elements adopt. We should have no truck with the "holier-than-thou", false self-criticism of this or any other type. We should be self-critical before others, show people that we know very well that we don't know all the answers and are learning as much as teaching. There should be no ritual atmosphere; what has to be said should be said in a frank, on-the-table manner and said in a firm but friendly style.

Revolutionary papers are a vital part of explaining revolutionary ideas and getting the line across in a very wide way. Our papers must be used as organisers, educators, agitators and propagandists. Never throw a pile of papers at a fellow-worker expecting him or her to turn up the next day having read them and being already "one of us". Don't rush, but don't go to sleep on the job either. Don't push a worker; give guidance and help when you can. Suggest he write in a letter to the press, or criticise an article , or write one. Be alert, examine various issues, draw him out, get to grips with his prejudices, deal with them over time, and not with a sledgehammer approach.

Public education classes conducted by the revolutionary movement should be open to our contacts. Ask, don't insist that he come along; advise. Explain that others will be there who are learning the basics of scientific socialism and that he will not be forced to speak if he doesn't want to. Tell him the time, date and place; explain that it's in a pub, if it is, and that there will be a pint and a chat afterwards if he wants to stay on for a bit. Take people at the level they are at. Other activities, such as socials, pickets, demonstrations etc should be made known to him. Create as much contact as possible and develop an easy style of work. Class conscious workers should be looked upon as potential candidate members and detailed care must be taken over their reading and study of scientific socialism, and they should be encouraged to raise any problems they have with any of the material.

Avoid impatience, weigh up situations carefully, beware adventurism, i.e. fighting when we are weak and the bosses are strong. We should recognise that we can only move forward at a certain pace in a given set of conditions. Any attempt to move faster than conditions will allow can be likened to trying to drive a car engine to fast in the wrong gear. Attempting to force the pace faster than the engine can stand and conditions will allow will result in smashing-up the vehicle and getting things really messed up.

With a strong organisation, supported by more-frequently produced papers and special pamphlets, and a theoretical publication, things will get into gear and a movement will be built as more and more workers come to see in practice that only revolutionary communism serves their interest. Marxism-Leninism is a science based on truth, and nothing can beat that sort of opposition. The objective conditions are ripe for a big expansion of Marxism-Leninism in Britain as more and more workers and their families grow hostile to the present system which benefits only the wealthy few. The laying of the foundations of a genuine workers' Party, the building of genuine revolutionary unity, this is what we must strive for in the present period.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMUNITY-BASED WORK ARE COMPLEMENTARY
NOT CONTRADICTORY

Should building revolutionary bases at the place of work

be set against community-based forms of action. The CWLB(M-L) believes the answer is no, that they are complementary, not contradictory. This document does not deal with community work, such as tenants' work, etc, and other issues facing workers outside their work-place. But it does argue that in terms of general priority the place of work is the place where revolutionary communists should concentrate on most. We wish to make it quite clear that we are not opposing mobilising workers in the communities. On the other hand we do argue that there are a number of concrete reasons for concentrating in the main on building revolutionary bases in work-places.

Some of the reasons are as follows: there is forced upon workers in factories and other places of production and service a type of activity that is repressively more stable and regular than elsewhere in society. Most workers have to report for work five or six days each week. They are there, day and often night-shift. Not only this, but they are there for long hours each day, hours during which revolutionaries can talk, educate, and organise. Additionally, it is normally at the actual point of production that the class struggle is most real, most immediate. The capitalist class, which is so often concealed in society under a varnish of this or that guise, on the shop floor is immediately present as "the boss". He's the man (and his lackey supervisors - though here too communists must not assume that foremen are all whole-hearted reactionaries, but should instead assess them creatively in terms of their individual political outlook and practice) who says "No" to wage demands, longer holidays, better pension schemes and conditions...he is there as a personification of the whole rotten system. This is not to say that the class struggle should be reduced to the level of this or that personality, but simply that a face-to-face situation often exists in a stark manner at the work-place. The bosses are there telling the work-force what they can and cannot do all the time. Capitalism is characterised, has a name and title. The power structure is visible and tangible. This is the class enemy and it is there to be concretely struggled against. On the other hand, for example, the property speculator is not so immediately present. When was the last time somebody got nearer to Harry Hyams than a look at his Public Relations men? When was the last time the

gang that run the stock exchange were seen around? Workers in factories are tied to the most advanced form of production; they are at the heart of the capitalist system, and without their co-operation that system is in peril. Nowhere else in society is capitalism so directly dependent on the working class, so instantly vulnerable. Cars and planes can be produced without capitalists, but not without workers.

