

**REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY
OF BRITAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST)**

**REPORT TO THE
FIRST CONGRESS**



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General Secretary of the Central Committee

**REPORT
OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN
(MARXIST-LENINIST)**

**Submitted to the First Congress
of the Revolutionary Communist Party
of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) by**

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**REPORT TO THE FIRST CONGRESS
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN
(MARXIST-LENINIST)**

Dear Comrades,

The Party comes to the First Congress with pride in the victories which have been achieved since its founding. The Party comes to the First Congress with great satisfaction that the tasks which have been set have been fulfilled, that the Party has been strengthened and consolidated as the genuine Marxist-Leninist Party of the British proletariat.

Under difficult conditions and in the face of the complicated and tense class struggle against the enemies of the proletariat and the revolution, the Party has made important advances on many fronts. Since its founding the Party has consolidated its positions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism; it has been built and strengthened according to the principles of democratic centralism; and all-sided work has been organised to strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organisationally, to enrich its Marxist-Leninist line and to invigorate inner-party life.

The Party has been built in all the main regions and is active in the majority of main industrial cities. It has increased its numbers, improved the proletarian composition of its ranks and its leading bodies, with just under 50% of the members being proletarians, and it has increased the numbers of women in the Party to a similar percentage. The Party has worked to eliminate weaknesses and defects in various aspects of its work; it has been strengthened in the struggle to eliminate the adverse consequences of "Mao Zedong thought", and the quality of the work of the Party has been greatly improved, as has the Marxist-Leninist quality of its cadres and members.

The Party has been tempered in the course of the many revolutionary actions and struggles which it has participated in, organised and led against the class enemies, against imperialism, social imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction, and in defence of the rights of the people; the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist character of the Party has been tested and proven in words and deeds. The Party has extended its links in the working class and established cells in factories and it has further developed its activity and its ties amongst other sections of the people. Mass organisations, of workers, youth and women, and on other fronts, have been established and are being strengthened. This work of the Party has been organised on the basis of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, without any concessions to the revisionist and opportunist positions and deviations or any isolation from the class and broad masses of people.

The Party has waged a continuous struggle to defend the purity of its Marxist-Leninist line, ideology and theory; it has deepened its analysis and understanding of the objective situation nationally

and internationally; and it has waged a consistent ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, against modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades. The Party has taken a correct and consistent stand of militant and unwavering struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades, both those trends operating in Britain and the main international trends; it has deepened and broadened the struggle against revisionism and opportunism of all shades and has waged this struggle in the course of and as a component part of the struggle against imperialism.

The Party has resolutely defended and implemented the principles of proletarian internationalism; it has sympathised with and continued to support the work of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties, has consistently supported the struggles of the working class and broad masses of people throughout the world, and has made its contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement.

Our Party comes to the Congress united, filled with revolutionary enthusiasm and optimism to take up its tasks for the coming period. It comes to the Congress with all the members expressing great confidence in its line and work and with the prestige of the Party amongst the workers and progressive and democratic forces continually growing. The Congress is being held when the entire Party is consolidated and organised to take up the crucial task for the period, that of developing the leading role of the Party, of further strengthening the Party and greatly expanding its influence and ties among the working class and the broad masses of the people.

Comrades, the First Congress of the Party is

being held at a time when the genuine Marxist-Leninist and proletarian forces throughout the world are commemorating the Centenary of the Death of Karl Marx, the greatest revolutionary thinker and the great leader of the international proletariat. It is the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations throughout the world who are defending and holding aloft the immortal banner of Karl Marx and of Marxism-Leninism, the theory and practice which is the indispensable guide – and guarantee of the victory – of the struggle of the exploited and oppressed for their emancipation.

The Party is extremely honoured to have participating in its Congress representatives of some of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties from throughout the world. This is a great encouragement, inspiration and assistance to our Party. It is a vivid and concrete expression of Marx's revolutionary watchword, "*Workers of all countries, unite!*". It concretely illustrates the fact that, far from Marxism-Leninism being in crisis and outdated, far from the bourgeoisie and revisionists being successful in their attempts to deprive the proletariat of its revolutionary theory, the international proletariat, led by its Marxist-Leninist parties, is holding high the immortal banner of Marxism-Leninism, organising to avert the catastrophes with which imperialism is threatening mankind, through ridding the world of capitalism and ushering in the new world of socialism.

Comrades,

During the period since its founding, the Party suffered a great loss with the death of our beloved comrade, Cornelius Cardew, founding member of the Party and a member of the Central Committee, who was so tragically killed in December 1981. The First

Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) pays its deepest respects to the memory of Comrade Cornelius, a fine soldier of the Party, a comrade who embodied the Marxist-Leninist quality, revolutionary spirit, dedication and determination of a communist, a comrade who will always be in our hearts and minds, whose contribution to the founding and strengthening of the Party and the advancement of the revolutionary and democratic movement will always be remembered. In remembering Comrade Cornelius, we also remember all the other comrades and the other revolutionary fighters all over the world who have given their lives for the great cause of revolution and socialism.

Comrades,

Our Congress is being held at a time when the international and national situation is extremely turbulent and is marked by increasingly grave tensions and dangers, when the all-sided crisis gripping the entire capitalist-revisionist world, and all of the major contradictions of our time, show great exacerbation. The factors for a new catastrophic war and the possibilities of revolution are both increasing daily. The proletariat and its allies must prepare themselves for the decisive battles which are coming.

Chapter I

THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION AND OUR STRATEGIC TASKS

The capitalist system in Britain, the system of state monopoly capitalism, is in deep crisis, part of the grave crisis gripping the entire capitalist-revisionist world. It is an all-round crisis affecting every aspect of the structure and superstructure of capitalism. It is an economic crisis, political, ideological and cultural crisis, a spiritual, moral and credibility crisis of the capitalist system, with the economic crisis as the foundation.

The economic crisis which broke out in 1973 has deepened since 1979 at a rapid rate, characterised by high unemployment, rapidly falling production, destruction of productive forces, decimation of whole sections of the economy, inflation, worsening impoverishment of the working class and broad masses of the people, and so on. It confirms the correctness of the Marxist theory that crisis is a fellow-traveller of capitalism and refutes the bourgeois theories on the development of capitalism "without crises" or the transformation of capitalism into "regulated capitalism".

British capitalism, which in the middle of the last century prided itself as the "workshop of the world" and which in its hey-day controlled fully a quarter of

the globe and ruled over and plundered a quarter of the world's population, has long passed into decline and decay, weakened in relation to other imperialist powers and increasingly shaken by the class and national struggles of the proletariat and peoples; it is proceeding on the path of decline and decay, with all the basic contradictions of capitalism sharpening and eating away at its foundations. The euphoria created in the post-war years concerning the possibilities for rescuing the economy and preventing the recurrence of the catastrophic crisis of the thirties, with the aid of the economic theories of Keynes and others, has evaporated with the outbreak of the full-scale overproduction crisis.

British capitalism, which brutally exploited and oppressed the working class and working people of Britain, which butchered the peoples in its colonial wars and enslaved whole nations to amass its profits, which, together with its rivals, did not scruple to plunge the world into inter-imperialist war for the redivision of the world, which, in short, shrank from no crime in order to secure its interests, has lost none of its ferocious features or its ambitions to return to its former "glory". On the contrary, in the conditions where it is fighting to maintain its existence and retain and extend its positions, these features are asserting themselves still more openly and with still greater dangers to the working class and peoples.

The strategy of the British bourgeoisie for coming through the crisis is the continuation in present conditions of the strategy it has followed historically. It seeks to maintain its profits and prolong the capitalist system through intensifying the exploitation of the workers at home and the plunder of the colonial, neo-colonial and dependent countries abroad, forcing the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the people. It is stepping up its

contention with other imperialist powers for markets, sources of raw materials and areas for the export of capital around the globe. It is pursuing the path of fascising the state and all aspects of life, militarising the economy, increasing the tempo of imperialist war preparations, opening up Britain for more US nuclear and other weapons and troops, and feverishly preparing for imperialist war. In pursuit of its own imperialist aims and ambitions, it is increasing the subjugation of Britain to the dictate of US imperialism and selling out the sovereignty of the people.

