

REVOLUTION

THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRITAIN

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**A MAJOR STEP IN BUILDING THE SINGLE
LEADING CENTRE**

**TEN YEARS AFTER CZECHOSLOVAKIA - STRENGTHEN
THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET HEGEMONISM!**

FIRMLY ESTABLISH THE FACTORY CELLS!

**UNITED STATES COMMUNISTS ON
EUROREVISIONISM**



THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRITAIN

The Revolutionary Communist League is a national organization with branches in half a dozen towns and cities in Britain. It is dedicated to the task of rebuilding the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class.

Since the Communist Party of Great Britain was taken over by a band of revisionists, the working class in Britain has had no vanguard party to lead it. Without a party giving leadership it is impossible to overthrow the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie and the capitalist system; it is impossible to establish socialism and to enforce a dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie to prevent them seizing power back again.

Without a vanguard revolutionary Communist Party the working class cannot sustain their existing struggles against the attacks of the monopoly capitalists through to the end and cannot raise them to a higher level.

For these reasons building the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class is the central task in Britain today, the task around which we must arrange all our work.

The Revolutionary Communist League of Britain was founded in July 1977 out of the militant unity forged between two former organizations, the Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Unity Association (Marxist-Leninist). This militant unity was won through active ideological struggle, the weapon for ensuring unity.

The Revolutionary Communist League takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking. It strives to integrate this scientific theory of the international working class with the concrete conditions of the socialist revolution within Britain.

In its mass work the Revolutionary Communist League concentrates particularly on sinking deep roots among the industrial working class. The Revolutionary Communist League implements democratic centralism in its internal life in a centralized and lively way. It has published a Manifesto as an important step towards the programme of the future revolutionary Party.

The founding of the Revolutionary Communist League is an important advance in rebuilding the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class.

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY TO LEAD THE REVOLUTION!

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EDITORIAL

The rebuilding of the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class is progressing amidst struggles. Increasingly, the main task of party-building - and forming a single leading centre to carry out this task - is being grasped within the Marxist-Leninist movement.

In the last issue of 'Revolution', the article 'Fight on to Unite the Marxist-Leninist Movement' summed up progress in this work, and put forward three key tasks: forming the single leading centre; criticising the revisionist Birch clique; and criticising small group mentality. In this issue the article 'A Major Step in Building the Single Leading Centre' takes up these three tasks, and argues boldly for each one.

Why these three tasks? Firstly, the revolutionary Communist Party cannot be built without active ideological struggle, carried out in a disciplined and systematic way. Unity is the aim of struggle, and struggle is the means to win a real and lasting unity. Where there is no single leading line and centre, one must be forged step by step through organisations struggling for unity. Experience shows that this method is correct. The militant meeting of April 29th, held by the Communist Workers Movement and the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain was an important demonstration of the correctness of this line.

Secondly, as the correct line advances, and as the class struggle nationally and internationally intensifies, opportunists are shown up clearly in their true colours. Nowhere is this more clear than in the case of the Birch clique, the leaders of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist). This clique has now clearly sided with the Soviet Social imperialists against the socialist policies of the Communist Party and people of China. The struggle over who are our friends and who are our enemies takes on greater intensity as the Birch clique increasingly supports the enemies of the international proletariat and its allies.

Thirdly, as the single leading centre is built, the opposition to it from within the Marxist-Leninist movement will grow in certain areas. This is because small group mentality is still strong and can only be overcome through bold criticism and self-criticism.

The article 'A Major Step in Building the Single Leading Centre' gives a clear lead on these three tasks. The RCL urges comrades throughout the Marxist-Leninist movement to study it.

On August 20th this year the CWM and the RCL are organising a demonstration on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Social imperialists. Such demonstrations are now held throughout Western Europe, and are a sure sign of the developing grasp of the need to firmly resist the aggressive plans of Soviet Social Imperialism. The article 'Ten Years after Czechoslovakia...' hits at those, like the Birch clique and the modern revisionists, who would conceal the truth from the working class and people of Britain.

The revolutionary Communist Party will be built through struggle - both active ideological struggle within the movement, and through struggle

to give leadership to the working class, through the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of the British revolution. This demands that the revolutionary Communist Party is firmly rooted in the masses. The future party must be based on the factories through the building of cells. This work has just begun, and we do not have a lot of experience. The article 'Firmly Establish the Factory Cells' sums up some early advanced experience from within the League which particularly comrades in factories should study.

The article 'U.S. Communists on Eurorevisionism' is reprinted from "Class Struggle", the theoretical journal of the CP(ML)USA ('Eurorevisionism: The New Face of Treachery in the Second World' Class Struggle Spring 1978, No. 9).

It is a thorough summing up of the main features and contradictions of the so-called "Eurocommunism" put forward by the revisionist parties of Italy, France and Spain. The 'Communist' Party of Great Britain also fancies itself as a Eurorevisionist force in Britain and has even invited the bourgeois TV film-makers into its leading Committees and its Congress, in its bid for 'respectability'. It is important that Marxist-Leninists in Britain deepen their grasp of these developments, to combat revisionism more effectively.

Editorial Committee.

A MAJOR STEP IN BUILDING THE SINGLE LEADING CENTRE

In the last issue of "Revolution" we wrote the following:-

"Whether or not to form a single leading centre is a major question for the British Marxist-Leninist movement today. Over the next two or three years it is likely to be the subject of a fierce two-line struggle. Increasingly all genuine Bolsheviks, all genuine Marxist-Leninists, will gravitate towards and struggle to establish a single leading centre for the Party of the working class. But just as increasingly the minority of Mensheviks, of opportunists who are soaked in petty-bourgeois individualism and who do not put the interests of the working class first, will look for one reason after another as an excuse to keep away from the leading centre that is emerging. This process is historically inevitable".
(Revolution Vol.3. No.2, pp2-3)

The central task in Britain today is to build the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class. That revolutionary party will inevitably be built just as the working class will inevitably overthrow the bourgeoisie in socialist revolution. People can either speed up the wheel of history or desperately attempt to slow it down. Just as it is inevitable that the revolutionary Communist Party will be built in Britain and that increasing numbers will rally to it as they grow in consciousness and determination, so also it is inevitable that a smaller number of opportunists will desperately try to obstruct the building of the revolutionary Communist Party.

"The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles" as Engels said, writing to Bebel (28th October 1882). In grasping its world historic mission to overthrow the bourgeoisie it is necessary and essential for the working class to debate and struggle over the strategy and tactics needed to achieve victory. Similarly whenever any task is to be done for the revolutionary cause, and time can appropriately be taken, it is right to discuss and, if necessary, struggle over what is the right or wrong way to do it. For the proletariat democracy is for a purpose, not an end in itself:- to achieve clarity and unity about the best way to win each and every battle. With the slogan "Unity, struggle, unity", the working class and revolutionaries can constantly increase their consciousness and battle strength by using struggle over correct and incorrect ideas to reach unity on a higher level.

UNITE WITH THE R.C.L. - TO FORM THE SINGLE LEADING CENTRE FOR PARTY BUILDING!

On April 29th this year, two days before Mayday, the Communist Workers Movement and the Revolutionary Communist League held an important joint meeting to celebrate International Labour Day by issuing the following joint statement:- *"We are determined to achieve unity in a single lively democratic-centralist organization as speedily as possible by struggling for agreement on major principles".*

This statement is the result of persistent and principled exchanges with the CWM for over a year and marks a new high point in the unity that has been achieved. By persistent and patient exchange of views on ideological and political questions and on methods of work both by the national representatives of the CWM and RCL and by comrades at other levels of the organisations, the CWM and the RCL have increasingly come to share a common political language and to share mutual respect based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The two organisations are using the proletarian weapon of criticism and self-criticism to narrow and resolve the lines of demarcation between their different ideological and political positions. Unity that comes through struggle will live. So long as the CWM and RCL persist in starting from the desire for unity and struggle to achieve unity at a higher level of understanding, success is assured. So long as we stand firmly on the interests of the working class and are prepared to criticise the stand of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, and so long as we struggle to grasp Marxism and oppose revisionism, success is certain.

In the course of the struggle for unity, the CWM and RCL will not only unite but will grasp more clearly the correct line on a number of subjects including the international class struggle and the national situation in the British Isles.

The united democratic centralist organization that the CWM and RCL are determined to build will be stronger in its ideological and political line and in numbers. It will be a landmark in the struggle to build the single leading centre for the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class and an even clearer rallying point for all genuine Marxist-Leninists in Britain.

CRITICISE THE REVISIONIST BIRCH CLIQUE

Although the unity trend around the correct ideological and political line for the socialist revolution in Britain and for our contribution to the international class struggle against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, is bound to grow, there will also be a handful of revisionist and opportunist leaders of Marxist-Leninist organizations who will inevitably oppose this trend.

The working class was brought into being by capitalism and exists now in Britain under capitalist relations of production. It is inevitable that the ideas of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, will penetrate the thinking of the working class in various forms. Nor is the working class a pure class sealed off from other classes and strata. On the contrary representatives of other classes and strata are continually being thrown down into the working class by each turn of the capitalist crisis. In addition the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries are swelled by representatives of other classes and strata, especially the revolutionary intelligentsia, who sometimes bring some characteristic bourgeois or petty-bourgeois types of thinking with them into the Communist movement together with their positive contribution. For all these reasons the struggle in the working class for the right way forward to revolutionary victory over the bourgeoisie is not solely a struggle between correct and incorrect ideas: it involves a struggle against bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology. Ultimately the struggle is a reflection of the

external class struggle inside the Party and the communist movement. For all these reasons revisionist and other opportunist elements will inevitably step forward from time to time in the Marxist-Leninist movement to obstruct the working class and divert it down a cul-de-sac. The development of the proletariat in the course of struggle is not only a question of internal debate between right and wrong ideas: it also involves an antagonistic struggle with pushers of bourgeois ideology and politics within the movement, the revisionists and other opportunists. Whatever short term confusion these revisionists cause the working class is far more strengthened in its clarity, unity and militancy by every inevitable struggle against revisionism.

At present in rallying the single leading centre in the Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain it is particularly necessary vigorously to expose the revisionism of the Birch clique which controls The Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist). With ever such revolutionary phrases this clique covers up Birch's complete subservience to the everyday trade union struggle for better conditions of work within the existing and continuing system. It covers up the fact that he is a trade union hack, a Labour lieutenant of capital, who sits on the General Council of the TUC while it sells the firemen and the Grunwick workers down the river, without even exposing and denouncing them. Birch has no mass support and got his union seat only as a trade union bureaucrat and so daren't even make a show of denouncing the TUC otherwise he would be chucked out of his seat, his game would be exposed and he would lose all his pickings.

Within Britain the revisionist Birch clique sings exactly the same tune as the revisionists of the CPGB in trying to fool the British workers into a reformist campaign to leave the EEC. They bitterly lament the destruction of old capitalist industries in Britain and try to hold back the wheel of history for the benefit of the more backward-looking and inefficient section of the British bourgeoisie. They never tell the workers that such periodic destruction of whole industries, of the means of production, is an inevitable result of the capitalist cycle of production, with the repeated booms and slumps, and that however much suffering this may cause in the short term the workers and working people will rise up twice as fiercely to hit back at the attacks of capitalism and will one day inevitably overthrow it!

Internationally Birch is paying in full the price of the free food and drink he got from the social imperialists in Russia earlier this year. When the Soviet Union engineered yet another invasion of Zaire in May, the "Worker", the paper of the CPB(ML) shouted "British imperialism Hands Off Africa!" - that was the first time it had raised this slogan! What an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the workers by pretending to be revolutionary. There is a Soviet agent who goes round Marxist-Leninist meetings in London to spy on the genuine revolutionary Communists: he must instead, now have a special word of thanks to say to Birch.