Day in and day out the working class assembles in thousands of places of work. In order to survive, because, therefore, of economic compulsion, millions are forced to clock-in for most days of the year and most years of their lives. It is here, right here that there are to be found the ready-made schools for spreading revolutionary ideas, stopping the employers in their tracks, rallying workers on a large scale, doing battle with the class enemy where is most easily hit and bruised. After work more conversations can take place. Papers can be sold in large numbers. They can report and give leadership. Plans can be made. Mass democratic meetings can be held. Communists are at the very veins and arteries of capitalism. **THEY ARE INTEGRATED!**

We argues that in no other situation in capitalist Britain is there provided such opportunities for waging the class struggle. Here is to be found the pressure-cooker atmosphere of the machine and conveyor belt, and the assembly line that many a worker has even dropped dead over. This is the economic heart of the system; that heart is in our hands if and when we get organised. The contact obtained in the work-place situation, no matter how small or large the firm, cannot, under normal conditions, be excelled from the standpoint of bringing communism to the British working class. Here is the place where we can most efficiently and substantially engage the enemy and win recruits.

Even so, there is, of course, no once-and-for-all line of definition to be drawn in a dogmatic way between factory-type work and community action. After all, workers in factories live in communities and ideas about one aspect of socialist struggle are bound to spill out into those communities.

The advance that communists can make in industry

will, the CWLB(M-L) believes, be the main way to exercise revolutionary leadership, eventually bringing millions of class conscious workers into action for socialism.

It is interesting to note that the revisionists of the CPGB concentrate mainly on community work because they believe so much in elections as a means to winning socialism - the phoney "peaceful transition" line - and wish to kid workers into channelling their militancy through the ballot box fraud. They say organising around the ballot box is crucial and that in reality the polling booth should take precedence over building industrial bases, which anyway their erroneous line prevents them from doing in a revolutionary way. This is but one example of how the central line of an organisation can determine the organisational form and direction of its work.

Industrial and community base-building are part and parcel of creating the necessary conditions for the building of a real Party of the people. They are both the means whereby the information vital to the making of a concrete class analysis of the country can be obtained, at least in part; and simultaneously the means whereby large numbers of working class comrades can be brought in to fill the ranks of the growing mass movement. If communists were established firmly in industry on a nation-wide basis, and armed with revolutionary politics and other weapons, then there is in existence the capacity to withstand the attacks of the enemy, both economically, politically and militarily; then there is the muscle the movement needs to strike when the moment is right and topple the capitalist class once and for all. Without such bases, all of that is impossible.

GROWING FASCISM

All that has been said is rendered even more urgent when it is taken into account that the ruling class in this country has for some time been resorting to fascist-type, corporate state policies. Capitalism is in crisis as never before and on a global scale. Acts such as the Industrial Relations Act, and corporate organisations such as the Pay and Prices Boards, are but some of a variety of measures introduced in recent times. Increased attacks on pickets and picketing are other

manifestations of growing fascism. Communists well understand the return to government of the Labour Party in no way ensures an end to increased repression, for the Labour Party is a Party of capitalism and will set about the saving of the system, not its destruction. Indeed, social democracy has always acted as the partner of fascism because it disarms the working class ideologically and paves the way for the advance of fascism. The Labour Party, with its historic ties with the working class, and with its "socialist" mutterings, is just as capable - if not more so, as many workers still have faith in it - of introducing corporate state policies as the Conservative capitalist party. (See footnote I at the bottom of this page.) All forces that can be united must be united against the threat of fascism in Britain. And here again we see the crucial importance of building a Party that will really defend and advance the interest of working people. For its part, the CWLB(M-L) is not a Party but a part of the growing Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain, much of which sees the need to build a genuine revolutionary Party.