The bourgeoisie has no solution to the crisis. Its "solutions", far from alleviating the crisis, become factors further aggravating it. The situation places before the proletariat and its Party the strategic task of overthrowing British capitalism, which has long been over-ripe, in order to avert the grave dangers of war and fascism which are facing the people, to defend freedom and independence, to end the capitalist system and its inherent contradictions and crises, to end capitalist exploitation and build the higher social system, socialism.

I. THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION AND THE PRESENT CRISIS

The Economic Crisis

The state monopoly capitalist system in Britain remains in the grips of economic crisis, the worst crisis since the thirties.

The present crisis is a crisis of overproduction, taking place within the context of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism; this crisis shows no signs of alleviation, but every sign of continuing and deepening still further. Such crises are an inevitable

and inescapable feature of the capitalist system. The current crisis confirms that the capitalist system cannot ensure the harmonious growth of the economy, cannot ensure work and well-being for all the working people, cannot avoid economic crises and the destruction of the productive forces and the values created by the sweat and blood of the working people.

Unemployment is over 3.2 million, or some 14 per cent of the labour force – according to the official statistics, which are manipulated by the government to understate the actual level of unemployment. The real level of unemployment is five million, or some 20 per cent, counting the youth on "training" and "opportunity" schemes, women not entitled to benefits, and others who are omitted from the register. Britain has the highest rate of official unemployment of the seven biggest OECD countries – the United States, West Germany, Japan, Britain, France, Italy and Canada. Unemployment has risen from 1.2 million in 1979 to 3.2 million today, the fastest rate of increase of all industrialised countries.

The fall in employment has been most marked in manufacturing industry: in metal manufacture, 37 per cent in the past four years; coal and petroleum products, 35 per cent; textiles, 33 per cent; vehicles, 28 per cent; mechanical engineering, 24 per cent. Unemployment in certain regions is much higher than the national average, reflecting the growth of the regional disparities which are an inevitable feature of capitalism. According to official figures, unemployment is 17 per cent in Wales, 16 per cent in Scotland, 18 per cent in the North of England; in the colony of the north of Ireland it is nearly 22 per cent.

By the end of 1982, 1.2 million workers had been unemployed for more than a year. Two-thirds of

school leavers cannot find employment. In July 1982 unemployment for those aged 18-19 was 25 per cent, excluding those on special employment schemes. The young workers under 25 comprise fully 40 per cent of the unemployed. On the official definition, more than 850,000 women are unemployed; the real figure is some two million. National minority workers are particularly hard hit by unemployment; by 1981, when unemployment was 10 per cent, that for national minority workers was 17 per cent.

The bourgeois economists predict that unemployment will worsen throughout the decade. The callousness and cynicism of the bourgeoisie is such that the former talk about the main problem facing the workers being how to use their "leisure time" in a "fully employed" society has given place to talk about how to educate workers for the great increase of "leisure time" caused by the forced idleness of mass unemployment, about how jobs may be "shared" or "split" and so on.

The unemployment level never declined below a quarter of a million in the entire post-war period. Contrary to the claims of the social democrats and opportunists of all shades, that unemployment is the responsibility of one particular government or the effect of one particular policy, the peaks of unemployment have shown a continual rise throughout the post-war period. The rise to the present level illustrates with sharp clarity Marx's teaching that the presence of a permanent industrial reserve army of unemployed, swelling to enormous proportions in the periodic overproduction crises, is a permanent feature of capitalism. Since the violent upsurge of the youth in 1981 the bourgeois politicians have been warning one another of the dangers to the "social fabric" presented by the huge increase in unemployment. This shows that the concern of the

bourgeoisie over unemployment is not to eliminate this social evil, but to suppress the revolt of the workers against it.

Since 1979, total output in the economy has declined by 7 per cent and manufacturing output has declined by 19 per cent. The British economy has turned from the stagnation which prevailed increasingly following the initial post-war boom (after which it became the slowest growing of all the industrialised countries) to marked recession. The present crisis broke out in 1973 and has further deepened since 1979.

Since 1979, manufacturing industry has shown a decline of output reaching 30 per cent in metal manufacture, 30 per cent in textiles, leather and clothing, 18 per cent in construction, 17 per cent in engineering. In 1982 for the first time ever (excepting war years), Britain's manufacturing imports exceeded manufacturing exports. This has been accompanied by a record number of plant closures together with huge under-utilisation of capacity, reflecting the great waste of productive forces under the capitalist system, and especially in the conditions of the acute crisis of this system.

Intoxicated by its temporary "success" in the post-war period, the bourgeoisie claimed that the Keynesian state intervention had put an end to the periodic slumps of capitalism. But the overproduction crisis is an inescapable feature of capitalism. Capitalism cannot develop steadily, harmoniously and proportionately, but only through crises, upheavals and destruction of productive forces.

The deepening of the economic crisis has brought a great increase in the hardship and misery of the working people. Even the notoriously understated bourgeois statistics show a 10 per cent decline in real

disposable income of workers since 1973, while real disposable income of the entire population fell by 5.5 per cent from the summer of 1980 to the summer of 1981. The number of people living below the official poverty line has increased by 1.5 million since 1979 to nearly 10 million. The unemployed are among those most seriously affected. Unemployment benefit as a percentage of average earnings fell from 70 per cent in 1971 to 43 per cent in 1981, and the real value of unemployment benefit fell by 10 per cent in real terms between 1979 and 1982.

The intensification of the crisis is leading to an intensification of the capitalist offensive against the working class, the imposition of more and more draconian measures against the working class and oppressed people, so as to drive down wages, to cut social spending, and to seek "restructuring of industry" and a new intensified level of exploitation of the working people as the preconditions for "economic recovery".

The crisis is not only hastening the impoverishment of the working class but also the ruin of small business, side by side with the further concentration of production and capital. Business failures reached 11,131 in 1982, an increase of 35 per cent over 1981, and of 63 per cent over 1980; bankruptcies recorded by the largest British credit underwriter showed a 28 per cent increase from the first quarter of 1982 to the first quarter of 1983, reaching the highest figure ever. The crisis in agriculture is deepening too, with the consequent ruination of small farmers. The same is happening with the small fishermen.

There is no longer any talk of the "consumer boom" and "consumer society". The bourgeoisie's talk of "you never had it so good", of the allegedly constantly rising living standards of the working people, was always a lie. In the post-war period up to

the onset of the present crisis, the bourgeoisie and the social democrats and opportunists of all shades attempted, on the most superficial and distorted basis, to deny that the law of the relative and absolute impoverishment of the working population is an inescapable phenomenon of capitalism. It operates all the time, receiving its starkest expression in the times of the periodic overproduction crises.

While the living standards and conditions of the working people have declined, the profits of the biggest monopolies, especially the big banks, insurance companies and armaments monopolies have increased. The incomes, benefits, tax handouts, etc., to the bourgeoisie as a whole have greatly increased. In 1982 the profits of non-oil industrial and commercial companies rose by 14 per cent to £21.6 billion. The profits of North Sea oil companies rose by 15 per cent to £12.5 billion. The general law of capitalist accumulation discovered by Marx, that on the one hand the impoverishment of the working people grows, while on the other hand the wealth in the hands of the magnates of capital swells enormously, is operating with ever greater force in capitalist society today. The process of the polarisation of society, of the rich getting richer, the poor getting poorer, is deepening.

The working people have continued to suffer the grave effects of inflation and price rises. The price rises are especially pronounced in the area of goods and services provided by the state. Since 1979 the price of gas increased by 120 per cent, rail fares have increased by 67 per cent, bus fares by 77 per cent, council rents by 130 per cent, prescription charges by 600 per cent, and so on. Prices as a whole have risen considerably. The housing component of the Retail Price Index rose more than 85 per cent since 1979.