So eager is the Birch clique to whitewash the Soviet Union that they have banned the words "social-imperialism" and "superpower" in their publications because they are too revealing.

The Birch clique has recently completely fallen in with the social-imperialist and revisionist propaganda campaign about war. The "Worker" has published frantic articles about the neutron bomb because the Soviet Union hasn't got it, while of course not mentioning that the Soviet Union this year has been systematically deploying the far more destructive SS20 missiles aimed at West European cities. In fact the "Worker" has grovelled in bourgeois pacifism and despair.

This has been accompanied by wilder and more and more unscrupulous attacks on the Communist Party of China. The "Worker" has demagogically denounced the speech of the Chinese representative at the UN Assembly's special session on disarmament as "one of the more blatant calls for armament under the cloak of calling for disarmament". It has desperately attacked Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, after he had met Sir Neil Cameron. Cameron had quite correctly pointed out, although of course from his bourgeois standpoint, that the Soviet Union's vast army of tanks threatened both China and Western Europe. Hua Kuo-feng had followed the right, far-sighted and correct policy of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung of distinguishing between different imperialists according to whether they are willing temporarily to be friendly to the socialist state and of making use of this and of other contradictions to divide the imperialists, overcome them one by one, on an international scale and ensure the complete elimination of the imperialist system at the earliest possible opportunity. But the "Worker", demagogically and frantically grabbed onto this and proclaimed "If these two gentlemen want war with Russia let them make their way to the frontier and fight it out on their own". This is their way of whitewashing the most dangerous, adventurous and bullying source of war in the world today, the Soviet Union.

CONTINUE TO CRITICISE SMALL GROUP MENTALITY

The fight against the revisionist Birch clique is an indispensable part of the struggle to form a single and correct leading centre for Party-building in Britain. In addition it is essential to continue to criticise small group mentality and fully show how it is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism quite opposed to building a strong, united and effective Party of the working class. In particular it is a manifestation of the individualism of the leaders of some of the Marxist-Leninist groups and circles in Britain.

The RCL has urged all genuine Marxist-Leninists to struggle for unity using active ideological struggle as the weapon for ensuring unity. It has urged comrades seriously to struggle over the Manifesto of the RCL, which is the most valuable advance so far made towards a Programme of the future revolutionary Communist Party. This is not a subjectivist boast. The correct ideas in the Manifesto of the RCL are not the personal property of the RCL. They are an application of the universal lessons from the international working class movement to the concrete conditions of the revolutionary class struggle in Britain. Where they are correct they are the property of the working class. Where there are weaknesses this will become apparent in the course of the struggle and they will be removed, thereby strengthening the Manifesto and the future Programme still further.

At present the RCL is concentrating its efforts in uniting genuine Marxist-Leninists in Britain on the struggle for unity with the CWM. Experience of past successful struggles for unity shows that to be successful they must be grasped firmly and pursued, with a sincere desire for unity, for a substantial period of time. The RCL is concentrating on the CWM because the lines of the two organisations are relatively close and because the CWM is the largest organisation close to the RCL in its thinking and has branches in several cities. Unity between the RCL and CWM will have a bigger positive effect on Party building than unity between the RCL and a smaller but equally correct organisation. It is in the interests of the working class to concentrate on winning unity with the CWM at present.

The RCL has for some time consistently proposed bilateral meetings to struggle systematically for unity and has opposed all larger committee of representatives of a number of Marxist-Leninist organisations which could become a federalist compromise with small group mentality. In particular we oppose the idea of a committee of all self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist organisations. A committee composed of representatives of several organisations can avoid federalist opportunism if all the participating organisations, already share common ground and firmly start from the desire for unity around a basic statement which will be strengthened through struggle. It would be necessary for one of the participating organisations to have earned sufficient political respect to act as a centre of leadership for the committee as a whole.

It seems that this was the situation in the highly successful "Organising Committee for the Marxist-Leninist Party" that the October League set up prior to the founding of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the United States, but similar conditions do not exist in Britain at present.

The RCL is confident that if both the CWM and the RCL persist firmly in struggle, starting from the desire for unity, unity will undoubtedly be achieved. This will be a major step in establishing a single leading centre in Britain. Whatever the particular additional steps are by which all genuine Marxist-Leninists will rally round to build the future revolutionary Communist Party of the working class we can be sure that through all struggles for unity and all struggles against revisionism and opportunism, that Party will be undoubtedly be built!

TEN YEARS AFTER CZECHOSLOVAKIA - STRENGTHEN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET HEGEMONISM!

Underestimation of the growing war threat from Soviet social imperialism cannot be permitted! This is one of the chief conclusions we must draw from the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia ten years ago. Let the Birch clique of the "Communist" Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) and the revisionist "C"PGB deny this important fact all they may, the truth will not lie down. Soviet social imperialism is the rising superpower. It is the latecomer to the imperialist carve-up of world spheres of influence. It places its hope for world domination on the gigantic pile up of weaponry that it holds. It challenges US imperialism to hand over its imperialist possessions, especially in Africa, with direct threat of military force. It uses the pretence of being "the natural ally of the oppressed people" and claims to be socialist in order to disarm the people and attempt to take power under cover of "anti-imperialism" and "fraternal aid". The other villain, US imperialism, is not in the least ready to take "second place" in favour of Soviet social imperialism.

As the two superpowers contend for world hegemony they meet the fiercest resistance from the peoples and nations of the third world who are the main force today in the anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonist struggle. The thousands of millions of people in the third world countries suffer the worst exploitation and oppression of all the world's people. They are fighting back pushing forward the national democratic revolution, safeguarding national sovereignty and demanding more equal economic relations with the imperialist countries. The struggle of the third world peoples and countries against imperialism, is a political, military, economic and in all other aspects a revolutionary one which weakens and deflates the ambitions of the superpowers. It is the mainstay at present of the world revolutionary movement.

Our struggle against the bourgeoisie in Britain for socialist revolution is a component part of the revolutionary struggle of the workers, oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world. We communists in Britain resolutely reject the revisionism of the Birch clique and all the fellow travellers of modern revisionism in both "left" and right guises. Birch's opportunism is known well to many comrades. Now he has emerged as a thorough-going revisionist. He is a traitor who urges us to ignore the war threat posed by the superpowers, especially the Soviet Union. What is he up to? He tries to brand the Marxist-Leninists as "warmongers" for urging awareness of the impending war. But his shameful pacificism in the face of superpower aggression and threat only serves to expose him more as an objective accomplice of Soviet social imperialism. He is a revisionist of the Khrushchev-Brezhnev type.

OPPOSE SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM - EXPOSE BIRCH'S REVISIONISM

It is right when summing up the lessons of the August 20th, 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet social imperialism, to say some things about Birch's total surrender to modern revisionism. For a long time Birch has been an opportunist who meddles with Marxist-Leninist principles at will. His "two classes analysis" of Britain long ago brought the CPB(M-L) into disrepute among sincere communists in Britain and other countries.

His rejection of the theoretical struggle, as a vital component part of the class struggle, led the CPB(M-L) into economism and class collaboration in that Party's mass work. It also led the CPB(M-L) into rejecting the struggle to unite the Marxist-Leninist movement and build the single leading centre for all communists in Britain. Birch has never had any time or patience for the unending class struggle in the ideological field. So his policies are not derived from proletarian consciousness grown strong in struggle against the incorrect bourgeois lines. They are decided on his whim. His whims are duly treated with a thin varnish of Marxism by others of his clique more accustomed to presenting ideas intelligibly, and Hey Presto! - the line is decided, and damn anyone who sees flaws in the policies. There is no proletarian democracy, no struggle of the correct against the incorrect, no criticism and self-criticism, just bureaucratic centralism. This is the revisionist style of leadership resorted to by the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique and the other social fascist leaderships in those countries where the revisionist bourgeoisie hold power.

Birch also shuns the struggle against imperialism. He belittles the anti-imperialist struggle of the Third World. He scoffs arrogantly at the struggle of Third World nations to defend their sovereignty against the hegemonism of the superpowers. He ignores the growing unity of Third World nations. He sees only those Third World nations with reactionary leaders and follows the revisionist line in condemning them in the most one-sided way. He does not see that the fact of superpower hegemonism compels even the most reactionary rulers (whose crimes will be punished by the people's struggle for national liberation) to kick back at the superpowers who seek to strangle every cent or kopek from the oppressed nations as a whole. We are angry at the crimes of the reactionaries of all countries but it would be stupid indeed if we let the superpowers off the hook while aiming pious, rhetorical blows at every reactionary ruler in the Third World. Such a policy would be trotskyism. The result would be that the ringleaders would get off free and would be encouraged to even greater adventures. Setting country against country in the Third World, Soviet social imperialism would make off with the stolen gains of the National Liberation struggle (as in Angola). At the same time the grip of the International United Front, which will hang the superpowers alive, would be relaxed and the energies of the different peoples of different countries would cease to be concentrated on the main enemies.

Such a policy is very welcome to the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique! But it will not pass. Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory of the three worlds, gives a Marxist analysis of all the contradictions in the contemporary world and provides a clear strategy for the proletariat, oppressed peoples and nations in building the broadest possible united front against the superpowers. With this theory the proletariat has the opportunity of taking the lead of all the forces that oppose the hegemonism of the superpowers. With the three worlds theory our revolution can go forward in both its international and national aspects. With Birch's revisionist whims in command or the views of those parties which shun the theory of the three worlds, we are left on the sidelines moaning about everything uniting with no-one, achieving no victories and leaving the imperialist bourgeoisie to call all the shots. That will not do, Mr Birch!

THE RISE OF SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

Birch draws no lessons from Czechoslovakia '68. The events then show decisively that the Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionist clique had liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and established the fascist rule of a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists. They transformed the socialist public property of the whole people into the exclusive property of these capitalist new rulers. They rapidly liquidated Leninism in all fields. They liquidated the correct Leninist line on Peaceful Coexistence with states of different social systems and replaced it with an unprincipled bourgeois policy of peaceful coexistence. The main feature of this policy was collaboration with US imperialism to dominate world affairs. This policy meant that the Soviet revisionists might share in the spoils of imperialist exploitation by doing US imperialism the favour of holding back the "local struggles" of Third World peoples for national liberation. The example of Soviet collaboration in the Congo is a clear one. But Khrushchev's "peaceful-coexistence" was a bourgeois policy. Like all bourgeois public policies it was put forward to deceive and hide the true intent. Whilst preaching his revisionist version of peaceful coexistence Khrushchev resorted to adventurism in international dealings. His attempt at setting up nuclear bases in Cuba in 1961 was such a case. It was becoming clearer at that date what the Soviet revisionist were up to.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has said:- "*The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.*" Does Birch understand this? If he does he clearly does not believe it to be true. When Khrushchev's clique seized power in the Soviet Union they did so by means of a coup. Once in power they set to overturning everything. They trampled Marxism-Leninism underfoot. They repudiated the great Marxist Stalin. Stalin had always been an enemy of revisionism. Despite some errors, he never tired from struggling against revisionist and restoration forces and earned the hatred of a handful of revisionists whom he criticised thoroughly in "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR". He earned the deep love of the Russian people and the peoples of other nationalities in the USSR. Throughout Stalin's long period of leadership from 1924-53, the Soviet Union and world communism made huge gains. The enthusiasm of the Soviet masses for socialism did not flag despite enormous problems and the aggression of Hitler fascism. In the world arena, communism made advances step by step, especially in Eastern Europe after World War Two. Communists worldwide led the struggle against Hitler fascism and domestic fascism. Great leaders like Stalin and Dimitrov gave wise advice to the communists in the West. Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese working class and people held Stalin in great respect despite some bad advice he gave to Chinese Communists. These are the facts. This was the situation before Khrushchev wreaked havoc.

