

# Red Front

FOR WORKING-CLASS POWER  
FOR A SOCIALIST BRITAIN!



ORGAN OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN

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ON AUGUST 21ST. ARMED FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION - TOGETHER WITH ARMED UNITS FROM BULGARIA, HUNGARY, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND POLAND - PENETRATED INTO CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND OCCUPIED KEY POINTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

### By Invitation ?

The Soviet government has declared that this action was undertaken at the request of "party and government leaders" in Czechoslovakia. In the sense that a small opposition group among party and government leaders in Czechoslovakia may have invited Soviet intervention, this statement may have a certain literal validity - although no Czechoslovak politician has yet come forward as admitted author of such an invitation. In the sense that the Czechoslovak government and the leading body of the Czechoslovak Communist Party invited Soviet and other armed intervention - and this is the only sense that would have any meaning in international law - the statement is clearly the opposite of the truth. On the contrary, the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia was undertaken for the purpose of replacing the existing Czechoslovak government and party leadership with personnel acceptable to the Soviet government.

### To Safeguard Czechoslovak Socialism ?

The Soviet government has also declared that their armed intervention in Czechoslovakia was undertaken in order to safeguard "the socialist system existing in Czechoslovakia" from "the threat emanating from counter-revolutionary forces".

This pretext is also without foundation.

The leaders who usurped power in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union following the death of Stalin have destroyed step by step the state power of the working class established by the October Revolution of 1917, and have gradually replaced the socialist system of society built up under the Marxist-Leninist leadership of Lenin and Stalin, by forms of state capitalism in which profit is once again the principal motive and regulator of production. A new class of capitalists, a new bourgeoisie, has been created which, through the machinery of state capitalism, exploits the working people of the Soviet Union.

By various means the former Marxist-Leninist leaders of the countries of eastern and central Europe have - with the notable exception of Albania - been removed and replaced by "rehabilitated" traitors, and here too (at paces appropriate to the particular conditions prevailing) the socialist systems which existed are being dismantled and replaced by state capitalist systems subordinate to that of the Soviet Union. COMECON (once an instrument for fraternal economic cooperation between socialist countries) has been transformed into an instrument for a colonial-type of economic domination of those countries by the Soviet neo-

capitalists. And the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (once an instrument for the defence of the socialist camp) has been perverted into a military instrument serving the Soviet neo-capitalists for the protection of their "sphere of influence" against their capitalist rivals outside, and for the subjection of the working people in the countries they exploit.

True, the leaders of the countries within the Soviet neo-capitalist "empire" still call themselves "Marxist-Leninists", as do the liberals in the leadership of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of western Europe. But their "Marxism-Leninism" is no more real than the "socialism" they speak of in the Soviet "empire". They have "revised" Marxism-Leninism to remove its revolutionary socialist core; they have made of it a perversion little different from the "socialist" ideology of Wilson; they have made of it an ideology to serve the interests of capitalists and deceive the working people. That is why we call them "revisionists".

The pretext that the intervention of armed forces of the Soviet Union into Czechoslovakia was undertaken to safeguard "the socialist system existing in Czechoslovakia" is thus without foundation.

### The World Background

If the pretexts put forward by the Soviet government for its armed intervention in Czechoslovakia are false, what then were the real motives behind it ?

In order to understand this, we must see the action in its world context.

At the present time there exist, or are in course of formation, four rival capitalist blocs in the world. One bloc, which reached the peak of its power in the years immediately after the Second World War, is the imperialist bloc dominated by the monopoly capitalists of the United States. The second is in course of construction in western Europe under the joint domination of the monopoly capitalists of France and West Germany - and a powerful section of British monopoly capitalists are working to detach themselves from the U.S.-dominated bloc in order to become partners with their counterparts in western Europe. The Soviet "empire", in which the Soviet neo-capitalists play the dominant role, constitutes the third bloc. And the Chinese capitalist class, saved from destruction in the Chinese revolution by the revisionist faction headed by Mao Tse-tung, is seeking to construct a fourth bloc by drawing to itself the under-developed countries in process of liberating themselves from colonial-type domination by imperialism.