Overall, prices have risen by 61 per cent since 1979. The inflation in this period is the continuation of the inflationary trend which gathered force in the seventies, when the simultaneous increase in unemployment and inflation, previously said by the bourgeois economists to be impossible, asserted itself. The fact that real wages have declined drastically while inflation has not been eliminated has yet more sharply given the lie to the bourgeois theory that "wage rises cause price rises". The Thatcher government claims as its main achievement the reduction of inflation. However, inflation and its causes have not been eliminated; the bourgeois economists themselves point out that, as in the thirties, the "easing" of certain prices is in part a reflection of the depth of the crisis, and they predict that inflation will continue to rise in the coming period.

Britain is gripped too by the financial-monetary crisis of the capitalist world, which gathered force in the seventies with the devaluation of the dollar and the collapse of the post-war Bretton Woods system, and which continues to deepen, with wide fluctuations of currencies, speculative movements of funds, high interest rates, etc. This places a heavy burden on the working people of Britain as well as of other countries. The high interest rates, which are maintained for the benefit of the financial oligarchy, have been and continue to be a particularly heavy burden on the people, while the downward fluctuation of sterling in recent years has also increased the burden on the working people through raising the prices of imported goods.

British monopoly capitalism faces a deepening of the long-standing balance of payments crisis. In recent years the balance of payments has remained

positive only as a result of North Sea oil revenues. In 1982 the deficit on non-oil visible trade rose to £2.4 billion, from £240 million in 1981, due especially to the worsening performance of manufactured goods. Even despite North Sea oil, however, it is predicted that the balance of payments will go into deficit in the near future.

Interest rates charged by the big banks and financial institutions have been at a historically record level for years and remain so in real terms. Successive governments have presented this as being a measure to control inflation. In fact, however, the high interest rates have been an important factor feeding inflation and have contributed to the decline of production in various sectors of the economy. The huge rates of interest charged for consumer credit and small business loans are driving workers, small businessmen, farmers and fishermen and others into bankruptcy, not to mention some bigger concerns also.

Finance capital, through this and other means, extorts a colossal tribute from society, continuing and increasing through the depths of the crisis. The development of finance capital has enabled a small group of powerful industrial capitalists and bankers, the financial oligarchy, not only to accumulate great wealth, but to concentrate the real economic and political power in their hands. As the possessor of industrial and finance capital, the financial oligarchy has established its economic and political domination over the whole life of the country, including subordinating to its own interests the state apparatus, which is a tool in the hands of this financial oligarchy. Today, as in the past, this oligarchy levies tribute on the whole of British society and on other countries.

Imperialism is not only the highest stage but also the final stage of capitalism, the eve of the proletarian revolution. Lenin pointed out that "*imperialism is a specific historical stage of capitalism... (1) monopoly capitalism; (2) parasitic, or decaying capitalism; (3) moribund capitalism*" (See Note 1). The reality of life in Britain today fully confirms this conclusion.

A marked feature of the stagnation and crisis of British monopoly capitalism is the diversion of capital away from productive industry into parasitical and non-productive development of one kind or another, in which the greatest profits are to be realised. For example, the militarisation of the economy, which has been a feature of the entire post-war period, profoundly distorts the British economy and is one of the factors which contributes to the slow growth of the economy. Britain shares with the USA the position of having the lowest growth rate of advanced capitalist countries combined with the highest proportion of GNP devoted to military expenditure. The average annual growth rate of Britain's GDP per head in the period 1971 to 1980 was only 1.7 per cent and that of the USA 2 per cent. In Britain 5 per cent of GNP is devoted to military expenditure, second among the western imperialist countries only to the US (at 7 per cent). The proportion of total government research and development spending which is devoted to "defence" increased from 41 per cent in 1970 to 55 per cent in 1979 and has continued to increase. The militarisation of the economy and the diversion of resources to non-productive expenditure is one of the factors fuelling inflation and fuelling the crisis. The militarisation of the economy, the arms trade and the prosecution of wars provide extremely big profits to the monopolies, as in the war

in the north of Ireland and the war in the Malvinas.

The Crisis of State Monopoly Capitalism

The present crisis is a crisis of capitalism, but it is also in particular a crisis of state intervention in the economy, of state monopoly capitalism. In the post-war years the capitalists and the social-democratic theoreticians sang the praises of Keynes and others who had allegedly proved that the state intervention in the economy was capable of "ironing out" the overproduction crisis, that the contradictions of capitalism could be overcome, that "full employment" was here to stay, that the periodic downturn in the economy could be reversed by increased state spending and handouts to the monopolies. The reality has been the massive increase in taxation, the saddling of the working people with billions of pounds in debts, both state debts and those of individuals, to the banks and financial institutions – and the reassertion of the overproduction crisis on a still more profound and deep-seated level.

State monopoly capitalism means the subordination of the state apparatus to the monopolies, the establishment of their complete domination in the economic, political and social life of the country. The state intervenes directly in the economy in the interests of the financial oligarchy, in order to ensure the maximum profit through the exploitation of the working class and the exacting of tribute from the whole of society. State monopoly property, as the most characteristic basic element of state monopoly capitalism, represents the property of the bourgeois class in power rather than the property of one individual capitalist or group of capitalists. In Britain, as in other capitalist countries, state

monopoly capitalism greatly increased following the second world war. Of the 12 largest monopolies in Britain, six are in the state monopoly capitalist sector and another is half state-owned. The public sector share of gross fixed capital formation in 1979 was 33 per cent.

Whether the form of state intervention in the economy has been through the expansion of the "public" sector or the extension of massive loans and handouts to the monopolies in private hands, the aim and result has been the same – the enrichment of the monopolies and the financial oligarchy. Both are means of ensuring maximum profits of the bourgeois class in power.

It is suggested by the social democrats, revisionists and opportunists that the expansion of state monopoly property can ensure the planning and regulation of the economy and the reconciling of the profit motive with the well-being of the people. The present crisis has further exposed the bankruptcy of this theory. The state monopolies viciously exploit the workers employed in them, and they sack thousands of workers and intensify the exploitation of those who remain just the same as the private monopolies. Both operate according to the same economic law of capitalism, with the aim of realising maximum profits for the financial oligarchy through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population. In the era of finance capital, private and state monopolies are interwoven. State monopoly capitalism does not decrease competition and the anarchy of production but intensifies it. Far from averting the crisis, the expansion of state monopoly capitalism, of the state intervention in the economy, has become another factor fuelling the crisis.

The ever-increasing consumer and state

indebtedness are among the ruinous consequences of state monopoly capitalism.

Consumer credit was one of the ways in which the bourgeoisie sought to overcome the narrowness of the home market caused by the chronically low purchasing power of the masses of the population which is an inevitable consequence of the capitalist relations of production. As a result the working people have been saddled with billions of pounds of personal debts, on which they pay up to double the cost of an item due to interest charges, providing the finance capitalists with enormous profits. This burden of debt, limiting the purchasing power still further, has become a factor further aggravating the crisis.

The growth of the indebtedness of national and local government and state-owned enterprises is a source of enormous profits for the financial oligarchy; thus the government spending financed from this indebtedness provides guaranteed income and profits to the monopolies, while huge profits are also derived from the guaranteed payment from the exchequer of the high rates of interest on these loans. Interest paid on state debt increased by 46 per cent in the two years from 1979 to 1981. The £13 billion paid out as interest in the latter year took up 13.5 per cent of the state's tax revenues, an increase from 10.9 per cent in 1975. The indebtedness of the state increased by 37 per cent from 1979 to 1982 to reach £148 billion, equal to nearly 60 per cent of GNP.

The rapid deepening of the economic crisis has worsened the financial difficulties of national and local government. In order to meet their debt payments and the increased payment of unemployment and social security benefits, as well as to cover the cost of the handouts to the monopolies, of the

increased war preparations and of the strengthening of the state machine, the governments have greatly increased the burden of taxation on the people – income tax, rates, Value Added Tax, national insurance charges, government-imposed increases in energy charges and other state sector prices, etc. – at the same time as they have cut back expenditure on health and education and other social spending.