With Khrushchev's revisionist clique in command, things ceased to go well for the people of the USSR. The agrarian question loomed large. The USSR which had made huge advances in grain and livestock production under Stalin got into bad trouble. The revisionist clique of Khrushchev could not mobilise the enthusiasm of the masses. More than this it set itself against the masses. Step by step it introduced new "reforms" putting profit in command of Soviet enterprises. As the state profits piled high the living standards of the working class and peasantry went down.

Exploitation of the working classes came back and the Soviet people's enthusiasm for production waned with the increasing grip of the bureaucratic monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie. These things are known to all Marxist-Leninists. Increasingly, as economic crisis gripped the Soviet Union, the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique sought a "way out" in exploiting the peoples abroad. This is the logic of monopoly capitalism. They looked jealously upon the world and sought ways of enslaving the peoples to free themselves. They became not just a revisionist bourgeoisie in a single country but an imperialist bourgeoisie seeking a redivision of the world in their own favour. But US imperialism remained strong as an imperialist power with huge economic and military might. Soviet social imperialism could not peacefully co-exist with such a powerful rival. It had to contend. It had to lay the basis for challenging the US imperialists with a hope of winning out.

Many Marxist-Leninists have not drawn these lessons clearly and they should. A useful pamphlet on the subject is "The Soviet Union under the New Tsars", (Published by Foreign Languages Press, Peking.)

COLLABORATION BECOMES CONTENTION

It is the logic of all imperialists to contend with other imperialists for power. The same is true of Soviet social imperialism. It was necessary for the Soviet social imperialists to subdue other nations where they could. To maintain its power in relation to the US the Soviet Union first chose to reduce the nations of Eastern Europe to the status of vassal states. This was and still is the area where US contention is slightest. This is where the Soviet Union's "international division of labour" reaps good harvests for the Soviet imperialists without the threat of repercussions from the other superpower. During the fifties and sixties the Soviet Union ensured that the Marxists in the East European parties were suppressed and social fascist cliques were given full support. In a number of East European states, the people reacted and fought back against the imposition of social fascist rule. Most notable was the resistance of the Polish people.

As the apparent collaboration with US imperialism gave way to the more belligerent contentionist policies of Brezhnev, the Soviet Union became more dictatorial to the East European peoples. In Czechoslovakia the people were groaning under the weight of the Soviet economic demands and the repression of the Novotny clique which ruled without regard for the criticism of the masses up to January 1968. The living standards of the peoples of Czechoslovakia were dropping and contradictions were emerging in the Czech party. These contradictions were between the social fascist bureaucrat clique of Novotny and petty bourgeois forces represented by Dubcek and Smrkovsky. The Dubcek forces were opposed to Soviet hegemonism and for reforms which would remove power from the social fascists. Dubcek was supported in his struggle by the Czech peoples, although he did not represent the working class. Dubcek was a middle - element. He opposed Soviet hegemonism but did not put his trust in the masses. He kept his fingers crossed and hoped the Soviet villains would behave like gentleman.

Dubcek sought compromise with the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique which more than once threatened the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia before the

actual invasion. He did not, nor could he, grasp that Soviet social imperialism had set itself on the path of world hegemony and would settle for nothing short of the total submission of Czechoslovakia. Events from January to August 1968 continued with more and more threats from Soviet social imperialism. Democracy of a bourgeois kind was unfolded by Dubcek and the people made full use of it to criticise the Novotny bureaucrat social fascists. The bourgeoisie also made use of Dubcek's "liberalisation" but there was a strong trend for socialism whilst the main trend was for self-determination. Czechoslovakia's stand was a just one.

The Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique tore its hair out trying to concoct a "political" justification to intervene and thereby safeguard its imperialist interests. It saw Czechoslovakia as its own backyard, good for impoverishing by unequal trade, but not to be let free at any cost.

Revisionists, including Birch, today belittle the brass necked arrogance of Soviet social imperialism. Dubcek in 1968 took the same view. In July 1968 on the 14-15th of that month, Dubcek heard these words cobbled together at a five party meeting led by Brezhnev:- "We cannot agree to have hostile forces push your country away from the road of socialism and create the danger of Czechoslovakia being severed from the Socialist community. This is something more than your own concern."

Brezhnev clearly threatened to intervene. Later in the same statement he clearly reveals his perspective of contention with US imperialism. Dressed up in the usual hypocrisy "the fight for freedom," he says:- "International tension is not easing. American imperialism has not given up its policy of force and of open intervention against the peoples fighting for freedom." With these freedom loving words the Soviet Union prepared to settle the matter by force and open intervention against the Czech people fighting for freedom! Dubcek, reassured the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique that all was well and that "anti-socialist elements" would be dealt with. Being a lover of peace he did not prepare the Czech peoples to prepare against attack but kept his fingers crossed and hoped for the best.

On the night of August 20th-21st Czechoslovakia was invaded by 250,000 to 300,000 Warsaw Pact troops with their insignia disguised. It was a surprise attack. The Czech peoples could not tell right away whether this was it or whether it was another of the frequent Warsaw Pact manoeuvres that had occurred before without warning to the government or people of Czechoslovakia.

The Romanian President Ceausescu had previously warned the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique on July 17th about misusing the Warsaw Pact for incorrect purposes. He said then: "When the Warsaw Pact was set up, it was conceived as an instrument of collective defence of the member countries against attack....Not for a moment and never has anyone conceived that the Warsaw Treaty can be a reason for justifying interference in the internal affairs of other states."

Comrade Ceausescu should know. Romania is a member state of the Warsaw Pact. But all this is nothing to the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique who under the signboard of socialist words kick aside every principle that Marxist-Leninists hold.

On the 21st August when the Soviet invasion was fully under way, the Dubcek government called on the people not to resist. He called for passive resistance involving removal of road signs, giving wrong information to the invaders, etc. The Czech peoples, to their credit, did all they could to impede the invader's progress. But passive resistance achieved no results. The Soviet imperialists relentlessly took power and reimposed the social fascist dictatorship. Soviet soldiers were dismayed and demoralised by the job they were called on to do but the Soviet social imperialists had their own way. The bravery and solidarity of the Czech people was great indeed but without firm leadership they were forced to succumb to an enemy who had neither scruple nor conscience.

DRAW THE CLEAR LESSONS

The revisionists, and the Birch clique, as well as the left opportunists in the Marxist-Leninist movement brand those who warn of the Soviet danger as "warmongers". They repeat the propaganda of Tass and Pravda. But was Marx a warmonger when he warned of the ambitions of the Russian Tsars? Was Lenin a warmonger when he and all the Marxists before World War One warned of the need for the workers prepare against that bloody war? Was Stalin a warmonger when he and Dimitrov sought an alliance with Britain and France against the menace of Hitler fascism?

Birch displays, once again, the true features of a revisionist in his passive underestimation of the Soviet threat. The peoples of the whole world want peace and are ready to fight for it! There can be no peace while the superpowers arm to the teeth and threaten and exploit everywhere they go. Pacifism is no answer to imperialist aggression. On the contrary the lesson of Czechoslovakia proves that appeasement abets aggression. This is true of the 20th August 1968 and of Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler. On the question of War and Revolution we refute Birch's line of "we are afraid of it and hope it will not happen."

We communists are against war, but we are not afraid of it!

FIRMLY ESTABLISH THE FACTORY CELLS!

The leading force, and the main force in the socialist revolution in Britain is the working class, particularly the industrial working class. Capitalism brings into being and unites the working class in the factories, and has taught them to fight in a disciplined and united way.

The bourgeoisie, by creating capitalism, has brought into being the class which will finally end its system of exploitation and oppression, the modern working class - the grave diggers of the bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary Communist Party must be a party of the working class. This means that Communists must sink deep roots in the class and throw themselves heart and soul into the struggles of the working class. At this stage, when resources are scarce and the class conscious vanguard has not been won to Communism, it is essential to devote all resources to mass work with the working class, particularly with the industrial working class.

The basic unit of organisation of the party must be the factory cell. Communists must be organised and firmly based within the working class at the point of production. But at this stage we are at the very beginning of this work. The league is armed with Marxist-Leninist theory as its guideline, but as yet has little direct experience. Because of this it is necessary to sum up our advanced experience in this work, to learn from this, and so deepen our understanding and carry forward the work.

We must start from a recognition that building Communist bases will be a protracted struggle. We must understand this to avoid rashness in work, and to avoid demoralisation when swift results do not follow. The mass of workers will be won over to support the ideas and policies of the Communists, but this requires hard work, and good methods of work.

What are the difficulties we face? Britain is the oldest imperialist country in the world, and imperialist ideology is very strong. This means that anti-working class ideas find their way into the working class - ideas based on reformism, racism, and great nation chauvinism. Imperialism has provided the basis for these ideas, particularly for opportunism. The grip of the opportunists, like the trade union bosses and the social democrats is relatively strong. These elements have always encouraged a faith in "saviours from on high" and in the "British" way of doing things.

Since the degeneration of the "C"PGB into revisionism there has been no working class Party in Britain. This means there has been no vanguard with Communist consciousness - capable of uniting and leading the struggles of the working class. Opportunism therefore has had the field clear for itself. Within the working class, unorganised opportunism, spontaneous trade union politics, means that many good middle elements come forward only to be sucked into one of the opportunist organisations. Some see through these and remain as individual activists. But workers will not spontaneously develop a Marxist-Leninist world outlook without leadership from a vanguard organisation.

Communists must recognise these difficulties while retaining revolutionary optimism and the certainty that the party will be rebuilt,

and will be deeply rooted in the masses. The road is tortuous but the future is bright. The Communists are the more conscious elements of the working class, but they do not have sectarian principles which have to be imposed on the masses. We can be optimistic because our policies are based on the tried and tested universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, and they conform to the correct ideas of the masses.

The working class is the revolutionary class. We can have confidence that if we have faith in the masses, and in the party, grasp the mass line and do our work well, we will succeed.

ENTERING THE FACTORIES

This article sums up the experience of two comrades working at different factories. Factory X is one plant in a complex of modern plants (totalling 12,000 workers) that produces car bodies. The great majority of workers are line workers, working on a moving track, doing the same small spot welding operation repeatedly on each car body section. The work is often noisy, dirty and always boring. Because of the working conditions most line workers are relatively young, mostly in their 20's. Most arrive having experienced a variety of unskilled badly paid jobs. National minority workers are a small percentage of the workforce. No women are employed at the plant.

Factory Y is part of the electrical engineering industry. It is also part of a complex of sites, which totals 3,000 workers. Two-thirds of the workforce are women. Although small, it is a monopoly capitalist company, with some factories in third world countries. The work is mainly unskilled light assembly. Factory Y has a majority of national minority workers, mainly West Indian, with some African and Asian workers. This factory has the worst conditions of the complex.

On entering the factories the first task was to integrate with the workers. Communists should get to know the level of consciousness of the workers, the conditions of work, the advanced elements, and the enemy. As Mao says:

"Communists should set an example in study; at all times they should be pupils of the masses as well as their teachers" (Quotations, p272).

Both comrades integrated with the workers at first on a friendly basis, getting acquainted with as wide a number as possible, and avoiding getting caught up with a small circle. In general comrades did not "push" their politics, or preach to the workers, but waited until workers themselves raised political points, and then built on this. By listening first to what workers had to say, comrades could find out their views, their grievances, their correct and incorrect ideas and who among them were relatively advanced. Mainly the comrades were getting to know the ideas of the workers.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE FACTORIES

This article has already pointed out that class consciousness of workers in Britain has two aspects. On the one hand there is the collective, proletarian aspect bred by a life of oppression and exploitation. Capitalism teaches the workers to fight in a disciplined and organised way against this. This can be seen in the day to day class

struggle, which is sometimes "simmering" under the surface, and at other times flares up into class confrontations. This struggle is the motor of history. It will propel the class forward, under Communist leadership, to make the socialist revolution.

