

OCTOBER 1968 Special Issue

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE!

Red Front

FOR WORKING-CLASS POWER
FOR A SOCIALIST BRITAIN!



ORGAN OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN

Price 6d.

**October 27th
special issue**

**A GREAT DAY OF
INTERNATIONAL
WORKING CLASS
SOLIDARITY!**

THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE GREAT OCTOBER 27th DEMONSTRATION OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE HEROIC NATIONAL - LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE HAVE BROUGHT TO A HEAD MANY TENDENCIES WITHIN THE BRITISH "LEFT" THAT HAVE BEEN MATURING IN RECENT YEARS.

THIS SPECIAL ISSUE OF "RED FRONT" ANALYSES THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE TENDENCIES IN THEIR CONTEXT OF THE BRITISH AND WORLD SITUATION.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BRITAIN

THE BRITISH POLITICAL SYSTEM, WHICH HAS SERVED ITS CAPITALIST MASTERS WELL OVER THE PAST FIFTY YEARS, IS IN PROCESS OF RAPID TRANSFORMATION.

The Prices and Incomes legislation, which aims to destroy the rights of collective bargaining won by the working class a hundred years ago; the moves to tighten state control over the B.B.C.; the conversion of the Labour Party into an open and undisguised servant of Big Business and its consequent loss of support among all but the most politically backward workers; the conversion of the Communist Party into a "respectable" "left" appendage of the Establishment, embracing the old doctrine of "democratic socialism through peaceful Parliamentary transition" that has been abandoned by the Labour Party even in words - ALL THESE ARE BUT THE FIRST DEVELOPMENTS IN A PROCESS DESIGNED RADICALLY TO TRANSFORM THE BRITISH POLITICAL SYSTEM IN ORDER TO SECURE AND STRENGTHEN THE RULE OF FINANCE CAPITAL IN NEW CONDITIONS.

THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM

The new conditions which have forced these changes reflect a great deepening of the permanent crisis in which world finance capitalism, world imperialism, finds itself - a crisis which has affected British imperialism with particular intensity.

From Vietnam to Bolivia, throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America - and now to Europe itself, as in the British colony of Northern Ireland - national liberation movements are shaking the imperialist system of colonial and neo-colonial domination and exploitation to its very foundations. In the central citadel of world imperialism, the United States, the Negro people are raising their fists in the cause of liberation from their oppressors.

In most of the developed capitalist countries of western Europe, but especially in France and West Germany, a great wave of class struggle incepted by militant students has ended once and for all the long twilight of class peace which has reigned in these countries since the late 1940s.

There has been a significant sharpening of inter-imperialist rivalries and contradictions, as manifested, for example, in the developing struggle between the U.S. and West European monopoly capitalist blocs; in the course of this struggle the three most powerful West European powers - France, West Germany and Britain - are increasingly breaking free from subservience to weakened U.S. imperialism and working to promote the building of a new West European alliance. A new capitalist bloc is being constructed on the ruins of the former socialist nations of Eastern Europe, a bloc in which the Soviet Union is playing the role of a new imperialist power, as is shown in the recent Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia. And in China the capitalist class which holds power under the false red banners of the revisionist faction headed by Mao Tse-tung is already beginning to build up spheres of influence, especially in Africa, in rivalry both to the older imperialist powers and to the new Soviet imperialism.

These symptoms of the deepening permanent crisis of world imperialism are at the same time harbingers of a world-wide pre-revolutionary situation.

THE COLLAPSE OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

For some fifty years the dominant ideology in the British working class movement has been that of social-democracy, the principle tenet of which is that the working class may, by peaceful negotiation, secure gradual but limitless improvements in its standard of living and conditions within the capitalist system, as well as gradual but limitless social reforms through the machinery of "parliamentary democracy".