The measures such as consumer credit and deficit financing, which stimulate production on the basis of an artificial increase in consumption by increasing the indebtedness of the people, both privately and through the state, are fraught with disastrous consequences for the people. The measures of state monopoly capitalism were supposed to eliminate the capitalist crisis, but have become factors greatly aggravating the crisis. As reality proves, no amount of intervention and regulation by the capitalist state can eliminate the inherent contradictions of capitalism, which necessitate the anarchic, spontaneous and disproportional development of production and consumption through the course of crises and upheavals.

British Neo-Colonial Policy

On the eve of the second world war British imperialism's colonial empire extended over a quarter of the world's surface and a quarter of its population. Today this empire has been replaced by the neo-colonial Commonwealth.

The irresistible rise of the anti-colonial liberation struggles of the peoples dealt the old colonial system of Britain, France and other imperialist countries an irremediable blow, as one country after another won its independence following the second world war. But this did not

change the character of these imperialist powers as vampires sucking the blood of the peoples. The imperialist powers, headed by US imperialism, replaced the former system of direct colonial enslavement with the system of neo-colonial enslavement: though many former colonies gained a nominal independence, imperialist domination and plunder remained. The subjugation of the peoples by imperialist finance capital remained and was strengthened.

The British imperialist monopolies, the big banks and multinationals, etc. – like those of the other imperialist and social-imperialist countries – extract a vast tribute from the peoples throughout the world, through their investments and operations both in the colonial and neo-colonial countries and in the developed capitalist countries, including the revisionist countries, which have become integrated into the system of world capitalism. Through this plunder the imperialist powers swell their superprofits and shift the burden of their crisis onto other peoples and countries. British imperialism retains its position as one of the chief imperialist creditor states; it is for example the second largest contributor to the International Monetary Fund.

The export of capital is a characteristic feature of imperialism, and British imperialism remains as in the past one of the biggest exporters of capital alongside the US, Japan, the Soviet Union, West Germany and France. The rate of export of capital by British imperialism has increased further since 1979. Capital exports by the private sector were £10 billion in 1982, as compared with £6.5 billion in 1979. The multinationals are increasing the shifting of production and capital abroad, seeking the highest rate of profit. In 1979-80, 36 per cent of the

production of the biggest 50 multinationals took place overseas; by 1981-82 this proportion had increased to 44 per cent. From the historical investment abroad carried on throughout its existence, augmented by the fresh exports of capital taking place continuously, British imperialism draws vast profits from the exploitation of the peoples of the globe.

The revisionists and opportunists treat the investment of capital abroad instead of at home, which slows the growth of productive forces in Britain, as an erroneous policy of capitalist governments and call for the replacement of this policy by an "alternative" policy. But capital is exported in pursuit of the highest rate of profit, and the export of capital is a characteristic feature of monopoly capitalism, imperialism. As Lenin says: *"As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilised not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in the rate of profit for the capitalists, but for the purposes of increasing profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries"* (2).

The national liberation struggle, the struggle of the peoples against imperialism for genuine independence and freedom has continued to strike at British imperialism's positions, just as it has at those of the other imperialist and social-imperialist powers. The fact that British imperialism emerged relatively weakened from the second world war whilst US imperialism emerged as the dominant imperialist power contributed to the deepening of the crisis of British imperialism, since the US superpower was able to make great inroads into the former British empire. British imperialism has declined in strength relative to the biggest

imperialist powers, while the increasing competition between the imperialist powers, including the Soviet social-imperialist superpower of today, Japan, West Germany, France, etc., seeking fields for capital exports, markets, sources of raw materials, etc., has increased the difficulties of all the imperialist powers.

British imperialism's decline from the position of number one imperialist power, an expression of the operation of the law of the uneven development of capitalism, has increased its difficulties. But it has not decreased its appetite for the plunder of the peoples, or decreased its ambitions to return to its former "glory" when it was the chief plunderer of the world's people. In the conditions of the crisis the inter-imperialist rivalries are sharpening, and British imperialism, like the other imperialist and social-imperialist powers, has increased its efforts to unload the burden of its crisis onto the neo-colonial countries. It has increased its efforts to expand its neo-colonial positions at the expense of the peoples, in rivalry with the other imperialist and social-imperialist powers. This powerful and aggressive imperialist creditor state, though it has been weakened, continues to levy tribute on the nations and peoples of the world; it has not lost its teeth but remains a ferocious and dangerous imperialist power.

Like the French and other imperialist powers, the British imperialists throughout the post-war period have followed the policy of maintaining direct colonialism so far as they have had the strength and possibility, through the waging of barbarous colonial wars, continuing up to the present time, as with that in the north of Ireland. The colonial wars, such as those in India, Malaya, Kenya, South Yemen, etc., in Zimbabwe (waged by means of the white racist settler regime), in the north of Ireland, and the

colonial war against the former British dependency Argentina for the repossession of the Malvinas, show that British imperialism has remained on the imperialist, colonialist path. The hatred of the freedom-loving people against it has further increased.

At the same time the imperialists prepared the cadres, institutions and forms for the time when direct colonial rule could no longer be maintained. The domination of the commodity markets and the sources of capital investment, the instrument of imperialist "aid", etc., served to enforce the neo-colonialist domination and plunder of the nominally independent countries. Political, ideological and military measures and the cultural aggression, etc., are applied to enforce the imperialist domination.

The reality of imperialist plunder did not change, and the struggle of the peoples for genuine emancipation did not cease. The national liberation struggle of the peoples has severely shaken British imperialism and the other imperialist powers.

The struggle of the various countries, waged to this or that extent, against the unequal trade, carried on through the purchase of raw materials and agricultural produce at low prices combined with the sale of manufactured goods at high prices, has caused increasing difficulties for the British imperialists, like other imperialist powers. Finally the very perfection of the noose of debt fashioned by the British and other imperialist banks around the necks of the peoples has, in placing an unsustainable burden on the debtors, placed before these banks the threat of a world financial crash with incalculable consequences.

The Increasing US Domination of Britain

The situation in Britain is also marked by the increasing domination of Britain by United States imperialism.

Following the second world war, when US imperialism emerged as the dominant imperialist power, the Western European countries, along with Japan and other developed capitalist states, were subjugated to American domination. The Marshall Aid plan and the flow of American investment, the setting up of US bases, the establishment of the US-headed NATO alliance, were some of the important key elements in the establishment of the US domination over Britain and other West European states.

The US imperialist penetration into and subjugation of Britain is an all-sided domination and is increasing. This domination by US imperialism is expressed in the restriction of the political independence of Britain. British imperialism is one of the closest allies of the US in Europe. British governments have echoed the American line on most major international questions since the second world war; there were exceptions when British interests clashed directly with the American ones, but in those cases too the British governments have for the most part fallen quickly into line and accepted the American dictate.

US imperialism demands of its allies not only collaboration in all fields but complete submission, as seen in the demand to accept a greater share of the war preparations. The British imperialists accept the US policy of dictate – both for Britain and for other countries.

Foreign capital flowing into Britain in 1982 amounted to £3 billion, the majority of it American.

US imperialism has control over or major influence in important sectors of the economy, including petroleum, motor vehicles, computers and business machines, tobacco, etc. In other sectors it has acted so as to more and more drive out the British competition and seize the markets, as in the aerospace industry for example. The US imperialist domination is an important factor fuelling the crisis of state monopoly capitalism in Britain. The maintenance of the dollar at an artificially high value serves as a means of exporting the crisis of US imperialism onto the people of Britain and other countries.

The US domination of Britain has extended to the situation where over 100 US military bases of one kind or another exist in Britain, with over 25,000 American military personnel. Britain acts as a *place d'armes* for the US, "America's unsinkable aircraft carrier". British governments have accepted to bring the US Cruise missiles to Britain as part of the NATO war preparations. The command of the NATO forces, into which the British armed forces are integrated, rests with the United States. Thus, on such a basic question as whether the country is at peace or war, the British bourgeoisie has ceded the sovereignty of the British people to this foreign imperialist power, the United States of America. This is a measure of the extent to which the British bourgeoisie has sold out the national interests of the British people for the sake of its own class interests.

The policy of subservience to the US dictate, followed by successive British governments, seriously violates the sovereignty of the British people and it gravely increases the war danger.