The other side of the coin is the bourgeois ideology which is to be found among the workers as in all classes and strata. This is also apparent in every factory. Experience also shows that class consciousness varies from factory to factory, according to the nature and type of production, the tradition of the city or region and the quality of shop floor leadership. To bring this out it is necessary to compare and contrast the two factories and to generalise the particular experiences taught by class struggle.

Factory X has a relatively high class consciousness and is well organised from the trade union point of view. Factory X is in an area of traditional militancy and is in a key sector of the monopoly capitalist economy. This means that the management is constantly pressing for more production, to increase the rate of exploitation. One series of incidents brings out this point.

Management began to run a sustained campaign to tighten up discipline, but also to cut down on manning levels and speedups. Disciplinary procedures were ignored as men were given written warnings, suspensions and the sack. The spontaneous reaction of the vast majority of the workers was to immediately unite in self-defence. As Lenin said, "*The working class has no other weapon but organisation*". The attacks were generally carried out on the workers as a whole, but they specifically attacked through disciplinary action individual workers with a record of "offences". Without hesitation the workers on the particular section took action in defence of the worker or workers singled out, usually in the form of the strike.

Other occasions saw spontaneous acts of sabotage. All this was despite the pleas of the convenor and leading stewards to "hold off" any action while they could negotiate. Another result of the struggles around the "Riot Act" was that barriers between the workers within each section had been broken down. Previously there had been several small groups who kept themselves to themselves, which had bred mistrust and backbiting.

Fighting the "Riot Act" showed the spontaneous, militant spirit of the workers. But the full potential of this was never tapped, because in the absence of a leading core of politically advanced workers, the shop stewards were incapable of welding the various sections of workers together or leading them in a united struggle against the bosses' attacks on the shop floor.

At Factory Y, what was most immediately apparent was the divisions within the workforce. These divisions were based on race, sex and the complicated pay structure.

For example, it was common to hear from some of the men the view that "We'd do something - but the women are only interested in their bonus". Talking to the women workers showed that this was not the case. The majority of the women workers are older women, some with grown up

families. Most had worked locally all their lives or since coming to this country. In particular some of the national minority women workers understood the bonus system very well and knew how to argue their case with the foremen better than the shop stewards. They were also prepared to talk about a wide range of subjects like racism, liberation struggles in Africa, and some had read about China, and the achievements of the Chinese people under socialism. Later when leafletting started some of the national minority women workers were prepared to read them on the basis of what they said, as opposed to rejecting them on the grounds that they were "Communist propaganda". This section of the workforce is certainly not backward. They are among the most solid of the middle elements.

Racial divisions in the workplace had the same effect as divisions between men and women. Again it was often a case of "We'd do something, but they won't back us up". Ideas of white superiority were not often openly expressed, probably because white workers are a minority at the factory. But where these are expressed, it is on questions removed from the workplace. Many white workers will oppose national minority workers in the abstract - but in practice they will unite with them at the place of work. Some workers will take up points made in the bourgeois papers about the number of immigrants on social security, or about Asian shopkeepers. But the most important point for Communists to make is that unity is not a moral question, it is not a question of "liking blacks", but it is a political question. The working class must be united in its fight. A striking example of this at Factory Y was when one white worker was discussing union organisation at the factory. The comrade had just made the point that the choice of stewards should reflect the composition of the workforce as far as possible, so as to unite the workers effectively. The white worker replied "I've got nothing against the blacks - well, I have, I can't stand them - but we must unite with them."

This particular worker was held back by racist ideas. At the same time he was willing to take the first step in overcoming these ideas - to unite in practice with fellow workers in the interests of unity. This shows how racism in the working class will be overcome step by step - when correct Communist leadership is given.

Another example was given by a one day strike at Factory Y held to protest at the sacking of a black worker who had struck a supervisor. The worker had been struck first, but there were no witnesses to back him up. The strike was supported by the majority of the workers, black and white, because they could see the injustice of the sacking, and could see that such unjust decisions could affect any of them in the future.

The ruling class also organises production in such a way as to divide the workers. The bonus system at factory Y for example is a method of holding down basic rates, and at the same time of making workers compete with each other in a divisive way. For example, when two out of three workers wanted a job retimed, the third refused, on the grounds that she made a good bonus, so the others couldn't be working hard enough. This meant that a struggle for a better price was passed up, the third woman never realising that she really knocked herself out in

the process of earning her "good" bonus.

These investigations showed that bourgeois ideas do have a hold on the working class, but also that, when united in struggle these ideas tend to be pushed into the background. It is the task of Communists to take such opportunities for drawing out the lessons of united struggle, and to draw out also the negative lessons of the divisions within the workers own ranks.

The opportunists are a major block on this process.

Although Factory X is better organised, bold and militant shopfloor leadership is needed at both. The need for this at factory Y is brought out in every struggle. During a recent eight day strike for example, the senior stewards consistently refused to bring out a leaflet explaining the issues clearly to the workers. The lessons of the strike were never summed up, so that although the basic issue was won, many workers were demoralised by the experience.

At Factory X it was found that there were a small number of shop stewards who genuinely strive to serve the interests of the workers whilst others under the leadership of a particularly bad convenor, fail to do so. The opportunists on the shop stewards committee do not represent any particular opportunist political organisation. Bourgeois trade union politics predominates. The positive point from this is that as well as the contradiction between the mass of the workers and the opportunist misleaders, there are definite contradictions between the misleaders themselves.

APPLYING THE MASS LINE

"...teach every comrade to love the people and listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify himself with the masses wherever he goes and, instead of standing above them; to immerse himself among them; and, according to their present level, to awaken them or raise their political consciousness and help them gradually to organise themselves voluntarily and to set going all essential struggles permitted by the internal and external circumstances of the given time and place". (Quotations, p126)

This quote sums up well what the task of Communists is, and what the mass line means. But as yet we have little direct experience in practising it. This is why the experiences we do have, particularly that of the comrade at factory X, should be summed up.

It was soon learnt that all workers have some correct ideas. The first thing was to find out what they are. This means having as wide discussions as possible and listening to what the workers have to say, in order to find out about their correct ideas - whether on the Soviet Union and the threat of war, on the lack of democracy in the union, on the way Labour acts in the bosses' interests, or on the level of opposition to such things as the Royal Family, rent or bus fare increases, etc. Or in fact one of a thousand other things. Only then is it possible to sum up these correct ideas by relating them to more general aspects of class struggle by applying Marxism-Leninism and taking them back to the workers in a more concentrated, systematic and correct form.

It is necessary to engage in both unity and struggle with the masses.

At first the comrade united with the workers on their correct ideas, patiently letting them finish speaking and making their point. If it is correct he agreed and drew it out a little. Then on the basis of unity and struggle, he built step by step on these correct ideas to overcome the incorrect ideas one by one. For example, if a worker sees through a particular trade union misleader (at plant, branch or district level) he united with that idea and broadened it out, showing how the national leaders, the TUC, the Labour Party, all play similar roles and act against the interests of our class.

If an incorrect idea was put forward, the correct proletarian view was carefully explained in a modest, non-sectarian way. He united first, was patient, and developed unity by relating the worker's correct ideas to their incorrect ones. That is, by showing how their incorrect ideas contradict their correct ones. It was seen that this is a gradual process, and it is wrong to expect dramatic results overnight.

In practising the mass line great attention must be paid to the question of leadership. As Mao says, the mass line is the "basic method of leadership":

"Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership - such is the basic method of leadership". (Quotations, p128)

RALLYING THE ADVANCED WORKERS

The key to firmly establishing the cell is to rally the advanced workers around it. This sets up an active unit of Communists and advanced workers who will increasingly lead mass struggles. The task of rallying the advanced should not be separated from agitation among the masses. The advanced will only come forward in the course of struggle. Communist politics must be combined with the day to day struggle, and propaganda must be combined with agitation. There is no short cut to this process.

Advanced workers are those workers who respond most rapidly to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and who are most active and dedicated in the cause of the proletariat. Eventually the great majority of workers will be won over, but some will be won more quickly than others. By investigation followed up by propaganda some relatively advanced workers were identified. More time has been devoted to winning these over, while not neglecting the middle and the few backward elements.

At both factories, "Class Struggle" sales were used as one way of picking out the more advanced. The comrades could see who bought the paper, could discuss it with them, and could move on to discuss Communist politics more widely. This formed the basis of internal sales which were later developed by the comrades themselves.

At both factories, "Class Struggle" sales were used as one way of picking out the more advanced. The comrades could see who bought the paper, could discuss it with them, and could move on to discuss Communist politics more widely. This formed the basis of internal sales which were later developed by the comrades themselves.

Why use the term "relatively advanced"? This is because advanced workers in the sense of the formulation used earlier on are not easily found. Why this is has already been explained in the article. For example, the more advanced workers at Factory Y are open to Communist ideas, but they are also open to some opportunist ideas. Also, they are not yet active, in the cause of the working class.

Thus to firmly establish the cell, to begin to rally the advanced workers, means that Communists must unite with workers of differing levels of consciousness, and they must actively develop the relatively advanced into class conscious fighters. Individual worker contacts must be summed up, their strengths developed and their weak points struggled against. This will proceed at the pace the workers themselves wish it to. Bold leadership must also be given to struggles at the place of work so that such workers can see that Communist policies do give direction and work out in practice. Experience of revisionist and opportunist sell-outs has bred some cynicism in the minds of workers. In many factories the task of rallying the advanced will be a protracted one.

Agitational leaflets have been developed at both factories. One such leaflet at Factory X was distributed after the wage negotiations of autumn last year. The negotiations were handled nationally under the leadership of Moss Evans, heir to the throne of Jack Jones. Like Jones, the bosses have projected Evans as a militant and a "left winger" for several years. But many car workers who have been around that long have few illusions in him. He has sold them out before and he sold them out on this occasion. No struggle ever got off the ground at plant level. The only mass meeting of the plant that took place was after the bosses "final offer", and after all the other plants in the combine had met and accepted it. The main conclusion to be drawn from this defeat was the total failure to involve the mass of the workers in the struggle, beginning with the formulation of the claim and the negotiations that followed. The leaflet made this point, and fired a secondary criticism at the local plant leadership including some stewards, for either not having any - or not enough section meetings to allow individual workers to voice their opinions.

The reaction of one steward to this was to complain that the leaflet should have "had a go at the shop floor" because it was they "who voted to accept the offer". Some months later at a branch meeting this same steward spoke out boldly, advocating the full involvement of the rank and file in the next wage claim and blaming the failure of the last one on not doing so. Point taken!

Through talking to a wide number of workers, it was quickly realised that very few have much access to any real news. Most rely on the "Sun" or the "Mirror" and rarely pay much attention to radio and TV news. So the leaflets were developed into more of a newsheet format, containing 2 or 3 short agitational items on national and international class struggle, to supplement the main article which is always on issues directly affecting the plant. These initiated and stimulated many good discussions amongst the workers. An article exposing the fascist nature of Soviet social imperialism united with, and educated some workers and armed them with the information to challenge a member of the revisionist "C" PGB. These secondary articles have also acquainted the workers with

the various lines and policies of the RCLB, and have helped overcome the parochial outlook of some workers. When, after a discussion with a worker, he is shown a copy of "Class Struggle", it is now found less formidable as the lines and policies are more familiar.

At Factory Y the need for a similar broadsheet is now recognised. Whilst agitation on plant issues has developed, this must be combined with political education of a wider nature. We must combine the propaganda and agitation of "Class Struggle" with agitational leaflets, so that we pay attention to both the relatively advanced and the mass of the workers. This was not firmly grasped when leaflets first began.