DIVIDE AND RULE

The fight against growing fascism is a fight against all forms of capitalist divide and rule and this is especially important on the shop floor. The fight against racism is particularly crucial as this is one of the main planks being employed by fascists and reactionaries of all shades to split the working class and divert it away from overthrowing its real, main enemy, capitalism. Many reactionary politicians in the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Parties, in the "Monday Club", the National Front, the Action Party and elsewhere, are actively engaged in trying to whip up race hatred and are taking to boldly standing for election and marching in the streets. (See the "Voice of the People" for exposures of the tactics of the fascists and what they in essence stand for) The more the capitalist class is threatened by economic crisis and the organised working class the more will it resort to trying to divide-and-rule the working class. The central aim is to turn worker against workers so that they will fight each other instead of the boss class....worker fight worker and the bosses laugh all the way to the bank. They try to convince

(1) See back of pamphlet for General Election policy

workers that black immigrants are the cause of their problems, such as housing, jobs etc. In reality, however, there existed massive poverty in this country, and unemployment etc, before the first black immigrant set foot in Britain, and therefore it is nonsense to attribute such things to immigrants. Capitalism, not black workers, is the cause of poverty and the rest; and it is precisely this fact that the fascists and racists want workers to be blind to. (See VOP articles on racism.)

There must be absolutely no compromise in exposing racism. White workers should understand that they are not doing black workers "a favour" in fighting racism. For, if they fail to smash the racist offensive they fail to maintain the unity of their own class, the whole working class. And if they allow that unity to be wiped out, then they place the fascist noose around their own throats. The racists and fascists must be denied the right to preach their cancerous drivel, and workers must learn the lessons of history and understand that to allow these dregs freedom of speech is to beckon the advance of a fascist dictatorship which would very quickly deny the working class its freedom of speech, assembly and press. The class struggle is real and for the biggest of stakes, and we must not treat it as though it is a game, or act like little liberals still wet behind the ears. The fascists are the deadliest enemies of working men, women and children. Look at what they have done for so many years in countries like Spain. If given a chance they will do the same here. They must not be given that chance, but instead must be destroyed as the vermin they are. It is them or us, and we must mobilise to thoroughly rout them. The CWLB(M-L) will be dealing with this issue in detail in a separate publication.

Racist contradictions within the working class are secondary to the principal contradiction between the working class as a whole and the ruling class. The trade unions have a lot to answer for in their failure to provide anything other than verbal support for the fight against racist divide-and-rule in many recent strikes.

The capitalists try many ways to split the working class: black against white and white against black; male against female; young against old; employed against unemployed; manual against non-manual; skilled against un-skilled and semi-skilled; workers from one area against those from



Members of the Mensfield Hosiery strike committee "There must be absolutely no compromise in exposing racism. White workers should understand that they are not doing black workers a "favour" in fighting racism".

another; workers of different economic status, with some being given a few more crumbs than others; workers from one section of an industrial combine against workers in other factories of the same combine; and so on. Rank and file workers have often initiated such anti-divide and rule fights, a recent example being the strike at Fords at Dagenham which resulted in the black worker concerned, who had been provoked by a white reactionary foreman, getting his job back after a scuffle had occurred, which led to the worker's dismissal.

In a thousand different ways, some open others very subtle, class conscious managements employ divide-and-rule to weaken workers' resistance. The promotion of the "lump" is yet another way used to undermine workers' unity in the construction and building industry. The idea that workers on strike should be deprived of the right to receive social security and other payments for their families is another example of how the capitalist class and its lackeys seek to split the working class, by arguing, for example, that workers who stay at work are "subsidising" workers on strike. The list is almost endless. In the latter case the enemy even seeks to turn the wife and children of the striking breadwinner against him, by trying to put pressure on him to return to work so that his family may obtain more food and be able to pay the bills that mount up during periods of industrial struggle.

All these divide-and-rule tactics must be exposed and militantly fought against. The question of the particular problems of women workers requires special treatment in another study. The abuse of women in industry, job reservation akin to apartheid, lack of job promotion and training, and the many other "special treats" handed out to women comrades, characterise their second-citizen status as far as the capitalists are concerned. Men and women workers more often than not stand together in struggle, but vigilance must be maintained so that no opportunity is provided for the enemy to succeed in turning worker against worker in this field.