The bourgeoisie attempts to justify the "special relationship" with US imperialism on the basis of a supposed "common Anglo-Saxon stock" and so forth.

This is a racist and chauvinist concoction designed to justify imperialist exploitation and enslavement. The Anglo-American alliance is not an alliance of the British and American people, but an alliance of warmongering imperialists against the interests of the British and American and all other peoples. Reality shows that the "kith and kin" in the White House and the Pentagon are quite prepared to plunge Britain into the devastating war over Europe which they are planning with their rivals in the Soviet Union.

A feature of the US domination is the all-sided political, ideological and cultural penetration of Britain by US imperialism. The American intelligence forces infiltrate the trade-union and working-class movement and the political parties and groupings for the purpose of ensuring the subjugation of Britain under all conditions. The NATO forces under US control stand in readiness for use against the British working class and people to suppress the revolution, to prevent them taking the path of independent development. The cultural aggression and the spreading of the reactionary and degenerate US imperialist culture increase to greater proportions every day.

The US domination of Britain means that the British working class and people are confronted with a major national question in connection with the necessity of freeing themselves from the foreign domination, defending their sovereignty, throwing off the American dictate.

The social democrats, revisionists and opportunists of all shades misrepresent or deny altogether the existence of a national question in Britain.

On the one hand the national question is presented by the social democrats and revisionists and others in a chauvinist way, which identifies the

interests of the British people with those of the British imperialist ruling class and "criticises" the policy of successive British governments from the point of view that this policy is supposedly prejudicing British imperialism's interests. This "criticism" reduces to support for British imperialism as a whole, and to support for this or that monopoly group within this context, and to diversion of the real anxiety and discontent of the British people at the increasing American domination into lining up behind the British bourgeoisie. The "three worlds" maoists go so far as effectively to deny that Britain is an imperialist country, with their theory that Britain is a "second world" country; they call on the British working class and people to line up behind NATO and the EEC to "preserve independence" against "the main enemy, the Soviet Union".

On the other hand, the Marxist-Leninist analysis that there exists a national question in Britain is denounced by the trotskyites and others as "bourgeois nationalism". The fact that Britain is an imperialist country is put forward as supposedly proving that the British people must not fight US imperialism, that to oppose the US dictate is to support Thatcher's ambitions, and so forth. In reality the British bourgeoisie is the vehicle of the subjugation of the British people to US imperialism, and this policy is pursued to further the ambitions of British imperialism. The theory advanced by the trotskyites and others is aimed at sabotaging the struggle against the US domination and the British monopoly bourgeoisie.

The British bourgeoisie sells the national rights and the destiny of the British people to the American imperialists because that is the path which best serves its class interests, which enables it to maintain its system of imperialist exploitation and

plunder and provides it with the possibility to extend it at the expense of the peoples. It seeks to advance under the American shield and yields up the freedom and independence of the British people to the American giant in order to achieve its ambitions and to ensure that its capitalist class interests, its system of wage slavery and neo-colonial robbery are maintained. The British people along with other peoples bear the burden of this anti-national, anti-popular and war-fomenting policy. The bourgeoisie boasts jingoistically of its "patriotism", but it does not have an ounce of genuine patriotism. It places its class interests before every other interest.

The proletariat must take up the banner of the defence of sovereignty and independence, against the bourgeoisie, which has trampled it in the mud.

British Imperialism and the Growing Inter-Imperialist Contradictions

The present crisis is a world-wide crisis of the capitalist-revisionist system and it is producing a sharpening of all the contradictions of this system on a world-wide scale. As part of this, the inter-imperialist contradictions, the rivalry and conflicts over markets, spheres of influence, etc. are sharpening – those between the two blocs headed by the superpowers, the US and Soviet Union, and those within these blocs.

British imperialism joined the EEC in order to seek a way out of its decline and crisis and to further its imperialist ambitions. But while the EEC powers are in union against the workers of the West European countries and the peoples of the neo-colonial countries and other developed capitalist countries, at whose cost the big European monopolies which comprise the EEC are seeking to strengthen

and expand their spheres of influence, the contradictions amongst them are inevitably sharpening with the deepening of the crisis. The dogfights over the budget, over the agricultural policy and fishing policy, over relations with the Soviet revisionist bloc, etc., are continuing to intensify.

Among the inter-imperialist contradictions in which British imperialism is enmeshed is that with US imperialism. The British imperialists pursue the policy of alliance with US imperialism in order to realise their ambitions under the American shield. But like all imperialist and social-imperialist powers they are in rivalry and antagonism. This antagonism is intensifying with the deepening of the crisis and with the changes which have occurred in the world situation since the immediate post-war period, where the EEC countries are making increased efforts to oppose the US dictate, extend their spheres of influence and transform the EEC into a superpower in rivalry with the US imperialists and Soviet social imperialists. Rivalry as well as concerted action between US imperialism and the British bourgeoisie are on the increase; the rivalry has seen new outbursts of late, as with the Soviet pipeline issue and others.

The struggle between the imperialist powers over markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence, the exacerbation of trade wars and the extension of economic protectionism, are intensifying, and British imperialism, which is experiencing serious difficulties on account of the rapid decline in its share of the world markets, is pursuing this struggle energetically.

The growing inter-imperialist contradictions are fuelling the drive to a new inter-imperialist war for the redivision of the world between the various

imperialist and social-imperialist powers. The bourgeoisie and the opportunists of all shades seek to line up the proletariat and people behind one or another imperialist or social-imperialist power, for example, behind the US-led NATO alliance against the Soviet Union and its bloc, and/or behind the British imperialists in rivalry with the US or the EEC powers. It is claimed that the British bourgeoisie is interested in "defending Britain and British interests". However the monopoly bourgeoisie knows only its class interests, which it puts above all else; its interests are imperialist interests and never coincide with the interests of the proletariat and people, which can only be achieved by the overthrow of imperialism. The inter-imperialist rivalries are driving the world towards a new imperialist war, with the peoples as the cannon fodder in a struggle to decide how the world is to be redivided. The proletariat and people cannot line up behind their "own" bourgeoisie or any other imperialist power in the inter-imperialist, inter-monopoly contradictions, but must oppose all imperialism, social imperialism and reaction.

The Credibility Crisis of the Bourgeoisie

The bourgeois political system faces a deepening credibility crisis. The masses of the people have less and less faith in the bourgeois politicians, in the so-called "representative democracy" and the parliamentary system. The bourgeois politicians get themselves elected on the basis of false promises, which are immediately broken after the elections, and this business is becoming increasingly cynical to the extent that it is nowadays more or less the accepted thing that the promises are not for carrying out but only for propaganda. Moreover the

"solutions" put forward by the capitalist parties are more and more obviously nothing but a recycling of the policies which have failed in the past. This is creating serious difficulties for the bourgeoisie in trying to convince people to rally behind it, as the masses are growing increasingly disillusioned, increasingly suspicious of it.

The 1974 Labour government came to power on the basis of promises that it would overcome inflation, unemployment, falling real wages, the attacks on workers' rights and so forth. It imposed savage cuts and wage restraint and ended its term with inflation rampant and unemployment at a record level for the post-war years, while its policy of "social contract" lay in tatters. The Thatcher government came to power in 1979 with demagogical slogans that it would cure inflation, "create real jobs", bring about "recovery", etc. The "recovery" failed to materialise, unemployment leaped from 1.2 million to 3.2 million, and inflation was not cured either. As it approaches the elections the Conservative government declares that nevertheless the policies will work in the future, through Mrs Thatcher's "determination". The Labour Party asks the workers to accept a new round of wage restraint and to believe that the Keynesian policies discredited in its previous term of office will this time solve the crisis if they are given a new name, "alternative strategy". The fact that the "solutions" of the bourgeoisie do not solve the crisis, but are merely aimed at forcing the working class and people to shoulder the burden of the crisis, is increasingly exposed to view.