A fundamental law of capitalism is that such blocs have antagonistic interests. Each bloc strives to expand its markets, its spheres of influence, the populations under its domination and exploitation, at the expense of its rivals. This inter-capitalist rivalry, in this final phase of the decay and disintegration of the world imperialist system, is the basis of the Soviet armed intervention in Czechoslovakia.

### The Rise of Ultra-Revisionism in Czechoslovakia

As, in a formerly socialist country, the development of capitalism proceeds, the newly-emerging capitalist class begins to find the state structure and superstructure (which retains the facade, although not the reality, of a "socialist" state) a fetter on the further development of the capitalist system, on which their wealth depends. They - and the intellectuals who serve them - begin to put forward demands for the "liberal parliamentary democracy" under which capitalism can best develop.

And, in the case of a dependent country within the Soviet bloc, they begin to find domination by the Soviet neo-capitalists as an ever greater fetter on the development of national capitalism in their country. They - and the intellectuals who serve them - begin to put forward demands for "national independence", for the freedom to develop their economic and foreign policies along directions which will best serve their national capitalist interests.

Thus, the rift between the Soviet and Rumanian revisionist leaders was provoked by the attempts of the former to use COMECON in order to hold back the industrial development of Rumania and keep it in the position of a supplier of foodstuffs and oil and a purchaser of manufactured goods - a traditional colonialist policy.

The same tendencies led to developments this year in Czechoslovakia which were reported as follows in RED FRONT:

"Between February and April, the right-wing forces - representing the Czech and Slovak state capitalists - organised a 'cultural revolution', headed by students, writers

journalists, and television commentators, for the purpose of carrying through their counter-revolutionary movement.

This movement, presented as a 'peaceful revolution' to remove the 'conservatives' from the Party and state, was successful in forcing the resignation of Novotny as President (he was replaced in April by retired general Ludvik Svoboda) and the dismissal or suicide of a number of other leading old-style revisionists.

Various public statements by the new leaders have made it clear that their basic aim is to replace the present system of state capitalism with a free capitalist economy operated within the framework of multi-party 'parliamentary democracy'. They propose in the economic field:

- 1) to permit freedom of private enterprise;
  - 2) to permit foreign private investment in the economy;
  - 3) to break the present close economic ties with the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries of eastern and central Europe, so that foreign trade may be orientated towards the capitalist world, and especially towards West Germany - described as 'Czechoslovakia's natural economic partner'.
- (RED FRONT, May/June 1968; p.7).

The motives of the Soviet revisionists in intervening with military force in Czechoslovakia are thus quite clear. They were to try to prevent the Czechoslovak capitalist class - and the new ultra-revisionist leadership which represents their interests - from detaching Czechoslovakia from the Soviet neo-capitalist 'empire'.

Marxist-Leninists must, therefore, condemn the Soviet military intervention as completely unjust and reactionary aggression.

#### "National Liberation ?"

In view of the unjust and reactionary intervention of the Soviet Union and its accomplices in Czechoslovakia, can it therefore be said that the struggle - such as it is - being waged by the Czechoslovak authorities against this intervention is a "just struggle for national liberation"?

Certainly, in an underdeveloped country a capitalist class may play a progressive role for a time in the national-democratic revolution against feudalism and foreign imperialism. But Czechoslovakia is not an underdeveloped country, and its national-democratic revolution was completed fifty years ago in 1918, when the old Czechoslovak capitalist class won its independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic. In an economically developed country like Czechoslovakia the capitalist class has now no progressive role to play. It can develop its exploitation of the working people of Czechoslovakia only by allying itself to the monopoly capitalists of one or other imperialist bloc - and it is the western European bloc on which its sights are at present set - and in such an alliance Czechoslovakia can play the role only of a dependency.