The revolutionary press has an important role to play in combating, divide-and-rule. Also it must combat "localism" which is the feeling that the fight can be successfully waged by workers just getting organised in their own areas of the country, thus developing a "mountain-stronghold mentality". The capitalist class is organised nation-wide,

and so must the movement to fight it. Small groups, isolated in different areas, cannot viably conduct the struggle. The mass-dissemination of a nation-wide revolutionary newspaper is a determining element in the process of breaking down localism and "small-group mentality". But the unification of the serious people and organisations of the Marxist-Leninist movement must take place on a concrete basis and will amount to mere formalism if the line of "unity-for-the-sake - of-unity" is allowed to rear its opportunist head and dominate our thinking. It must be unity on the basis of a scientific assessment of the main problems, not just formal unity without a concrete and specific basis to it. (See footnote I at the bottom of this page.) Local struggles may well have to be subordinated to national struggles, the particular to the general, the part to the whole. As Lenin pointed out in "What Is To Be Done?" "...our movement in the past few years has suffered precisely from the fact that local workers have been too absorbed in local work; that therefore it is absolutely necessary to shift the centre of gravity somewhat to national work; and that far from weakening, this would strengthen our ties and the continuity of our local agitation". For us, this might work out in such a way as to mean that plans for organising the fight in one factory might have to be subordinated to an over-all plan for the industry concerned as a whole.

Within the trade unions we should stand for positions if it moves the fight forward. But we do not work within the unions to gain this or that title. We should watch carefully the attempts by the social democrats in trade union positions to attack us. Such people have their tactics as we have ours. They are fighting to hold onto their titles, status and various other little perks. The Chapples and that kind are the advance guard of the employers operating within the ranks of the unions. They are capable of doing anything to attack communists. We must take them seriously and work out how to isolate and expose them.

Our task is to expose, isolate and attack the bosses and their extreme right-wing hirelings; neutralise wavering elements that might be drawn in to support the right and the bosses; gradually win over to the side of revolution the centrally-situated, undecided,

(I) The CWLB(M-L) Party-Building draft document yet to be printed will go into the question of unity among Marxist-Leninists

but basically quite progressive workers; and actively recruit to the ranks of the revolutionary movement the best, most class-conscious left-wing workers.....by doing this things will get on the move and we will really start to serve the people.

The strike weapon is crucial. Occupations of factories are important if, as has been argued, they have a progressive character about them. Most strikes in Britain have as yet an economic character about them. Our tasks is to put politics in command and raise the general level of struggle to a revolutionary quality. The politics dominating the working class movement, including the trade unions, is reformism. It is doubtful if the class character of the unions can be changed. But the real value to us is that within (and without) the trade unions there is the opportunity to consistently put across our ideas about minimum and maximum changes.

More and more working people are desirous of socialist change, despite the existence of much confusion as to how, and what this change should be. The increased repression of the working class here and throughout the rest of the capitalist/imperialist world is forcing more and more people each day to think and struggle for a better life. We argue that the building of communist revolutionary bases at the place of work is the main key to effecting socialist change here and the building of a genuine Party of the working class. We can win, we must win, and the only thing that could prevent a victory is our own lack of application to the tasks that confront us. Here in Britain and on a world-scale things are getting harder and harder for the reactionaries, though they will remain strong enough in the short term to provide us with many problems and we must take them seriously and not under-estimate them or over-estimate ourselves and our forces. We have a long way to go in the forging of a movement that will actually be able to make socialist revolution. We must combat the "Reds under the bed" slander campaign and expose the "red bogey" scares that are once again building up. We must learn to fight self and really place ourselves at the disposal of the working class movement. If not we will degenerate and turn into our opposites, namely we will become counter-revolutionaries. We must practice honesty in politics and expose those who act dishonestly (See footnote I at the bottom of this page).

See the CWLB (M-L) document "The need for honesty in Political work".

THE NEED FOR REGULAR STUDY

All action and no study is useless. Theory and practice must go hand in hand. Things will go badly wrong if we don't- as part of our industrial work - study the science of socialism on a regular basis with specific problems in mind, rather than just aimlessly. (See footnote I at the bottom of this page.) Things will go wrong and we will not be able to understand why. Frustration will grow and demoralisation may set in. Daily study should be the practice. Even half-an-hour per day means three-and-a-half hours per week which can result in a lot of understanding being gained. Read Mao's Red Book, as well as other important texts. There is no finer general introduction to Marxism-Leninism than the Red Book. It will not be easy to study on top of everything else, but it is essential. As Lenin pointed out "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolution". And the theory of scientific socialism must be studied and cannot be come by on chance, or spontaneously.