The bourgeoisie tries to maintain that, despite the failures and crisis of the capitalist system, this is in any case the "best" system there is, that "communism doesn't work either". It gives as "proof"

the situation in the revisionist states, which are marked by crisis, by the denial of rights to the people, and by the corruption of the ruling circles. These things however are a consequence of the capitalist relations of production in these countries, where capitalism has been restored; they are in reality further proof that it is capitalism that does not work.

Whatever the bourgeoisie says, it cannot eliminate the longing and the striving of people for a society and a social system without crisis and exploitation. The deepening of the crisis is making more profound and widespread this longing and striving, the reflection of which is seen in the sharpening of the class struggle, the protests and demonstrations of the working people.

The capitalist system is in general crisis, and the crisis of overproduction is taking place within the context of the general crisis; despite all the talk about the alleged stabilisation of the capitalist system, reality proves that crisis is the fellow-traveller of this system. This is being brought home to increasing numbers of working people. Likewise it is becoming evident to increasing numbers of people that the bourgeoisie is incapable of handling the affairs of the country, of solving the problems of unemployment and peace, etc., but can only preside over a greater and greater erosion of the rights of the people, the incitement of racism and chauvinism, the prosecution of colonial wars, the subjugation of the country to US imperialism, the drive towards imperialist war, etc., all of which are posing increasingly grave threats to the lives and liberties of the people.

The credibility crisis of the bourgeoisie is deepening but there can be no illusions that the capitalists' plans for increased exploitation,

fascisation and inter-imperialist war will "expose themselves" and be defeated without the proletariat leading the working people out of the crisis through revolutionary class struggle and without the struggle for democratic rights, against the US dictate and against the preparations for imperialist war.

The Crisis in Education and Culture

The educational, cultural and social sectors are facing severe crisis. Serious cutbacks are being made in educational spending; teachers are unemployed while staff-student ratios, book and equipment provision, etc., are worsening; more and more parents are being obliged to bear additional costs for their children's education. School leavers and graduates have fewer and fewer possibilities to find jobs, while the college fees and other expenditure for receiving an education are increasing greatly. The sons and daughters of the working class have even fewer possibilities than before for higher education. In the universities and colleges, science is being more and more diverted to the sphere of war preparations and other spheres profitable to the bourgeoisie. The education provided is declining in quality, though it was never orientated to serving the needs and interests of the working class and working people. The educational and research institutions are being subjugated still more completely to the interests of finance capital under the slogan of making them "more responsive to the needs of industry". The paragons of "academic excellence" who are brought to prominence are more and more the type of Professor Alan Williams, the economic adviser to Thatcher, or Trevor-Roper, the "authenticator" of Hitler's diaries, or Briggs, the TV falsifier of Marxism, the "anti-evolutionists" and

supporters of "creation science", the professors of "conflict studies", etc. – i.e., the venal sycophants of monopoly capital, imperialism, reaction and fascism. Militarist propaganda is increasingly being foisted onto the schools, while efforts are being made to curb any democratic stands in education. Mysticism and anti-scientific trends are being fostered increasingly. A whole sector of "education" for unemployed youth and other unemployed workers has been set up under the Manpower Services Commission for the inculcation of the capitalist "work ethic". Apprenticeship schemes have been virtually liquidated.

The cultural life of Britain is also in serious crisis. The propagation of culture through films, TV, radio, video films, records, etc., has become a multi-million-pound industry devoted to the propagation of the US and British imperialist culture based on reactionary violence, fascism and racism, the worship of the fascisation of the state, pornography, decadence, alcoholism and drugs. Sports have become an instrument for the reaping of enormous profits by the monopolies. This form of "sport-as-industry", far from being in the service of the promotion of good sportsmanship, well-being and healthy competition among the people, is used as a vehicle for the promotion of reactionary violence and the inculcation of chauvinist mentality among the people.

The Crisis of the "Welfare State"

The crisis in the area of social benefits is becoming more and more acute. The crisis of state monopoly capitalism is also the crisis of the "welfare state". The bourgeoisie told the working people that this welfare state was going to provide them with

adequate health services, education, pensions, family benefits, unemployment relief, and social services on an increasing scale. This welfare state is in crisis today. From the beginning this welfare state was used as a means to enrich the monopolies, while the cost was forced onto the backs of the working people, who never received adequate care and services. Especially in the conditions of the present crisis the "welfare state" has become more and more exposed as an instrument for the unbridled exploitation of the people, while their plight on the fronts of health, social benefits, education, etc., becomes more and more unbearable.

The National Health Service is in serious crisis. For example, waiting lists for surgery in England alone were 700,000 by September 1982. A whole series of hospital closures and staff reductions in the hospitals have been carried out, while there has been a decline in the real wages of the health workers (in 1982, the NHS, the country's biggest employer, had 40 per cent of its workers living below the official poverty line). Meanwhile, the American and British hospital monopolies and insurance companies are increasing their investments in the sector of private medicine.

Pension fund contributions, state and private, have been another area of vast profit to the bourgeoisie. The state pension has never provided any adequate security and living standard for the vast majority of the working people in their retirement and old age, which they are forced to live out in destitution. According to "The Times", some 68 per cent of Britain's ten million pensioners live at or around the official poverty level.

The social democrats, revisionists, etc., have prided themselves on how they participated in and presided over the introduction of the "welfare state",

and they bear a great part of the responsibility for perpetrating this fraud on the working people. Now, when this "welfare state" is in crisis, they are coming to its rescue with such slogans as "put people before profits" to ensure the continuance of the plunder of the people. The social democrats and revisionists hold that the welfare of the working people and the welfare of the capitalists can be reconciled. They cannot be reconciled. The monopoly bourgeoisie is concerned with the well-being of its profits, not the well-being of the people. Under capitalism the motive of production is maximum profit, and this is not consistent with the well-being of the people but only with their greater and greater impoverishment and immiseration. The talk of "people before profits" serves only to divert people from the reality of the situation.

The "welfare state" provided and continues to provide massive profits for the bourgeoisie taken from the pockets of the people. But now, when the social services sector is in crisis, the bourgeoisie is saying that the services paid for can no longer be provided, even at reduced level, unless the people bear the burden of still further increased costs, taxes and contributions. The bourgeoisie is talking of ending family allowances and even state pensions. In order to obtain necessary medical treatment or higher education the working people are faced with the "alternative" of paying for private medicine, taking out loans for their education and so on, on top of the taxes and contributions. Adequate health care, education, etc., are becoming even more the privilege of the rich. Meanwhile, government spending on reactionary purposes, especially on its war machine, occupies an ever greater proportion of the budget.

The Ideological and Spiritual Crisis

The ideological crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world is greater than at any previous time. Never has there been such a proliferation of "theories" and "isms", right and "left", religious and secular, mystical and metaphysical, old and "new", openly anti-communist and allegedly "Marxist". The bourgeois and revisionist theories of "stabilisation of capitalism", "consumer society", "people's capitalism", "post-industrial society", "scientific revolution", "peaceful coexistence", "socialism with a human face", etc., etc., have been shaken to their foundations. The bourgeoisie has no consistent, objective, principled world view to offer the people. Only Marxism-Leninism offers a world view which conforms with objective reality, is consistent, harmonious and true and incompatible with any defence of exploitation and oppression.

The crisis is also a spiritual crisis. This spiritual crisis affects the masses of people deeply, especially the youth. Pornography, drugs, alcoholism, etc., are promoted on a large scale. Organised crime – in which the police themselves are beneficiaries and organisers – is on the increase; corruption is widespread. Social crime is increasing rapidly. This is used by the bourgeoisie as an argument for further fascisation of the state. Suicides and mental breakdowns, divorce and the break-up of family life are increasingly prevalent. Racism, motiveless violence, cynicism, etc., are promoted as part of the fascisation of all aspects of life. Degeneration is preached as a virtue, while nihilism, hedonism, pessimism and fatalism are fostered among the youth and among the people. Fatalism and defeatism are fostered to inculcate acceptance of the spiritual degeneration and the preservation of the moribund

capitalist system; the idea is fostered that though capitalism may be a hell on earth, there is nothing else.