This ideology has retained its hold over the mass of British workers because up to now they have found from their own experience that, to some extent at least, it has worked. The capitalist class, from the vast super-profits they have obtained from the exploitation of the peoples in the colonial-type countries under their domination, have been able to develop and expand their productive machinery and so bring about a considerable rise in productivity. From this increased production, they have been able to grant minor increases in real wages

to the workers responsible for it, as well as minor social reforms, and they have been willing to do this in order to retain the support of the workers for the capitalist system on which their (the capitalists') wealth depends. At the same time it must never be forgotten that, despite this increase in real wages, the working class receives a smaller share of the total wealth it produces than it did fifty years ago, that its exploitation has increased.

But now, in the stage of permanent crisis, the situation has changed. With the undermining of Britain's imperialist position by the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples of the colonial-type countries, as well as by her imperialist rivals, old and new, the economic basis for rising productivity, for negotiated increases in real wages as a continuous process for social reforms, and so for the ideology of social-democracy, has also been undermined.

The British monopoly capitalists, like all ruling exploiting minorities, maintain their rule by a combination of force and deception - and social-democracy has long been the main ideological instrument of deception of the working class and working people. But the undermining of the economic basis of social-democracy must lead to the speedy collapse of the dominance of this ideology in the working class movement, as soon as workers discover that it no longer corresponds to their experience of reality.

Thus, in this new situation the British monopoly capitalists have need of a "new" ideology with which to deceive the working class into support for capitalist society, a "new" ideology which they hope will serve their interests in the next period as social-democracy did in the previous period. And they have need of a "new" "left" party expressing this ideology, a party which will serve their interests in the next period as the now discredited Labour Party did in the previous period.

THE ROLE OF RIGHT REVISIONISM

Over the last twenty years or so, the leaders of the Communist Party of Great Britain - once the Marxist-Leninist Party of the British working class - have been elaborating a "new" "left" ideology which they believe will meet the needs of finance capital in this new situation. Although this ideology is claimed by its authors to be "a new creative development of Marxism-Leninism", it has in fact discarded all the basic, revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, has revised Marxism-Leninism to the right; we therefore call it right revisionism.

This ideology is designed to appeal to workers by criticising the leaders of the Labour Party and the trade union movement as "rightists", and by claiming to have taken up the banner of "democratic socialism through Parliamentary elections" which these leaders have discarded.

At the same time the revisionist Communist Party leadership assures the big capitalists that the Party has dropped all talk of revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that its programme "The British Road to Socialism" stands for the defence of "parliamentary democracy" and of the "democratic rights of the capitalist press and political parties" - that its talk of "socialism" is just as harmless and demagogic as it used to be on the part of the leaders of the Labour Party. It has demonstrated its "thoroughly British character", that its policies are in no way determined in Moscow, by condemning the Soviet trials of right-wing intellectuals and the Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia. And having shown their "respectability", the harlots of King Street beg to be sponsored by the Establishment, for the right to be accorded "an appropriate place" in the British political system, to be given "appropriate" time on television, to receive state-financed advertisements in the "Morning Star".

THE UNHOLY REVISIONIST-TROTSKYITE ALLIANCE

The ambitious revisionist leaders of the Communist Party fully realise that the name and organisational structure of their party makes it unsuitable to serve finance capital as a new "Labour Party". And so they have pledged themselves to work for the creation of "a new, broad party of the left" to be formed out of an alliance between the Communist Party and the "left-wing of the Labour Party".

But now that the old "left-wings" of the Labour Party, exemplified by such creatures as Wilson and Castle, have shown themselves to be in fact extreme right-wings, the only "left-wing of the Labour Party" that remains is one consisting of the adherents of that arch-traitor to socialism Leon Trotsky - the trotskyites, who have shown themselves in every country to be the most vicious enemies and disruptors of the working class movement.