The study of movements in other countries also helps to put the fight into perspective and explain how the revolutionary process takes time and how we must not allow depression at the pace of things put us off our goal. Everybody gets tired now and again; talk to people about it, don't bottle it up. Building the movement is not like building a wall in the sense that with wall you can always see exactly where you are at. With the movement things are often complex and assessments of progress are somewhat different. But the revolutionary process goes on independent of man's will and success is inevitable as more people come to hate capitalism and want a lead in the business of ending it.

We must not (unless specific situations demand that tactically we must for a while) be "secret communists" at the place of work. If we keep our beliefs and line secret, then what good are we to anybody? We communists are proud of our politics, proud of the record of communists in the service of working mankind, and we must explain day in, day out, in factory after factory what communism is and why it alone can lead the working class to socialism. The CWLB(M-L) document "WHAT DO REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS STAND FOR?" should be brought to the attention of the maximum number of workers and debates initiated on its contents.

(I) See the pamphlet called "The Political Education Program of the Communist Workers League of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

We must bring to workers discussion of the struggles in other countries and the socialist advances that are taking place in China, Albania and elsewhere. We should explain why British troops have no right to be in Ireland, and that they should be withdrawn and the patriotic political prisoners should be released immediately and unconditionally. We should show how divide-and-rule is being used to set the British people against the Irish people. We should provoke discussion on a variety of topics.

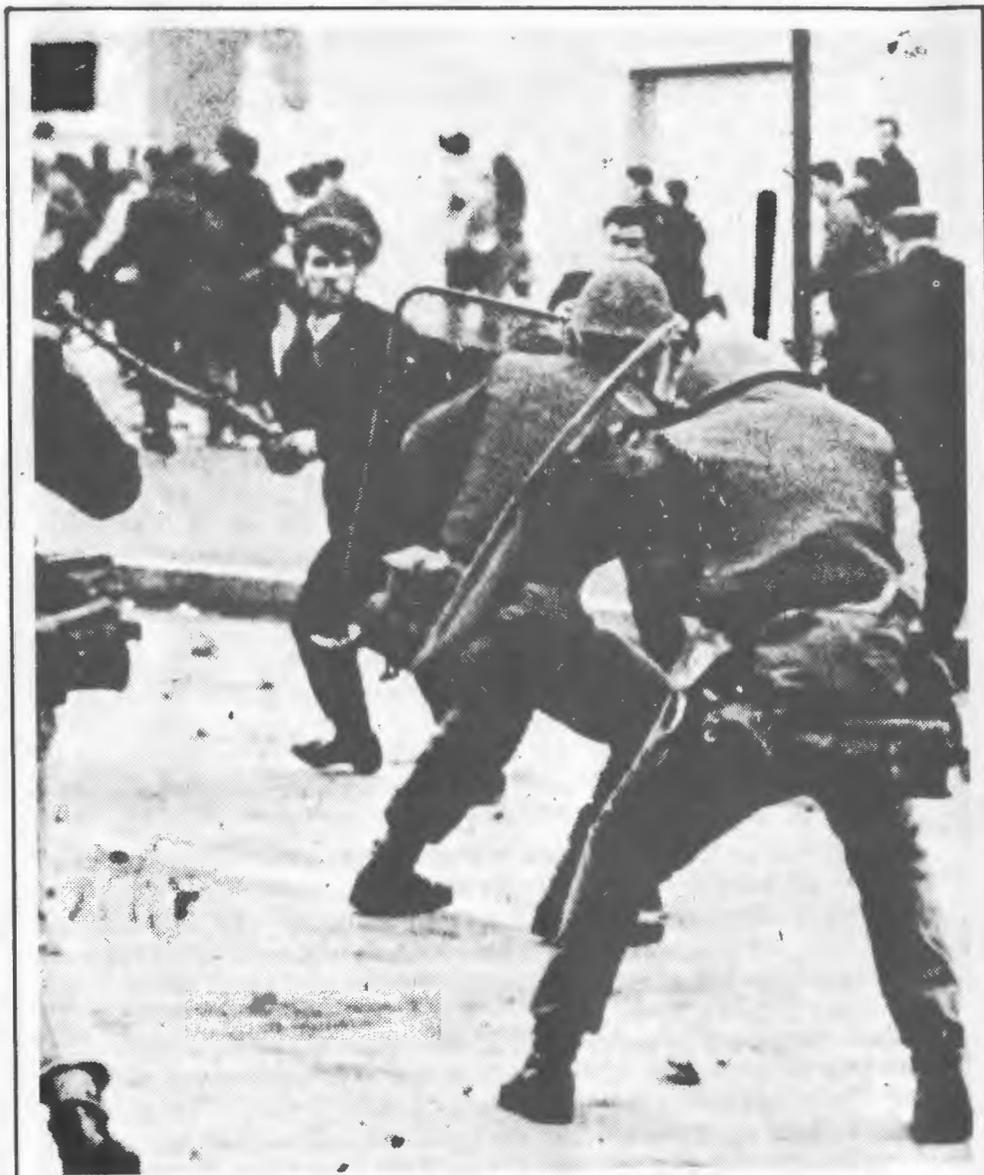
Prepare properly for speeches at meetings, whether big or small. Get at least one other worker to read a leaflet before getting it printed.