The bourgeoisie strives to "prove" that exploitation and oppression are common to all systems and that, therefore, one may as well accept the existing exploiters as any others. For this purpose anti-communist propaganda is spread to prove that "socialism does not work" by reference to the pseudo-socialist countries such as the revisionist Soviet Union and Poland. However, the exploitation and oppression in the revisionist countries only proves that these countries are not socialist, that the capitalist system has been restored there through the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalist relations of production. In genuine socialist society, as in Albania, the working class is in power and the exploiting classes have been eliminated and there is no exploitation of man by man; for precisely this reason there exists a real and bright future for the working people and the youth, and a spirit of optimism and confidence in the future prevails everywhere.

The bourgeoisie as a dying class projects on society its world view, a world view of pessimism, decay and degeneration. It preaches that there is no way out of the impasse other than accepting the perpetuation of exploitation and of the exploiting capitalist system. But the truth is that, whilst the exploiters cannot exist without the working people the working people can very well live without the exploiters. In socialist Albania there is a working class but there is no bourgeoisie and no exploitation of man by man. The bourgeoisie is a superfluous class. Contrary to the bourgeois preachings, there is a way out of the present-day capitalist system with its crises and ills. It is the overthrow of the capitalist

system in order to eliminate the contradictions and ills inherent in it.

The Political Crisis of the Bourgeoisie

The overproduction crisis is taking place in the context of the general crisis of capitalism, which is an all-sided crisis of the structure and superstructure of capitalism, with the economic crisis at the base. With the deepening of the economic crisis the political crisis is becoming more acute.

The political measures of the bourgeoisie are aimed at forcing the working people to accept the shifting of the burden of the crisis onto their backs and at maintaining the capitalist system. In the present conditions, the bourgeoisie is attacking the economic and political rights of the people, carrying out the fascisation of the state and of all aspects of life and preparing for war.

The policies and "solutions" advanced by the bourgeoisie and its political parties do not and cannot solve the political crisis, but merely become factors further aggravating it. This is to be seen in the circumstances surrounding the forthcoming elections. The failure of the Conservative government to solve the crisis, the exacerbation of the crisis instead, has led to increasing divisions within the ranks of the Conservative Party. The inability of the Labour Party to come up with any solutions other than those discredited in its last term of office fuelled the split in that party and led to the formation of the Social Democratic Party; this and other splits and dogfights between right and "left" are among the factors leading it to an electoral debacle. These developments have meant, and will mean even more after the elections, an increase in the difficulties of the bourgeoisie to maintain the

faith of the working people in the bourgeois parliamentary system, the "two party system", in which there is at any given time on the one hand a government with a "mandate" and on the other hand an "opposition" with "convincing and viable alternative" policies.

Among the many conflicts brewing is that over the system of elections, as with the demand for "proportional representation" on the one hand and the demand to increase parliamentary deposits to "exclude non-serious candidates" on the other. Enhancing and perfecting "democracy" is the demagogical slogan put forward to enlist the support of the people; however, it is not democracy for the people but the effort of the bourgeoisie to strengthen its rule and refurbish the falling credibility of its parliamentary system, and the jockeying for the spoils of office between the bourgeois parties, that are behind this propaganda. Whether the parliamentary system is maintained in this form or that form, or whether there is military dictatorship, it is still the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which prevails. The reality is that only with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can there be genuine democracy for the vast majority, the working people.

The conflicts within as well as between the parties are sharpening. Thus there have been increasing conflicts within the government over such matters as the scale and direction of the war preparations, the conduct of the colonial war with Argentina over the Malvinas, the course to be followed in British imperialism's colony in the north of Ireland. Similarly with such matters as the "acceptable" scale of unemployment, the level of interest rates, and so on and so forth. Likewise, the "opposition" is badly split on central issues of policy.

The contradictions and conflicts between and within the bourgeois political parties reflect the growing inter-monopoly contradictions, the clash of interests of different monopoly groups vying for maximum profits. Among these is the "debate" over "privatisation" versus strengthening the nationalised industry sector, where the different positions reflect the interests of different monopolies and monopoly groupings. The same is the case with "defence" policy, where the vast profits which are to be made from the defence contracts are one of the major sources of contention. Similarly too with the question of the stand towards the EEC, its agricultural policy, budget, etc., and again with the conflicts over regional policy.

The political crisis is manifested as well in the contradictions between various levels of government.

In the system of bourgeois rule as a whole, the fact that the crucial issues are not decided by the local government or by the parliament, nor even by the cabinet, but, as Lenin said, "*by the departments, the chancelleries and General Staffs*" (3), is becoming more and more plain. This was vividly illustrated in the Malvinas war, when the conduct of the war was not even nominally in the hands of the Cabinet, but in those of the War Cabinet and the general staff of the armed forces.

The political crisis facing the bourgeoisie and its parties is also affecting the opportunists of all shades. All these parties, groups and factions are increasingly subject to splits and divisions in the face of the sharpening of the class struggle and the increasing exposure of their class-collaborationist and reactionary essence. The opportunists of all shades stand for reforming the capitalist order, for collaboration with the bourgeoisie, for diverting and

betraying the struggles of the workers and people for their interests and for the revolution. In the conditions of the deepening of the crisis this is being increasingly exposed to view, and their bankruptcy is being proved by reality. Hence the phenomena of disarray, crisis of policy, splits and retreat into the Labour Party.

The sham solutions presented by the opportunists, like those of the bourgeois parties, have as their main requirement that the working class and the broad masses of the people should give up the class struggle, that they should reconcile themselves to shouldering the burden of the crisis, reconcile themselves to the continuance of the capitalist system. They create illusions that, though the bourgeois parties have proven themselves incapable of giving any solutions to the crisis, the workers should nevertheless not lose confidence in the possibilities for them under the capitalist order, but should rather continue to have faith in this system, should "vote Labour", or "bring Labour to victory on a socialist programme", or on a "real socialist programme", and so forth.

The solutions put forward by the bourgeoisie and the opportunists of all shades for solving the economic and political crisis, being premised on the elimination of the class struggle, cannot in objective terms succeed, but can only exacerbate the political crisis. For the class struggle is inherent in the capitalist system, with its division into exploiters and exploited, bourgeoisie and proletariat. The bourgeoisie, as a superfluous, moribund, parasitic and decaying class, is incapable of providing solutions. Only the working class at the head of the exploited and oppressed can lead society out of the crisis by overthrowing the capitalist system, eliminating the bourgeoisie as a class, and building

the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Nor is the bourgeoisie capable of solving the problem of democratic rights, because a fundamental condition and premise of capitalist society is the right of the possessors of capital to exploit the labour of the working class and toiling masses; whilst this right exists, other rights, which are allegedly enjoyed by all equally, must necessarily, as far as the exploited are concerned, remain narrow, restricted and temporary, existing only insofar as they do not go against the right of the exploiters to exploit.

Only the working class can solve the problem of democracy, the banner of which has long been trampled in the mud by the bourgeoisie, by leading the working class and broad masses of the people in the revolution which will overthrow the exploiting system and secure the conditions for genuine democracy of the working people as exists today only in socialist Albania.

The bourgeoisie cannot solve the problem of the rights of nationalities in Britain either and the political crisis of the bourgeoisie is evident also on the front of the national question.

The fact that the fraudulent "devolution" scheme of the bourgeoisie was rejected in 1979 has not meant that the issue of the national rights of the people of Scotland and Wales has disappeared. On the contrary, this question will continue to dog the bourgeoisie's steps, since the bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the national question.

In relation to Ireland the position of the bourgeoisie is increasingly gravely threatened. The just struggle of the Irish people for national liberation, freedom and independence, for the end of partition and the end of British colonial rule cannot be liquidated. The struggles of the patriotic Irish

people have exacerbated the crisis of British colonial rule, a crisis which cannot be ended by the present barbarous suppression, the military occupation and direct colonial rule. The Irish people must and will have their national independence. The British troops must be withdrawn immediately and the British colonial administration dismantled completely so that the Irish people can put an end to partition, achieve independence and reunification and determine their own affairs without foreign interference. The plans for the cooking up of some neo-colonial "solution", whether by means of a "North-South Condominium" or a "Dublin-London-Belfast Axis", or within the EEC, NATO, or otherwise, cannot succeed either, because they do not fulfil the Irish people's aspirations for the end of all foreign domination.