The embryo of this unholy revisionist-trotskyite alliance has already been formed in the shape of the Ad Hoc Committee set up to organise the great October 27th demonstration of solidarity with Vietnam. All important decisions with regard to the demonstration have been taken behind the scenes by a faction consisting of the trotskyite leaders of the "Vietnam Solidarity Campaign" (which is dominated by two trotskyite groups: "International Socialism" and the "International Marxist Group"), and the revisionist leaders of the Young Communist League. And the decisions which have been taken have already exposed the completely unprincipled and treacherous character of this alliance.

There can be no doubt that the main aggressor in Vietnam consists of United States imperialism, and that the symbol of U.S. imperialism in Britain consists of the United States Embassy in Grosvenor Square. Yet long before other organisations were invited to participate in the organisation of the demonstration, the leaders of the revisionist-trotskyite faction had given firm assurances to the authorities, assurances designed to show their "respectability", that the demonstration would deliberately avoid going anywhere near the U.S. Embassy. This decision was eventually "ratified" at a "meeting" of the Committee packed with trotskyites drafted in from all over Greater London and representing no-one but themselves.

This single act of betrayal has brought out into the open, for all but the blind to see, the true aims of the revisionist-trotskyite alliance. And it has, of course, produced an inevitable response on the part of the growing mass of rank-and-file militants who are determined to demonstrate their solidarity with the fighting people of Vietnam, not by a walk in the park but by a political demonstration against the U.S. aggressors.

At meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee, representatives of the various revisionist and trotskyite groups have openly stated that their aim is to lay the basis for such a "new left party". In other words, they have openly revealed that their real aim has nothing whatever to do with the concrete, immediate and strategically essential task of building solidarity with the fighting people of Vietnam. These long-standing renegades merely wish to use the spontaneous and widespread feelings of solidarity with the Vietnamese people in order to try to build a diversionary movement.

THE ROLE OF "LEFT" REVISIONISM

The fact that the treacherous character of the right revisionist-trotskyite alliance is being exposed even before their "new, broad party of the left" has come into being makes it highly desirable for finance capital to have a further ideology available to capture militants who have become disillusioned with right revisionism and so delay their movement to a genuine revolutionary position. "Left" revisionism, in the forms of maoism and castroism, provides the big capitalists with such a further line of ideological defence serving their interests.

"Left" revisionists look for their inspiration either to the faction headed by Mao Tse-tung in China, or to that headed by Fidel Castro in Cuba - sometimes to both indiscriminately. The aims of both these factions have been to keep the leadership of the national-democratic revolutions in their countries from being taken by the working class, so as to prevent the transformation of these revolutions into socialist revolutions, and so as to build state capitalist societies under the false banner of "socialism". The differences between the two varieties of "left" revisionism are designed to secure these aims under different conditions. Castroism, applicable to a small country where the pro-imperialist forces are relatively weak, openly repudiates the need for leadership of the national-democratic revolution by the working class, as well as by an organised, disciplined party, and preaches leadership by a group of petty-bourgeois adventurers of the type of Guevara. Maoism, applicable to a large country with a huge population where the pro-imperialist forces are relatively strong, endorses the principle of leadership of the national-democratic revolution by an organised disciplined party, this being essential to the triumph of the revolution in these conditions; but it is a "party of the working class" only in name, being in practice overwhelmingly dominated by peasantry who, in these circumstances, reflect the ideological outlook of the capitalist class.

In the colonial-type countries, maoism and castroism seek to promote national-democratic revolutions against the older imperialist powers and to bring these countries, after their "liberation", into the sphere of influence of the Chinese and Cuban capitalists respectively.

In the developed capitalist countries, the "left" revisionists strive to foment, under "revolutionary" slogans, all forms of racial and national antagonisms for the purpose of weakening these countries, which are the rivals of the Chinese and Cuban capitalists. But the ruling classes of these developed capitalist countries rely for the maintenance of their rule on the principle of "divide and rule"; in so far as these racial and national antagonisms disrupt the unity of the working people, and of the anti-imperialist forces generally, they are of service not only to the developing national capitalist classes of China and Cuba, but also to the ruling classes of the country concerned; the task of the capitalist state in these circumstances is merely to try to ensure that these antagonisms do not develop to a level of disorder which adversely affects the profitability of the capitalist society.