Above all know the central concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for it is this that more than anything else demarcates revolutionary communists from the opportunists of various brands.

Through such industrial base-building will the Marxist-Leninist movement recruit to its ranks cadre that can be developed into professional, full-time revolutionary agitators, educators and organisers. Knowledgeable revolutionaries, skilled in their trade, with their feet firmly on the ground, having a modest and realistic style of work...the movement needs such comrades badly so that it can grow and develop and take on new areas of work.

Communists must work to a democratically agreed plan and avoid acting, spontaneously, anarchistically or as though they were individuals working in the absence of a growing movement. They must respect collective decision-making, discipline and must act responsibly. If there are problems raise them, put them on the table and discuss them thoroughly and honestly. There is no other way of working things out. If mistakes are made and some people are lost temporarily, don't get bogged down. Such people will return if they are serious and if we are genuine in our self-criticism. Don't "Do your own thing" for often that may not be the best thing for socialism. Have respect for others, and give their opinions a chance.

The defeats we encounter are very important, for much can be learnt from summing up the causes of defeats. We try to avoid them, but we don't reckon it as the end of the world when set-backs come our way.



"We should explain why British troops have no right to be in Ireland, and that they should be withdrawn and the patriotic political prisoners should be released immediately and unconditionally. We should show how divide-and-rule is being used to set the British people against the Irish people".

Our basic attitude towards contradictions should be guided by the need to minimise them within the ranks of the people and maximise them between the people and the ruling class which exploits them. This way will enable us to minimise our problems and maximise theirs, which good for us and bad for them.

In our industrial-base work we must take into account that workers have been subjected to social democracy, revisionism and trotskyism, and some even to fascist propaganda. All of these will have left some mark and workers will not be able to leap to communism all at one jump. Communist consciousness won't come out of the blue. In fact it won't "just come" at all. It arises from the introduction of communist science to the working class and other progressive people by communists. If things appear to be going wrong, the first thing to do is to look at our own methods and the way we are conducting ourselves. It's too easy, and dishonest, to say "workers don't want to know". It's like saying a starving man doesn't want a meal, or a man dying of thirst isn't interested in a drink. Look to yourself and the method of work and nine times out of ten the answer will lie there. The working class is not anti-communist: it is often anti- what it has been led to believe is communism. The working class is under pressure from the capitalists in a hundred ways and is looking for a new society. Leadership is wanted and with the correct application of Marxism-Leninism there is no doubt whatsoever that a Party, industrial bases and all the various organisations required for the victory of socialism can and will be built. This document aims to make some contribution to that historic tasks.

We must study other struggles, what has taken place before in Britain, why revisionism has come about, why, for example, the general strike failed, and why the working class has remained for so long under the restricting, stifling influence of reformism.