At the present stage there is now a need to do deeper investigation to make sharper agitation on plant issues, and to give more leadership to them. One element of this will be to concentrate more on the out and out opportunists in the union leadership at local level. Investigation is also needed in order to expose these "leaders" in the course of struggle. This will provide a basis for rallying the more advanced workers and raising the level of the mass of workers by more closely uniting with them. More thorough investigation is also the key to enable the use of good propaganda in leaflets. Although leaflets should be mainly agitational, propaganda should also be used when necessary to sum up struggles, drawing conclusions and consolidating the gains made with advanced elements.

The most important form of propaganda (besides "Class Struggle" itself) is regular meetings with advanced workers. It is now the aim to establish "Class Struggle" groups which will meet to discuss struggles in the factories (and union branches where applicable), to draw up leaflets, and to study "Class Struggle".

This type of activity is a necessary stage in the development of the advanced and relatively advanced workers. It is necessary both to raise their political level through study of Marxism-Leninism, and the League's policies and to mobilise their initiative for action in class struggle at the place of work. Once such groups have been formed and consolidated the advanced workers will develop with correct Communist leadership.

UNITED STATES COMMUNISTS ON EUROREVISIONISM

On a cold day last fall, Santiago Carrillo, the leader of the so-called Communist Party of Spain (PCE), crossed the picket lines of striking Yale University workers in New Haven, in order to give a speech on the campus. When asked how a "communist" could scab on a workers' struggle in this way, he replied that his speech was more important than the strike of the custodial workers. Besides, he added the American labour movement is "reactionary" anyway.

The incident shed some light on the class character of Carrillo and his cohorts in other European countries, such as Berlinguer in Italy and Marchais in France. While they like to describe themselves as "Eurocommunists", they are really nothing more than scabs on the workers' movement. Taken along with the entire body of theory and practice which Eurocommunism has offered, the crossing of the picket line emphasised the fact that the likes of Carrillo and Co. should never be allowed to appropriate the name of communism for their treacherous purposes.

The Eurocommunists are in fact Eurorevisionists. They are the chieftains of a new trend in modern revisionism. They are "more revisionist than the revisionists" in the sense that they have openly attacked Marxism-Leninism and discarded its principles to an even greater extent than the Soviet revisionists.

To wage class warfare, we must get to know the revisionist enemy very well. We must get to know its strengths and weaknesses, its realities and deceptions. The current debate over Eurorevisionism - which is raging not only in Europe, but in the US and many other countries as well - affords us an excellent opportunity to deepen our understanding of the revisionist ideology and the role it plays in today's world. Eurorevisionism has developed out of the frenzied efforts of the French, Italian, Spanish and other revisionist parties to snuggle up to the ruling classes in their own countries and form electoral blocs capable of bringing them to power.

To do this, the Eurorevisionists have not only abandoned and renounced the most important revolutionary principles taught by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung. They have also tried to put as much distance as possible between themselves and the Soviet social imperialists. They have done this in order to give legitimacy to their claims of being "genuine nationalists" and "independent" of Moscow. This is why they have refused to bear the onus for the Soviet Union's most obvious crimes, such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia or the confinement of dissidents to mental hospitals, and have made a big show of criticising Brezhnev on these points. This combination of warmed over social democratic policies on domestic issues with pretence at "independence" from the Kremlin has enabled the Eurorevisionist parties to form new alliances with traditional ruling class political forces and increase their role in the national affairs of their respective countries.

Silent partner of the bourgeoisie

In Italy, for example, the Eurorevisionist Communist Party of Italy (PCI) polled 34% of the vote in the last election. For more than six months in 1977, it served as the silent partner of the ruling Christian Democratic Party running Italy. In the most recent period, it has flexed its muscles and demanded a bigger share of power, causing the collapse of Italy's government in January. This set off a new parliamentary crisis which the PCI hopes to use to obtain an open voice in the Cabinet for the first time in 30 years.

In France, meanwhile, despite a growing rift between the former bedmates of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party of France (PCF). Marchais' revisionists are also manoeuvring to use their electoral strength to bring them into a coalition government of some sort.

In Spain, Carrillo's revisionist PCE not only obtained legality a year ago, when all the genuine Marxist-Leninists were still outlawed, but has already sent a number of deputies to parliament. Carrillo even succeeded in getting a former leading official of Franco's regime to write the introduction to his book, Eurocommunism and the State, which is the most elaborate theoretical exposition of the Eurorevisionist's political line yet written.

In a dozen other countries, Eurorevisionism is also a significant trend. In Australia, Japan, Norway and Britain, its adherents' criticisms of the Soviet Union have even triggered open splits in revisionist parties. Here in the US, Eurorevisionism also has its followers in a variety of forms. Some of the American Eurorevisionists are to be found right inside the CPUSA, others are loosely grouped around the New American Movement, and some have lately made their opinions known through In These Times newspaper.

Simultaneous with the flourishing of Eurorevisionism, has come an unprecedented and vitriolic attack on it by the new czars in Moscow. Their chief target has been Carrillo, but they have also lashed out from time to time at the other parties, and at the trend as a whole. Always quick to follow the Soviet lead, Gus Hall and the revisionist Communist Party, USA, in this country have also rushed out to attack Eurorevisionism. The CPUSA has even gone in for phrase-mongering about the "dictatorship of the proletariat", a concept which they wrote out of their programme 20 years ago and still reject today.

In any contradiction, there is both unity and struggle between its opposite poles. The same is true for the contradiction between Eurorevisionism and Moscow revisionism. Some struggle between the two has come to light in the form of criticisms and polemics, and this has captured a great deal of attention internationally. But at the same time, there is unity between the two trends. This is because both represent fundamentally revisionist political lines, trampling Marxism-Leninism underfoot. This Eurorevisionism objectively serves the aims of Soviet social imperialism.

The Eurorevisionist phenomenon has posed a whole set of questions for the international communist movement: Are the Eurorevisionists "progressive" in any way? Can they be seen as any kind of "alternative"

to modern revisionism? Have the Eurorevisionists ceased to be agents of Soviet social imperialism, now representing only the interests of their own bourgeoisie? Is the Soviet Union's critique of the Eurorevisionists indicative of some efforts in Moscow to correct its own revisionist treason?

These and other notions have been put forward from various quarters commenting on the impact of Eurorevisionism. But none of these views are either adequate or correct. Further analysis must be done if we are to get a scientific understanding of this contradiction in the enemy's camp and use it to the advantage of the revolutionary struggle.

I. EUROREVISIONISM: AN ATTACK ON MARXISM-LENINISM

"Very logically, it (the French revisionist party - Ed.) has decided to abandon the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', classically considered by the communist movement as a condition of socialism". (1)

- Jean Kanapa, chief of foreign affairs for the PCF

The starting point for a critique of Eurorevisionism must be the most basic of all questions faced by the working class movement - what are the objectives of the class struggle? Long ago, Lenin wrote in response to all those who paid lip service to the existence of class struggle, but refused to acknowledge its final aims:

"Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat... This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested." (2)

The Eurorevisionists have all openly renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat as the aim of their parties. Long ago, of course, the Soviet revisionists said that the dictatorship of the proletariat had come to an end in the USSR and had been supplanted by the "state of the whole people". The CPUSA, for its part, simply wrote the proletarian dictatorship out of its program.

But the Eurorevisionists have gone a step farther. They actually declare that the dictatorship of the proletariat is fundamentally wrong as a concept and as a strategic objective. They have no inhibitions about admitting that they run completely counter to Marxism-Leninism on this point. "We are well aware," says PCI leader Giorgio Napolitano, "of the fact that today we are asserting a conception of the relationship between democracy and socialism that cannot be identified with the one elaborated by Lenin." (3)

Why did all the great teachers of Marxism-Leninism stress the absolute necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Why do the Eurorevisionists attack it? The answers to these questions lay bare the pro-capitalist, anti-working class essence of Eurorevisionism.

As early as the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels clearly pointed out: *"The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes"*. (4). After the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx would clearly explain the need to smash the old state machine and establish the proletarian dictatorship,

as the only possible tool for constructing socialism and carrying out the transition to communism.

In summing up Lenin's teachings, Stalin explained that three main tasks had to be accomplished by the proletarian dictatorship. These were needed to insure that the initial seizure of power by the working class would be consolidated and move forward:

(A) *To break the resistance of the landlords and capitalists who have been overthrown and expropriated by the revolution, to liquidate every attempt on their part to restore the power of capital;*

(B) *To organise construction in such a way as to rally all the working people around the proletariat, and to carry on this work along the lines of preparing for the elimination, the abolition of classes;*

(C) *To arm the revolution, to organise the army of the revolution for the struggle against foreign enemies, for the struggle against imperialism.*

The dictatorship of the proletariat is needed to carry out, to fulfill these tasks. (5)

Throughout all theoretical elaborations of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as in the concrete practice of the Russian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat has never been a dictatorship of the workers over all the rest of society. Rather, as Lenin and Stalin said, it is a dictatorship only over the bourgeoisie, "a rule enjoying the sympathy and support of the labouring and exploited masses." (6)

Without the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie would seize power back as quickly as it was wrested from them. Even more important than the old exploiters themselves, Lenin explained further, is the force of habit and old traditions, especially among the small producers and peasants, which continues to "engender capitalism" even after socialism has been established. (7)

To combat these pressures and to advance the cause of socialism, Lenin concluded: *"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by a new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow."* (8)

Conditions have changed

These are principles which Marx and Lenin consistently asserted against the opportunists of their day. They thoroughly exposed all those who advocated "peaceful transition" to socialism; who believed that a mere change of personalities or political parties at the top of the government could fundamentally alter society. They stressed the revolutionary understanding that all states are the instrument for the dictatorship of a particular class. But for the first time in history, they explained, the proletarian dictatorship enables the broad majority of the population to exercise dictatorship over the minority of exploiters instead of the other way round.

On what grounds, then, can the Eurorevisionists discard the dictator-

ship of the proletariat and still claim to be struggling for socialism?

Georges Marchais, in his speech at the PCF's 22nd Congress and in press interviews immediately afterwards, gave the following explanations for renouncing the concept. (I) The working class no longer constitutes a majority in society and thus the dictatorship of the proletariat would be a "minority government"; (2) Setting up any type of dictatorship implies stripping the people of political liberties; (3) the dictatorship of the proletariat is historically connected to the Leninist view of the inevitability of violent revolution, a view rejected by the PCF which believes exclusively in the electoral road; and (4) "dictatorship of the proletariat" is a term which other class forces and parties find "offensive".

Let us examine these arguments one by one.

(I) The working class is no longer a majority. First of all this is a lie. In France, the working class makes up well over 50% of the population. Marchais' effort to paint the picture otherwise is the same classic trick of bourgeois sociologists in this country who try to define all non-industrial workers as part of the "middle class".

But this is just Marchais' demagoguery and beside the point. In China, the working class constituted only a small percentage of the population, and yet the dictatorship of the proletariat was still established. It represented the outlook, stand and viewpoint of the most advanced class in society and rallied around the proletariat all other progressive classes and strata. The same was true in Russia. Marchais' efforts to deny that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established without a proletarian majority is thus a direct attack on the leading role of the working class. It is an open effort to put forward the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie as the leading forces of revolutionary change.