THE DRIVE TO FASCISM

We have said that the British finance capitalists, like all ruling exploiting minorities, maintain their rule by a combination of force and deception, and we have seen that the ideology of social-democracy - which has been the main ideological weapon of deception - is rapidly losing its dominance in the working class movement.

Further, it is possible to secure the replacement of the dominance of social-democracy in the working class movement by that of a "new" ideology which serves the interests of the capitalist class only for the shortest period. For all such ideologies - such as right revisionism, which is merely social-democracy dressed up in "left" phrases - depend upon the illusion that the working class may obtain by negotiation gradual but limitless improvements in its standard of living and conditions and social reforms within the framework of capitalist society. Once the economic basis for such ideologies has been destroyed, the workers are quick to learn that this does not correspond with their experience.

In consequence, with the undermining of the possibilities of deceiving the working class, the finance capitalists are compelled to prepare to extend and sharpen their machinery of force. These preparations have so far been seen in their clearest form in the Prices and Incomes legislation, in the moves to bring the trade unions more directly under the supervision of the capitalist state.

But it is necessary for the big capitalists to go much further than this. They must prepare to replace the apparatus of "parliamentary democracy" by that of a fascist-type corporate state, by the machinery of their direct dictatorship. At the appropriate moment there will emerge from beneath some stone the nucleus of a fascist-type party which will serve as the terrorist centre of this corporate framework.

The germs of such a fascist-type party may be seen not merely among the Powellites of the Conservative Party, but also among the "left" revisionists, for the racialism and nationalism which are fostered by the "left" revisionists are features of fascist, not socialist, organisations. The maoist "Scottish Workers' Party", which began by supporting so-called "Scottish Nationalism" in the name of "Marxism-Leninism", has already degenerated into a body which extols Hitler's fascist "National Socialism" as a "working class revolution" !

THE WORKING PEOPLE'S UNITED FRONT

Thus, the existing political situation in Britain appears complex and confused only on the surface. In essence, it is clear and simple. It appears complicated only as a result of the penetration of the working class movement by ideas and agents of the class enemy, of finance capital, so that the fundamental conflict between the two basic classes of capitalist society appears for the moment as a struggle between political trends within the movement - only one of which, the trend of Marxism-Leninism, is genuinely left, genuinely revolutionary, genuinely socialist, genuinely based on the needs and interests of the working class.

But the same factors which are forcing the increasingly isolated ruling class of finance

capitalists to build a fascist-type mass base within the ranks of the working people are at the same time acting to force the working people to build a defensive united front against finance capital - a united front which will eventually become an offensive, a revolutionary, united front. The formation of Action Councils of working people in various parts of the country is a significant development in this direction.

The political situation in Britain will therefore inevitably develop to find its political expression in the struggle between two emerging, antagonistic class bases - the corporate-fascist mass base of monopoly capital and the mass base of the working people's anti-capitalist united front. This struggle - the most ferocious, pitiless and all-embracing class struggle that British capitalism will ever have witnessed - will extend through every sphere of life from the factory floor to the most "remote" spheres of culture. Its development will herald the onset of a pre-revolutionary situation. Its outcome will depend on which of the two fundamentally opposed classes - the working class or the capitalist class - will succeed in mobilising and deploying its mass base most rapidly, flexibly and effectively; on which will gain and maintain the initiative in all spheres; on which will win the leadership of the broad masses, particularly the middle professional strata and petty bourgeoisie, which are now undergoing proletarianisation at a rapid rate, and the less class conscious sections of the working class.

But the working people cannot win such a struggle spontaneously. A primary pre-condition for their victory is the creation of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the working class, a disciplined party which will form the General Staff of the working people's army. With the leadership of such a party - linked to the Marxist-Leninist Parties of other lands in a great International which will coordinate the international struggle - the British working class can and will win political power and proceed to build a Socialist Britain.