And always keep the following in mind: the working class in our country has the reason, the power and the might to smash capitalism, to end the reign of the profit-æers and usher in a new socialist system. We communists

have a great responsibility in this process of basic change. We must fight and fight and fight till this great task is no longer a plan but an achievement. The working class, as we said at the start of this document, is the leading force, and the industrial section of the working class especially important to the whole process of revolution. We must dig in and spread out among our base, the working class. It is our class, our people, men, women and children, that the capitalists have exploited, kept down and drenched for far too long with reformism. Ours is the task of assisting in the liberation of the minds and bodies of millions of working class families. We must never attempt to substitute militant-sounding reformism, economism or any other type, for Marxism-Leninism. We must show that the Labour, Tory and Liberal Parties are all rotten and capitalist. We must point out the need for a Party of a new type, a genuine revolutionary communist Part. We must explain and fight growing fascism in our country. And we must unite all the forces that can be united in preparation for the coming assault on the capitalist enemy.

We stand for, we fight for and we exist to realise the dictatorship of the working class. We organise for nothing less than the complete destruction of capitalism as a system. THIS AND NOTHING ELSE IS WHAT WE COMMUNISTS STAND FOR. WE CAN WIN THE PEOPLE TO REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM. WE MUST BUILD REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST BASES ACROSS THIS LAND IN WORK-PLACE AFTER WORK-PLACE. WE MUST LAY THE FOUNDATIONS FOR THE COMING INTO BEING OF A GENUINE WORKERS' REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. WE MUST ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MAKING A CLASS ANALYSIS WHILE CONTINUING WITH THE DAY-TO-DAY STRUGGLE AS PART OF THE PROCESS. WE MUST DEVELOP A GENUINE PROGRAMME THAT WILL WIN MILLIONS TO THE SIDE OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

WE CAN WIN. WE MUST WIN. AND WE ARE GOING TO WIN, IF WE ALL ACT HONESTLY AND PUT OUR SHOULDERS TO THE WHEEL.

dated as from Saturday 4 May 1974

PLEASE NOTE: if you would like more information about the Communist Workers League of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) or would like to have an informal chat with workers in it, then drop a line to the address on the back page. Why not do it now while it's on your mind?

DON'T VOTE CAPITALIST... ORGANISE INSTEAD FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

I. For millions of working class families existence in capitalist Britain amounts to a life sentence where poverty is rarely more than one wage packet away - if you have a job. Some workers earn more than others but all are exploited. 2. The Tory, Labour and Liberal Parties are in essence all the same, because each plays the capitalist game. 3. A general election is a competition between the Tory, Labour and Liberal Parties, to manage the affairs of the ruling capitalist class, and its exploitation of working people and the poorer sections of the middle class. 4. Whichever of these Parties wins a general election, the working class loses. Whichever of the present Parties is in government, capitalism remains in power. 5. The so-called "National interest" is really the class interest of the capitalist bosses. Capitalist "Law and order" is the slogan of the rich. 6. Minor reforms here and there are no real solution. The few crumbs now and then forced from the ruling class still leaves that class in power to carry on its exploitation of workers' labour power. 7. There is not a single example currently or historically of the transition from capitalism to socialism being made in any way other than by a workers' socialist revolution. 8. The ruling class of bosses, millionaire industrialists, financiers, bankers, stock-exchange gamblers, property speculators and land owners, commerce and trade monopolists, and other exploiters, will never give up peacefully or voluntarily their profits paradise. Their parliamentary circus, their army, their police force, courts, laws and prison system all exist to protect their state political power and privilege. 9. The capitalist system is in deep crisis and the ruling class of employers is currently creating the conditions for a fascist, boss-dominated, corporate state. Either a socialist revolution will smash capitalism and its birth-child of growing fascism, or fascism will rise to power in Britain only to be overthrown later by revolution, after it has taken its terrible toll against the working class and other progressive people. 10. So that a socialist revolution can be made there must be built there must be built a genuine revolutionary Party of the working class and all who are prepared to actively join the struggle for a socialist society where those who do the work have political power. II. Therefore, the task now in Britain is not to change the camp commandant, but to organise now to break down the prison that is capitalism, destroy that un-just system forever and replace it with the real freedom and democracy of a socialist workers' state.

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WITHDRAW THE TROOPS! RELEASE THE PRISONERS!



WHAT DO REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS REALLY STAND FOR?

What we are against



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OTHER CWLB (M-L) PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE ARE "THE POLITICAL EDUCATION PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS LEAGUE OF BRITAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST)", AND "THE IMPORTANCE OF HONESTY IN POLITICAL WORK". AVAILABLE FROM ADDRESS BELOW.

All mail to "Voice of the People", c/o Larcular Ltd., 30 City Rd London, E.C.1.