(2) Political liberties Yes, the dictatorship of the proletariat does imply a loss of political liberties - but only for the handful of exploiters. For the great majority of people, it will be the most democratic society ever enjoyed. This shows that Marchais' real concern is precisely to protect the political liberties of the bourgeoisie. For he knows very well that, as Stalin said, "*The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be 'complete' democracy, democracy for all, for the rich as well as the poor...The talk of Kautsky and Co. about universal equality, about 'pure' democracy, about 'perfect democracy', and the like, is a bourgeois disguise of the indubitable fact that equality between exploited and exploiters is impossible. The theory of 'pure' democracy is the theory of the upper stratum of the working class which has been fed...by the imperialist robbers.*" (9)

The Eurorevisionist stand on the question of "political liberties" is the same in each country where they preach this line. They prettify the present dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as if it was characterised by great freedoms for the masses of people. In fact, they say that all is necessary to achieve socialism is "an uninterrupted extension of democracy". This is exactly the kind of thinking of the "upper stratum" of the working class bribed by imperialism, which Stalin exposed.

(3) Violent revolution The Eurorevisionists have all pledged themselves to the "peaceful road" to socialism, which they envision as taking place through elections. In fact, they repeatedly have given their word of honour to the bourgeoisies of their countries that they will never resort to armed struggle. As Kanapa wrote in his article: "France of 1977 is not Russia of 1917; only the small ultra-left groups dream of the D-Day of armed rebellion...The French Communists are convinced... that nothing, absolutely nothing can...replace the popular will of the majority as expressed by democratic means, and in particular, by universal suffrage." (10)

Document after document by all the Eurorevisionist parties glorify this ballot-box approach. They all claim that socialism will come about when there is a parliamentary majority in favour of it.

Not only do the Eurorevisionists preach complete faith in bourgeois democracy and the "peaceful path," but they have actually written out of their programs the possibility of the working class to wage armed revolutionary civil war. "We reject recourse to armed violence", says Kanapa in his exposition of the PCF's new outlook. (II)

Yet no socialist revolution has ever come about without the ruling class putting up a last, tenacious and violent stand against the masses. To be unprepared for this would be suicide.

Mao Tsetung summed up the role of violent struggle as part of his critique of the Khrushchev revisionists:

We maintain that the proletarian party of any country should be prepared for two possibilities, one for peace and the other for war. In the first case, the Communist Party demands peaceful transition from the ruling class, following Lenin in the slogan he advanced during the period between the February and October Revolutions. Similarly, we made a proposal to Chiang Kai-shek for the negotiation of peace. This is a defensive slogan against the bourgeoisie, against the enemy, showing that we want peace, not war, and it will help us win over the masses. It is a slogan that gives us the initiative, it is a tactical slogan.

However, the bourgeoisie will never hand over state power of their own accord, but will resort to violence. Then there is the second possibility. If they want to fight and they fire the first shot, we cannot but fight back. To seize state power by armed force - this is a strategic slogan. If you insist on peaceful transition, there won't be any difference between you and the socialist parties...

Generally speaking, the political parties of the proletariat had better be prepared for two possibilities: one, a gentleman uses his tongue, not his fists, but two, if a bastard uses his fists, I'll use mine. (12)

Thus by "insisting on peaceful transition", as Chairman Mao said, the Eurorevisionists leave the people unprepared for the "second possibility". This is exactly what happened in Chile, where the revisionist line of "peaceful transition" set the masses up for slaughter. When asked about Chile, all the Eurorevisionist leaders can say is, "It can't happen here".

At one point, Marx declared that forcible destruction of the old state machinery was necessary "for every real people's revolution". (I3) At the same time he added a qualification that peaceful development might be possible in America and Britain, since imperialism had not yet arisen there and militarism and bureaucracy were relatively undeveloped in the state machinery of those countries.

Today's Eurorevisionists and all revisionists seize on this one quote from Marx to justify their worship of the peaceful path. They conveniently ignore the fact that Lenin also discussed this quote. The rise of imperialism around 1900, he explained, meant peaceful revolution was impossible everywhere in the world. Marx's qualification about America and Britain, he insisted, no longer applied. Thus Lenin summed up:

The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a new one. (I4)

(4) Offending other class forces Here Marchais really tips his hand. Why offend the bourgeoisie with the idea of overthrowing them, he asks, since we're trying to build alliances with them? In fact, we're really not trying to overthrow them, so why get them confused and excited with talk of a proletarian dictatorship?

The Eurorevisionists are very clear on this point: they have no intention of overthrowing the bourgeoisie. Marchais has gone so far as to assure the "barons of big industry and high finance" that "we do not wish them any harm. We merely want them to stop being the law in our country." (I5)

From each of these four reasons, then, it's not hard to see why Marchais was anxious to drop the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Unencumbered by it, the PCF can now proceed on its course of prettifying French imperialism, obscuring the class nature of the state, and building electoral blocs with various sectors of the ruling class - all for the purpose of preserving capitalism and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The Eurorevisionists are already far along this road of class collaboration. In Italy, for example, the PCI has given full backing to the Andreotti government's economic austerity package, including massive cutbacks in social services, tax hikes and wage freezes.

Using the rhetoric of "socialism" to force the workers in the revisionist-controlled trade union federation into accepting this package, Berlinguer explained it this way: "They say that the sacrifices of the workers serve to obtain three objectives of national interest: redress the national economy, accentuate the production upturn, maintain and extend employment. What response must we give to these objectives? We have no doubt: we will answer "yes" to all three". (I6)

But to make workers feel better about swallowing these attacks, Berlinguer tells them what a great "victory" they have won: "The old

ruling classes are no longer in a position to impose sacrifices on the working class; today they must ask us to do so" (I7) And as their loyal representative, he might have added, it is he who is in charge of transmitting the "request".

Social fascist goon squads

When these policies were protested by rank-and-file workers and students, PCI goons tried to stop the protests. Last spring, leading up to May Day, workers and students waged one battle after another exposing the collaboration of the revisionists with the government. Each time, they were met by social-fascist violence from the PCI. Similar events took place in Spain, where the PCE demonstrated its thanks to the government for gaining legal status by breaking up the demonstration of illegal organisations.

As for the PCF, it has been responsible for the deaths of several trade union militants and Marxist-Leninists who stood up to the dictatorial rule of the CGT trade union confederation. It was this same revisionist PCF which also led the way in getting the French parliament to outlaw the Communist Party of France (Marxist-Leninist) in the midst of the 1968 uprising.

The rank-and-file workers in Italy must be forgiven if they have trouble distinguishing Berlinguer from Mussolini. "We must mount a relentless fight against all forms of waste, corruption and crime", declared PCI leader Segre in a statement that closely resembled the law-and-order speeches of the Black Shirts before the war. (I8)

Time and again, the revisionists use every opportunity to preach that the interests of the working class are synonymous with the interests of Italy's ruling class. At the last PCI Congress, Berlinguer declared from the rostrum: "Our general approach has always been and remains that of solving the workers' and the country's problems, of renewing society and guaranteeing the orderly development of civil life". (I9)

What can this be other than an attack on the working class struggles such as that of the Fiat workers who wildcatted against the revisionist trade union leaders when they heard the "austerity" plan?

While shamelessly equating the interests of the workers with that of the ruling class, all Berlinguer's talk about the "good of the country" is a lot of demagogy. While all the Eurorevisionists have adopted the rhetoric of nationalism (Berlinguer's "historic compromise", Marchais' "socialism in French colours", or Carrillo's pronouncement that "I am a Spaniard, not a Russian"), they are in fact the worst traitors to the national interests of the European peoples.

It is no coincidence that Eurorevisionism has arisen at precisely the time when the political division of the three worlds is becoming more and more pronounced. In second world countries as in Europe, which are under tremendous pressure from both superpowers, a new wave of nationalism has developed corresponding to the struggle of these countries to safeguard their independence and sovereignty.

The Eurorevisionists have demagogically tried to play on these sentiments that exist in the second world countries. With the Soviet Union's aggressive threat to Europe more and more obvious, they have

tried to pose as opponents of Soviet hegemonism. But in fact they are nothing of the sort. They are actually facilitating social imperialism's drive into Europe.

Significant sections of the ruling classes in Europe see through the phoney nationalism of the Eurorevisionists and continue to oppose their entrance into the government. But other ruling groups, while not always completely comfortable about having the Eurorevisionists as governmental partners, are opting for this as their trump card to get through the present situation of economic and political crisis. In Italy, many of the country's biggest capitalists are counting on the PCI, with its big working class base, to keep the workers' movement down.

Look at what Umberto Agnelli, the Vice-Chairman of Fiat and one of Italy's most flamboyant capitalists, has to say about the PCI: "If the PCI is ready to give its consent to a realistic program, why refuse it? From what position the PCI makes its contribution - whether from the majority or the opposition - is of little importance. For that matter, the official statements of this Party, which says it accepts the Western logic of the market economy and the pluralistic system, are known to all, and I personally, as an industrialist have no reason to doubt them. If then, I look at the facts of the Party's actual behaviour on the local level, I cannot but admit that good administration is guaranteed in these localities where the PCI is in power." (20)

Agnelli's praise for the PCI is not unique. All over Europe, powerful sections of the capitalists are singing praises for the Eurorevisionist parties.

And in return, the Eurorevisionists are singing praises for capitalists. Eurocommunism and the State reads like a litany of the wonders of capitalism. It claims that merely through more participatory democracy virtually every problem the working class faces can be solved, from unemployment, to the environment and to defeating the fascists. Similarly the recent Joint Declaration of the Communist Parties of France and Italy called for revisionists to lead the struggle for "broad democratic reforms which will make it possible to solve the serious economic, social and political problems in their countries". (21) (Emphasis added)

Myths of reform through nationalisation

Can the crisis of capitalism be solved with reforms however broad they are? To answer "yes" is to say that capitalism can be made to work and that there is no need to wage revolutionary struggle against it.

The main "broad democratic reform" called for by the Eurorevisionist parties is industrial nationalisations. Like the CPUSA here, these parties try to make workers believe that so-called "public controls" and nationalised industry can bring an end to the profit system and exploitation of the working class. This is a hard myth to maintain in Europe, and requires the revisionists to work overtime. This is because much of European industry has already been nationalised and the workers have been listening to nationalisation posed as the be-all and end-all by the social democrats for two generations. The workers in these very nationalised sectors have learned that they have no more voice in run-

ing production than before; that they are exploited just the same if not more severely; and that they have been greeted with the "change" of losing their right to strike.

But the Eurorevisionists continue to press their program for "democratic socialism". In fact it is nothing but state capitalism. For as long as the capitalists hold state power, even in the guise of their revisionist frontmen, nationalised industry cannot fundamentally alter the oppression of the working class.

Eurorevisionists are actually trying to strengthen the bourgeois state machinery. They want to "perfect" it, as Lenin said of those whose aim in supporting revolution was anything other than to deliver political power to the masses. This is evident in this statement of Segre:

"There is need for a profound renewal of the whole state machine, today reduced to a condition of virtual paralysis". (22) Where the genuine Marxist-Leninists expose the brutal oppression of the capitalist state, Segre pretends that the state is "paralysed" and can't function. Where Marxism-Leninism holds that the state should be smashed, Segre calls for it to be "renewed"! By this, he means to say that the PCI is willing to do its part to help Italian capitalism out of its crisis and to function more smoothly.

Trying to 'perfect' the capitalist state

In fact, the record of the PCI in those places where it does hold power - as well as the PCF in France - testifies eloquently to these efforts to "perfect" the capitalist state. The Italian revisionists control almost half of Italy's local and regional governments, including the most important ones like Rome, Bologna, Turin and Milan. But the fact that "Communists" control the local government in these areas has not improved the lives of the people one bit. Unemployment is just as rampant in these areas as in the rest of Italy, if not more so. When workers go out on strike, the bosses rely on the "communist" police commissioners to call out the cops against them. Last year, in fact, the PCI was directly implicated in the death of a student during a mass demonstration in Bologna against the PCI-Christian Democrat austerity program.