The conflict - such as it is - between the Soviet revisionists and the Czechoslovak ultra-revisionists is thus a segment of the inter-capitalist struggle between the imperialist powers, particularly those of western Europe, and the Soviet neo-capitalist bloc, in which the working people of Czechoslovakia are but pawns. It is therefore equally but a segment of the growing world crisis of imperialism, which is mounting in intensity as the objective contradictions of the world capitalist system, including those associated with the developing Soviet neo-capitalist sector, intensify.

The conflict between the Soviet revisionist leadership and the Czechoslovak ultra-revisionist leadership is therefore unjust and reactionary on both sides. And where the governments of two countries are involved in a conflict which is unjust and reactionary on both sides, Marxist-Leninists in each of the two countries concerned work for the defeat of their own government. They recognise that blows inflicted on their own government by the forces of the foreign enemy weaken that government and so assist their struggle against it. Under no circumstances do they succumb to national social-chauvinism and support their own government in such an unjust conflict.

While Marxist-Leninists therefore express their solidarity with the Czechoslovak workers (as with the workers of every country), they combine this solidarity with exposure of the treacherous and counter-revolutionary character of the Dubcek government and maintain that the struggle of the Czechoslovak workers must be directed against it. They do not equate the struggle of the Dubcek clique to betray their country with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese

people for national liberation from imperialism, nor do they demonstrate (along with fascists and the worst enemies of the working people) with shouts of "Dubcek!" "Dubcek!" - as do "revolutionaries" of the type of Tariq Ali ! - for this is indeed to play the game of imperialism.

That many Czechoslovak Communists and workers do at present give their support to those who are objectively their enemies, the Dubcek clique of traitors, is the result of twenty years of revisionist rule and the absence of a Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class in Czechoslovakia. The formation of such a vanguard Party is an urgent and prime task for the working people of Czechoslovakia - as indeed in all countries where Communist Party leaderships have deserted to revisionism and become agents of the capitalist class. Without such a Marxist-Leninist Party the militancy of the Czechoslovak workers can only, through misdirection and lack of organisation, lead to their further enslavement.

### The Disintegration of World Revisionism

As we have said, revisionism is the perversion of Marxism-Leninism to serve the interests of capitalism. In the present epoch, when millions upon millions of working people are coming to reject capitalism and the parties which openly support it, revisionism becomes especially important to the capitalist classes of the world since it puts forward policies which serve to maintain (or restore) capitalism under the false mask of "new, creative Marxism-Leninism", so deceiving for a time many honest Communists and militants.

When the Khrushchovite revisionists seized the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union following the death of Stalin, revisionism at first took on a new strength and a semblance of international unity. The Soviet revisionists were able to utilise the prestige of the C.P.S.U. to make Moscow the international centre of revisionism, and the leaders of most Communist Parties who were influenced by social-democracy accepted the Khrushchovites as their ideological and political mentors.

This situation was undermined when Marxist-Leninists - in particular those of the Albanian Party of Labour and those then in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party - began publicly to expose the treachery of the new Soviet leaders. But the main factors leading to the disintegration of "international" revisionism were internal to itself: for since revisionism reflects the needs of capitalist classes, it was inevitable that it would soon be riven by the same contradictions and national antagonisms which divide the capitalist classes of different countries.

The crude aggression of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and its allies in Czechoslovakia has not merely opened wide the rift between the revisionist leaders of these countries and the ultra-revisionists in Prague: the great majority of the revisionist leaderships of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have publicly repudiated and condemned the intervention, along with the revisionist leaders of Yugoslavia and Rumania.

Thus the "international Communist movement", or what remains of it - which was dominated only a few years ago by the Moscow revisionists - has disintegrated like the revisionist Second International of evil memory. Its disintegration reflects the further intensified decay of world capitalism, and both these factors will combine to hasten the building of new Marxist-Leninist Parties of the working class and, from them, a new Marxist-Leninist International, the world leadership of the coming victorious world proletarian-socialist revolution.

Central Committee,  
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Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain.

### R E D F R O N T

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