CONCLUSION

October 27th, 1968 will be a crucial date in the development of the British working class movement.

Beneath all the surface confusion engendered by the revisionist-trotskyite betrayal, a major confrontation will take place on this day not only between the broad forces of the working people and the repressive organs of the monopoly capitalist state, but also between two fundamentally opposed lines within the working class forces: the line of social-democratic class collaboration and capitulation (represented by the revisionist-trotskyite decision to avoid the U.S. Embassy as a target of the demonstration) and the line of strengthening the independent class organisation of the working people, of enabling them to accumulate revolutionary experience task by task and stage by stage, of relating all immediate issues of struggle to the long-term goal of destroying for ever the system of capitalist exploitation by means of a socialist revolution.

But, when the demonstration of October 27th comes to an end, the movement for anti-imperialist solidarity must not be put into cold storage until the next demonstration. All progressives must see to it that anti-imperialist solidarity committees based on the industrial working class are built in every town and city to work for fraternal solidarity between the working people of the developed capitalist countries and the oppressed peoples of the colonial-type countries.

Such anti-imperialist solidarity is the key to the overthrow of imperialism, and this is the way forward to the defeat of the revisionist-trotskyite conspiracy of betrayal and the transformation of October 27th into a great day of international working class solidarity.

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS AND ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE !

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION
OF BRITAIN now in preparation and available soon

Red VANGUARD

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE THEORY AND
PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM.

The contents of Issue No. 1 include :-

"THE THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG"

the first part of a major study which, through its analysis of the writings, including some hitherto little known outside China, extends and deepens the case already made in the Report of the C.C. of the M.L.O.B. on "The Situation in the People's Republic of China" in the light of the history of the C.P.C. and the Chinese Revolution and the role of the "Thought" in both.

"THE THEORY OF THE GUERILLA ELITE"

an analysis of the theories of Regis Debray, and their relevance to the revolutionary struggle in Latin America.

Subscription rates:

6s. single copy. 27s. annual subscription (4 issues).
Postage 1s. extra on each copy. Airmail rates on application.

Programmatic Manifesto of the Marxist - Leninist Organisation of Britain

The fundamental policy statement of the M.L.O.B. based on the Report delivered to the Foundation Conference and amended and enlarged in the light of subsequent national and world events.

Price: 7s. 6d.

Details on application to the Literature
Department, 34 Upper Tollington Park, N.4.

Back issues of RED FRONT still available:

- Report of the Central Committee of the M.L.O.B. on
THE SITUATION IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA : 1s. 0d. (Postage
5d. extra
- Report of the C.C., MLOB on
THE SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA : 3d. on all
copies)
- PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM: THE KEY TO VICTORY
IN ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE AND SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION ! 1s. 0d.

from: M.L.O.B. Literature Dept.,
34, Upper Tollington Park, London N.4.

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

To: The M.L.O.B.,
34 Upper Tollington Park,
London N.4.

I wish to apply for candidate Membership of the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain.

Name
Address
.....

You can help RED FRONT :

- * by taking out a subscription
 - * by persuading your militant workmates to take out a subscription
 - * by sending a donation or, better still, a monthly guarantee
 - * by assisting in the sale of the paper outside factory gates and in public places in your locality.
- Sale or return details from the Literature Dept.

A CALL FOR WORKING CLASS UNITED ACTION

This leaflet is available for the use of T.U. fractions, industrial and tenants groups, etc, from the Literature Dept.

Price 2/6d. per 100, carriage paid.

RED FRONT

is the organ of the MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN. All communications should be addressed to the Editorial Committee.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Annual subscription (6 issues) : 4/6d. Single copies : 1ld. (Postage included)
Western & Eastern Europe : 10s. Other parts of the world: 2ls.

Printed and published from the Editorial Address by M. Scott