In France, meanwhile, the PCF rode to power in its coalition with the Socialist Party in numerous municipalities over the last year. But the only visible changes in these areas is that PCF-controlled financial enterprises (of which there are over 300 operating in France) are now being funneled large amounts of money through local budgets. After all, the PCF chieftains must have often thought to themselves, if we are going to help the capitalists repress the workers, why not have a share of the profits too?

The foregoing can only scratch the surface of the reactionary political content of Eurorevisionism on the domestic level. It contains many other elements too numerous to mention here - everything from a glorification of religion and open support for the Vatican, to resurrection of Trotsky and alliance with Trotskyite groups (Carrillo declared at the Berlin Conference in 1976 that Trotsky had been "unfairly treated"), to support for the "free speech" of fascist groups as a way of demonst-

rating loyalty to the "pluralistic" political process.

All this adds up to the most despicable promotion of capitalist ideology imaginable right inside the workers' movement. Eurorevisionism is not "socialism in European colours," it is "capitalism disguised in socialist colours".

2. EUROREVISIONISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

Having made some analysis of the basic content of Eurorevisionism, we must now turn to the question of how it fits into the present international situation. Europe, after all, is the strategic focus of super-power contention. It is the region where the US and the USSR are most forcefully armed against each other; it is the prize which Soviet social imperialism especially seeks to dominate in its quest for an overall redivision of the world.

The rise of Eurorevisionism takes place against this backdrop. The question of exactly what role the three most prominent Eurorevisionist parties play vis-a-vis the USSR is a very important, although complicated question.

The Eurorevisionists, to a certain extent, have made some criticisms and exposures of the Soviet Union. This has a positive aspect to it, especially in the context of the Soviet Union seeking to maintain its image as the "motherland of socialism". The fact that even those who were formerly its staunchest supporters are now raising questions and criticisms contributes in a certain way to the overall exposure of Soviet social imperialism which is taking place in Europe. This is vitally needed if the masses are successfully to resist the USSR's aggressive drive westward.

But does the fact that the Eurorevisionists have aired some differences with the USSR mean that they are no longer tools of Soviet hegemonism? Absolutely not. Despite these differences, all three Eurorevisionist parties remain closely intertwined with Moscow and pursue a political line which basically helps to open the door to Soviet aggression. None of the Eurorevisionist parties are in a position to resist Soviet aggression even if they did want to. They are all tied to Moscow by a thousand threads.

Let us examine both the struggle as well as the unity between Eurorevisionism and Moscow revisionism.

Falling out among thieves

"Carrillo's interpretation of 'Eurocommunism' accords solely with the interests of imperialism, the forces of aggression and reaction" (23).

With this bombast, the Soviet Union's weekly international affairs journal, *New Times*, launched its diatribe last year against Eurorevisionism and Carrillo's Eurocommunism and the State. Carrillo shot back, calling the Soviet Union a "dictatorship of a small segment of society" and warning the Kremlin that any attempts to split his party's ranks would meet with "serious consequences".

This exchange typifies the developing breach in the revisionists' ranks. But what are the real issues here?

Carrillo offers one indication himself. He told a *New York Times* reporter that he "probably would have gotten more votes" if the Soviet attack on his book had come before election day instead of after.

In other words, too close an association with Moscow is a liability these days. It is a liability in building alliances with other bourgeois parties. Many are still skeptical about how much "independence" the Eurorevisionists really have from Moscow. Moreover, it is a liability in the face of the views of the masses of people who have seen the evidence of Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere and have heard plenty of reports about the fascist conditions inside the USSR.

Bad propaganda for USSR

In seeking to prove their "independence", however, some of the Eurorevisionists have gone "too far" and stepped on Brezhnev's toes. Carrillo has even raised questions in public about the USSR's holy myth that the Warsaw Pact is "purely a defensive alliance" and that NATO is "purely an aggressive alliance of US imperialism". Says Carrillo: "We don't want a Europe under the influence of the Warsaw Pact, we want an autonomous Europe". And: "Only when the Russians get their installations out of Czechoslovakia, for example, should the US get its (bases - Ed) out of Spain." (24)

This is very bad propaganda indeed for the Soviet Union. It is especially bad when the Kremlin is trying so hard to lull Europe to sleep with the myth that the Soviet Union is the most "peace-loving" country on earth. So too is Kanapa's Foreign Affairs article in which he advocates France's preparedness against "any eventual aggressor". (25).

The CPUSA, Brezhnev's loyal stalking horse, polemicized against Kanapa's article even before the Soviet press was ready to openly condemn the Eurorevisionists. In an article by Jim West in Political Affairs, the CPUSA states that Kanapa's reference to "any aggressor" clearly "smells of anti-Sovietism". (26) According to West, "anti-Sovietism" means hinting that the Soviet Union might have aggressive designs on Europe.

The *New Times* article is also outraged by some of the truths Carrillo touched upon: "How other than as anti-Soviet can one qualify Carrillo's monstrous statement that the Soviet Union is a 'superpower' that is to blame for the arms race, and that it pursues great-power objectives?" (27).

Clearly the Eurorevisionists have overstepped the bounds of the "independence" granted them by the 1976 conference of revisionist parties held in East Berlin. The very convening of that meeting was extremely difficult and had to be delayed several years owing to the contradictions among the revisionist parties. But Brezhnev was willing to make certain compromises in order to get the meeting off the ground. He had to demonstrate some "unity" in the revisionist camp as well as assert his own leadership of the world revisionist movement. USSR allows "independence"

The compromise was that Carrillo, Marchais and Berlinguer were all allowed to speak and to focus their statements on the need for each

party to be "independent". The communique that was adopted reflected this and specifically did not include any reference to "proletarian internationalism", the term which has been so often abused by the Soviet Union in justifying its aggression and subversion around the world.

In fact, all the revisionist parties abandoned proletarian internationalism long ago, not only in name but in practice. In its place they have substituted the rhetoric of bourgeois nationalism, even though in reality they are the Quislings of their countries. The Soviet Party, of course, led the way in this endeavour. Krushchev and Brezhnev betrayed the principles of genuine proletarian internationalism which characterised the revolutionary days under Lenin and Stalin. They have now embraced the worst type of Great Russian chauvinism and imperialist ambitions.

The Soviet social imperialists have had no big objection to the bourgeois nationalism of the revisionist parties the world over. European parties actually received Moscow's encouragement for forming electoral blocs with one or another wing of their own ruling class in order to increase their influence and ultimately ride to power. This was precisely the meaning of Khrushchev's appeal to take the road of "peaceful transition to socialism". He really meant peaceful transition to a revisionist-dominated government which can serve the interests of the Soviet Union.

But now the contradictions in Europe are sharpening and the contention between the US and USSR is moving faster in the direction of war. The Soviet Union is suddenly worried about the Eurorevisionist parties. It fears that a tendency is developing that aligns itself too closely with the sections of the European ruling classes.

Brezhnev has another good reason to fear the impact of Eurorevisionism. He is worried that it will spill over out of West Europe and into East Europe, the key Soviet base of operations against the West. Already Hungarian and Polish newspapers have spoken out in support of the Eurorevisionists' right to "independent" views. By polemicising against the Eurorevisionists, the USSR also hopes to nip this movement in the bud in East Europe. The polemics with Carrillo, then, are a form of warning to the East European countries, who have learned from experience how tanks can easily replace polemics.

But the Soviet polemics with the Eurorevisionists are also designed to put pressure directly on these parties to bring their tactics more in line with the Soviet scheme of things. They are saying to Carrillo, Marchais and Berlinguer: "Can't you cozy up to ruling groups without acknowledging that the USSR is a 'superpower'? Can't you find some other way to convince the workers that you aren't foreign puppets besides inviting Soviet dissidents to speak at your rallies and giving their views space in your press?"

Not just polemics

This pressure to adjust the Eurorevisionists' political line has been applied in other ways than polemics. No one knows for certain what caused the PCF in France suddenly to harden its line and refuse to agree on a new common program with the Socialist Party just when it

looked like a coalition of the two could succeed in coming to power. Similarly, it is not known exactly why the PCI decided to end its role as a tacit supporter of Andreotti and once again opt for direct participation in the cabinet. But it is safe to say that somewhere behind both these developments, pressure from the Kremlin figured heavily. It must be kept in mind that all these parties are factionalised, and that there are definite "Moscow loyalists" among the factions.

We must not make too much of the contradiction and polemics between Eurorevisionism and Moscow, or be taken in by it. We must look beyond the sound and fury of the debate, and analyse superpower contention in Europe more deeply.

First, a few facts, lest anyone get the impression that the Eurorevisionists are on a track fundamentally different than the Soviet revisionists. Take the Italian party, for example. Three leaders of the Italian party went to Moscow in July 1977, shortly after the New Times polemic appeared against Carrillo. They came back asserting that while they "naturally had differences on more than one point", unity of views was reached on all the main questions discussed. Referring to Carrillo's book, they said, "We do not endorse it".

In March, Carrillo, Berlinguer and Marchais met in Madrid. When the issue of their joint communique came up, Marchais argued that it should not criticise abuses of human rights in the USSR on the ground that "we have no right to pass judgements on fraternal parties". Berlinguer even ran to Spanish television to assert that the Madrid meeting was not "anti-Soviet".

And what of Carrillo himself, who appears to be the greatest "maverick", and the most "independent" of Moscow? When he issued his harangue against the New Times article, he was backed up completely by the Party's central committee. One of the first members to put her name to that statement was Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria). She had just returned from Moscow where she had been indoctrinated for many long years in the spirit of the most slavish defense of Soviet social imperialism.

Ibarruri even supports the invasion of Czechoslovakia and has called Eurorevisionism "madness". At the first public gathering she addressed after her return from exile in the USSR, she spoke not about the Spanish Civil War, from which she is remembered as a heroine, nor about the situation in Spain today. Instead, she delivered a lengthy speech in the need to stand firmly by the Soviet Union! And yet, she found no great difficulty in affixing her name to Carrillo's "polemic" against the Soviet Union.

There is also some cold, hard economic data that should be considered in reflecting on how "independent" the Eurorevisionists have become of Moscow. In France and Italy, for example, the revisionist parties still hold a monopoly on virtually all trade with the USSR and East Europe. Capitalists who want to trade with the USSR must go through a revisionist frontman or a revisionist front company.

Who pulls the strings?

A recent book by Jean Montaldo, entitled Finances of the PCF

describes the vast wealth of the PCF. It is channeled and directed through the Banque Commerciale pour l'Europe du Nord (BCEN), the biggest foreign-owned bank in France. The BCEN is a branch of the Soviet state bank, and has several Soviet officers running it, along with some other financial wizards known to be closely affiliated with the PCF. The whole bank is worth 13 billion francs (over \$2 billion) in deposits, and is a highly profitable venture. (28)

The entire economic empire of the PCF, which includes hundreds of businesses, buildings, publications, parcels of real estate, and profitable front organisations is virtually directed from Moscow; through the intricate structure of the BCEN. The top financial official of the PCF is a Soviet agent who reports directly to his superiors in the Kremlin.

Thus Moscow not only holds the purse strings of the PCF, but tens of thousands of full-time bureaucrats make their livelihood off their connections with the USSR. It is a joke to speak of the PCF's "independence" from the USSR given this situation.

These facts are only the surface reflections that Eurorevisionism has not broken with Soviet revisionism at all. In fact, the Eurorevisionist parties still remain as "fifth columns" for Brezhnev's legions.

To illustrate how they play this "fifth column" role, it is necessary to examine certain key aspects of their line. For example, although these three parties may have had a few minor criticisms of the USSR's arms build-up, they remain, in general, the most active spokesmen for the myth of "detente" in Europe.

"Detente" is written into the programs of all three parties. It is prominent in their election slogans; it is featured regularly in their newspaper articles; and it figures heavily in the character of the alliances they form with other bourgeois political parties. "Basically, what Italy needs in foreign policy is a greater commitment to detente," says Segre. (29)

Like the Soviet social imperialists and the voices of appeasement within the ruling classes of the US and Western Europe, the Eurorevisionists preach that "detente" must be strengthened by disarming Western Europe. They claim that the USSR is genuinely serious about "detente", and that the main obstacles to peace lie in the US and Western Europe. All three revisionist parties actively defended the Soviet invasions of Angola and Zaire referring to these aggressive acts as "aid to liberation struggles," just as the rest of the world's revisionist press did.

What is the significance of these lullabies? Considering how the Eurorevisionist parties control the trade union movements and have influence over large segments of the working class, it is quite important. While the Soviet troops are mustering across Europe, the Eurorevisionists are frantically trying to get the proletariat to go to sleep with sweet dreams of "detente".

Revisionists in NATO

The Eurorevisionists' appeasement thinking is carried over to the crucial question of the military and foreign policy that the European

countries should pursue. All three parties have recently pledged their support for NATO, even though they have historically opposed it. While this position has drawn some of the most hostile criticisms from Moscow, perhaps this thunder is only designed to cover up the joy Brezhnev would find if the revisionist parliament ministers were suddenly to be sitting on the governing bodies of NATO. Certainly it would be much preferable for the social imperialists to fight a war in which the commander of NATO's French front was a revisionist or a political ally of the PCF. The social imperialists also know full well that the growing electoral strength of the revisionist parties is throwing US imperialism and the NATO alliance into confusion and disunity. For its part US imperialism has seen the opening this offers to the Soviets. First Kissinger and now Jimmy Carter have gone out of their way to reaffirm that US imperialism will not tolerate "communists" in the West European governments.

Thus when New Times lambasts Carrillo for favouring "the entry of Spain into NATO - that most aggressive bloc whose main purpose is to prepare for war against the Soviet Union," it could very well be that it is "protesting too much". Precisely such a ploy would mask the hope that the revisionist-dominated governments in the future may be allowed to stay in NATO, with the West assuming that the USSR "disapproves". These are exactly the deceptive tactics required to make use of a "fifth column".

In Kanapa's article in Foreign Affairs, he explains the foreign policy of the French revisionists should they come to power in alliance with the Socialists. Here too is the talk of a dedicated fifth columnist. He in fact affirms his enthusiasm for NATO: "Today it is not the French communists but certain politicians in the United States and other Atlantic countries who question the incompatibility of the alliance with the participation of Communist ministers in the government of France or Italy". (30)

Kanapa goes on to spell out his party's program on other foreign policy matters: bring an end to nuclear testing and sign the nuclear test ban treaty (this alone shows the lie in his earlier claims to be for an "independent" French defense against "any aggressor"); sign a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union (and then dismantle France's defence lines currently oriented to protect against a Soviet-led invasion); join in the European troop reduction talks and other superpower conferences (designed to give credence to the myth of "detente"); and seek the "broadest possible international cooperation" (which is the code word the French revisionists in parliament use when they are lobbying for more trade with the USSR since trade with the US is already as broad as can be.)

Appeal to the bourgeoisie

When Kanapa is finished explaining all this, he concludes that: "French policy should be decided neither in Moscow nor in Washington - but in Paris". (31) Such talk is undoubtedly an appeal to the French bourgeoisie to accept all that he has outlined as a genuinely "nationalist" policy. It covers up for the fact that every one of his points of foreign policy opens the door to Soviet aggression against France.

What is significant about this program as explained by Kanapa is that it is the common program of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. Although the electoral alliance of the two is now in shambles, it was not over foreign policy that they split. What has happened in France is that the revisionists have carefully cultivated an alliance with the wing of the French bourgeoisie that is generally favourable to "detente" and an appeasement policy towards the Soviet Union. France is the most advanced example of this merger of political trends, but the same thing is happening in every European country.

One last and striking example of appeasement thinking should be given. A leading Italian Eurorevisionist, Pajetta, was interviewed in 1976 by Corriere della Sera: He was asked a question about what the Italian revisionist party would do if a Czechoslovakia-style invasion was launched by the Warsaw Pact against Italy.

"And why should it be attacked?" returned Pajetta. "I do not accept the hypothesis". (32)

This statement, and in fact the whole debate between the Eurorevisionists and Moscow, is reminiscent of some events before World War II. Didn't Europe's social democrats of that time preach the "impossibility" of a German invasion only short weeks before the German tanks rolled? Didn't Europe's social democrats also take an occasional pot shot against German militarism? Didn't they profess dissatisfaction with the internal situation in Germany, all the while opening the door to German invasion by their actions?

Eurorevisionism today, in the name of seeking a path "independent" of the USSR, is actually helping to strengthen the appeasement current that can only hasten the outbreak of war.

3. EUROREVISIONISM AND THE CPUSA OR GUS HALL'S NEW DISCOVERY

The Gus Hall clique, as noted earlier, has leaped into the debate against Eurorevisionism. It purports to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the "Browderite" distortions of Carrillo, Marchais and Berlinguer. It is necessary to examine the reasons why.

The first reason, of course, is that anything Brezhnev does, Gus Hall does twice as hard. So when the word went out that Eurorevisionism was out of favour, the CPUSA immediately began polemicizing against it. The CPUSA has hurled all sorts of epithets at the Eurorevisionists - "Browderite", "social democrat", "revisionist", "class collaborator", "anti-Leninist", etc. But it must be noted that this critique has only begun since the Eurorevisionists started criticising the Soviet Union more openly. The "Browderism" of Eurorevisionism has been evident for years. The CPUSA did not polemicise against it in the past, however, because it was still perfectly in favour in Moscow.

Aimed at own ranks

The Political Affairs article, "For International Solidarity Against Opportunism," also sheds another light on why the CPUSA has taken up the cudgels against Eurorevisionism. Its author, Jim West, points out: "Among some younger comrades and Leftward moving youth and adults, the Kanapa-Segre views (the documents of Eurorevisionism published in Foreign Affairs - ed) raise many questions on the positions of the

French and Italian parties which give rise to confusion to some Marxist-Leninist principles". (33)

Here is an unsolicited confession. West tells us that the Eurorevisionist tendency is making some gains among "younger comrades and Leftward moving youth and adults" inside and around the CPUSA itself. And it is for their benefit that West strikes a "left" pose and spends the rest of his article quoting Lenin to give the appearance of defending the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But all this is a sham, made obvious because West unabashedly ignores the fact that the CPUSA itself rejected this concept years ago and still does so today. He is "attacking" the revisionism of Kanapa and Segre in order to divert attention of the CPUSA's dissident elements away from the revisionism of the Soviet Union and the CPUSA.

Thus, the debate with the Eurorevisionists becomes a forum for West to make the ridiculous assertion that the CPUSA has "cleansed itself of Browderism" (34) Because of this experience, the CPUSA is now in a good position to lead the ideological struggle against "revisionism"! This is not disconnected from numerous internal polemics and harangues from the CPUSA leadership directed against a rank and file that is raising more and more struggle.

Even in carrying out this polemic, however, West cannot sidestep completely the similarities in line between the CPUSA and the Eurorevisionists. For example, he must admit that the CPUSA itself has abandoned the "phrase" of the dictatorship of the proletariat, although he falsely asserts that the Party upholds its "concept".

Further along in the article, West strikes another "left" pose. He criticises the pacifism of the Eurorevisionists and explains why violence was necessary in the October Revolution. But just in case any reader might think that the CPUSA has suddenly moved off the ballot-box approach to the struggle here in the US, West hastens to distort and bury these lessons in the remote past. Lenin's approach had "nothing in common" with the "ultra-left groups" today who advocate armed struggle as necessary to the seizure of political power", he concludes. (35)

No fundamental differences

Not only on the question of peaceful transition to socialism, but on almost every other major question, it is hard to see much real difference between the Eurorevisionists and the CPUSA. Both are the champions of building "anti-monopoly coalitions". Both argue for "reordering priorities" away from military spending and towards social services, as if this were possible under imperialism. Both claim that "radical reform" or "structural reform" can solve all capitalism's problems. Both deny the class nature of the bourgeois state and prettify it. Both preach "detente" as a panacea to resolve every contradiction.

So when all is said and done, there is no fundamental difference between the CPUSA's line and that of the Eurorevisionists. Of course they have used West's article and others to appeal to the "left" within their ranks to stay in the Party. They also want to try to pull the rug out from under those like Dorothy Healey, who led a split out of the

CPUSA in 1973, basing themselves generally on a Eurorevisionist line towards the Soviet Union.

But all West has really done in the article is expose the revisionist nature of both Eurorevisionism as well as the CPUSA's own brand. The very passages he quotes from Lenin against the Eurorevisionists apply to the CPUSA itself.

4. SOME CONCLUSIONS

Having sketched some of the chief characteristics of Eurorevisionism, it is appropriate to draw a few conclusions about it.

First, we must see that revisionism, because of its reactionary nature, is bound to suffer splits and divisions. Even the brute force of Soviet fascism cannot hold the world revisionist movement together.

We should take careful stock of all these splits and divisions. Where they can be made use of to further weaken and expose revisionism, they should. At the same time we must be on guard against deception. We must recognize the unity that still underlines the relationship between the Eurorevisionists and Moscow, the centre of world revisionism.

In dealing with Eurorevisionism, we are dealing with the enemy. The biggest enemy, however, and the object of our main blow in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, must continue to be the Soviet revisionists and our "own" revisionists, the CPUSA. Still we must expose and criticise Eurorevisionism, which also poses a danger.

Secondly, we must recognise that Eurorevisionism has some appeal, especially to those who are critical of Soviet social imperialism in one way or another. These people must be educated about the genuine principles of Marxism-Leninism, and be shown that you can't defeat Brezhnev with Carrillo. We must arm such people with a scientific understanding of the USSR as a capitalist country and imperialist superpower, and show how Eurorevisionism still serves its aims.

We must boldly affirm our adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must convince these comrades that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not an "outmoded" concept. On the contrary, it still remains the strategic objective of the workers' struggle and the only possible vehicle for ending capitalist oppression and constructing socialism.

Finally, we must see that the Eurorevisionists, like all reactionaries are outwardly strong but inwardly weak. They may make impressive showings at the polls. They may even have a large following among the workers for the time being. But in all the countries where Eurorevisionism is at work, genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations are also at work, fighting imperialism, fighting the two superpowers, and fighting revisionism. They are growing stronger day by day and winning more and more support among the masses. Meanwhile every new act and pronouncement of the Eurorevisionists only serves to expose and unmask them further in the eyes of the workers.

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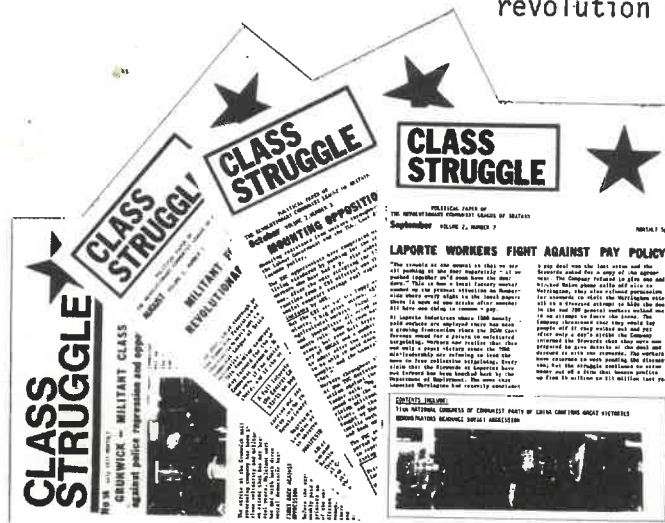
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