The question of the rights of national minority people and immigrants is one which will continue to exist and sharpen. Only the struggle of the working class and broad masses of the people, only the revolution, can bring an end to the vicious racism and chauvinism which poison life in Britain.

The political crisis is also reflected in the relations between the bourgeoisie and US imperialism. The attitude of the bourgeoisie to the question of the sovereignty of the people is one of serving its own interests and ambitions and it works out its policy on this basis. The relations between the British bourgeoisie and the US imperialists are conditioned by factors such as the extent of the US penetration in certain sectors of the economy, the extent of trade between the two, and the extent of British investments in the US, the extent of the common "sphere of influence". The extent of the US military penetration is an important factor. British imperialism relies on US imperialism as the

gendarme of western imperialism to preserve the conditions of capitalist exploitation and imperialist plunder, and it relies on it too in the inter-imperialist rivalry with the Soviet Union. On the other hand it is in rivalry with US imperialism as with other imperialist and social-imperialist powers for markets, sources of raw materials, spheres for capital export, etc. The overall attitude of the bourgeoisie to US imperialism is one of collaboration and submission to the US dictate. Within this framework, however, it contends with US imperialism to serve its own interests as far as its strength and possibilities permit.

The political crisis is likewise reflected in the relations between the British bourgeoisie and the EEC.

Neither in the relations with the US or the EEC or other imperialist and social-imperialist powers will the bourgeoisie resolve the contradictions in favour of the people.

2. THE STRATEGY OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The Economic and Political Strategy of the Bourgeoisie

The overall aim of the bourgeoisie is to preserve the capitalist system of wage slavery and the system of neo-colonial domination and oppression, to maintain its superprofits and to expand its sphere of influence. Within this overall aim, the bourgeoisie is responding to the economic crisis and pursuing the economic strategy for this period of intensifying exploitation, further increasing the concentration of capital and production, carrying out certain changes in the economy in order to create the best conditions

for the extraction of maximum profits, shifting capital to the areas of maximum capitalist profit whether at home or abroad, militarising the economy and stepping up its contention for markets and sources of raw materials with the other imperialist and social-imperialist powers.

For its economic strategy to succeed the bourgeoisie must shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working people and increase the tribute it exacts from the whole of society. It is doing so in two principal ways. On the one hand the exploitation of the workers at the place of work is being intensified through the cutting of real wages, imposition of redundancies, the intensification of labour through speed-ups, etc., the imposition of worse working conditions, and so on, facilitated by the pressure of the vast reserve army of the unemployed. On the other hand, state expenditure is being transferred away from social spending such as health, education, welfare, etc. in order to boost the profits of the monopolies, the burden of direct and indirect taxation being increased to cover the increased state expenditure as a whole. Whilst savage cuts have been imposed in social spending, general government expenditure as a proportion of GDP rose to 55 per cent in 1981 (as compared with 40 per cent in 1960). The state is increasing its expenditure to provide massive handouts to the monopolies and to provide them with guaranteed markets in various spheres, especially in war production which provides the highest profits. The budget deficits incurred through this state expenditure are also a source of huge profits to the financial oligarchy, which provides the state loans. The budget deficits and the armaments production are factors fuelling inflation and the monetary crisis.

The bourgeoisie is carrying out various measures

for restructuring the economy, including the rationalisation of various sectors such as steel, coal, railways, etc., increasing the concentration of production and the exploitation of the workforce. Large sections of manufacturing industry which are increasingly uncompetitive in world markets and the home market are being closed down, with capital being transferred to other sectors such as armaments where profits are highest; capital is being exported abroad at an increased rate. The bourgeoisie waxes enthusiastic from time to time about the expansion of new technology, such as the "microchip" industry, but in the existing conditions the possibilities in this direction are limited and such expansion can only lead to further exacerbation of the crisis of overproduction.

One prong of the bourgeois strategy is the so-called "privatisation" policy. This is being conducted under the banner of the Friedmanite-Thatcherite doctrines, according to which it is allegedly necessary to curb the intervention of the state in the economy, with a return to the hallowed principles of "laissez-faire" capitalism. This demagoguery is completely reactionary in character and aim. As far as the idea of a return to "laissez-faire" capitalism and the elimination of state intervention is concerned, this is impossible. Capitalism by its nature gives rise to monopoly, monopoly capitalism by its nature develops in the direction of state monopoly capitalism.

The monopoly bourgeoisie and its present government do not in fact envisage the abolition of state intervention in the economy, but rather the strengthening of state intervention in pursuit of the strategy of the bourgeoisie in the present conditions of the crisis. In particular, under the so-called "dismantling of the state" there is increased state

intervention to cut back spending on the social sector in order to divert funds to the armaments industry and other sectors of highest profit to capital. Notwithstanding the inter-monopoly contradictions over which monopolies receive the greatest handouts, "privatisation" and "nationalisation" are expressions of the one overall strategy of capital, the intervention of the state to ensure the maximum capitalist profit to the monopoly bourgeoisie. At certain times this demands the taking into direct state ownership of certain parts of capitalist industry which are on the verge of bankruptcy in order to generously "compensate" the capitalist owners and set these industries "to rights" by reconstructing them with the aid of loans from finance capital, the interest on and repayment of which are guaranteed out of state revenues; thence they may serve as a source of cheap inputs to the rest of capitalist industry, financed by the people through taxation; or, in certain cases, parts of them which have been reconstructed at the people's expense and are capable of reaping maximum profits can be "denationalised" and made over to private ownership as the most favourable form for realising the harvest of profits. The "privatisation" schemes of the present government are an expression of this policy.

The alternate forms of "nationalisation" and "denationalisation" are likewise used to force down the wages and conditions of the working class. Thus the nationalisation of many industries after the second world war served, among its other aims, the goal of carrying through large-scale "rationalisation" of these industries at the expense of the workers, of whom it was demanded that they must not resist these measures – undertaken for straightforward capitalist motives – for now the industry was allegedly "publicly owned", "socialist". Similarly, in

the conditions of the present crisis, the bourgeoisie, under the banner of "introducing competition into the public sector", is intensifying competition in the labour market, carrying out large-scale "rationalisation", and forcing down the wages and attacking the conditions of workers in the state and other sectors. In "privatisation" and "nationalisation" we have only one overall policy and strategy, pursued in various forms in accordance with the situation, to fulfil the single aim of ensuring the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation of the workers and the fleecing of the broad masses of the people.

The social democrats, revisionists and opportunists of all shades enter the lists against what they call "mad monetarism". They argue that state intervention can rescue the capitalist economy, that "Keynes is not defunct", that state monopoly capitalism can be given a fresh lease of life by the nationalisation of further sectors of the economy, including the nationalisation of some banks, with the development of a state merchant bank – a "National Investment Bank". However, this cannot solve the crisis of state monopoly capitalism. The only way out of the crises and contradictions of state monopoly capitalism is transition to the next stage of economic development, the revolutionary transformation of society from capitalism to socialism, in which the relations of production are in harmony with the productive forces. With their propaganda the social democrats, revisionists and opportunists call on the workers to have faith in the possibility of solving the crisis and ills of capitalism within the framework of capitalism without the overthrow of this system. They manipulate and strive to divert the workers' opposition to the vicious onslaught being carried out against them, seeking to line up the workers behind the policy which favours this or that group of

monopolies as against others, line up the workers behind capitalism and the capitalist system.

They seek to cover over the fact that private monopolies and state monopolies have the identical basis and *raison d'être*, the realisation of the maximum capitalist profits from the surplus value created by the labour and sweat of the working class, that the position of the worker exploited by British Leyland is indistinguishable from that of the worker exploited by Ford.

In order to carry through its economic strategy the bourgeoisie is conducting an all-sided attack on the rights of the workers and working people. The capitalist offensive is directed at forcing down the wages and conditions of the workers, at curbing their rights to resist capitalist exploitation, and at strengthening the repressive apparatus of the state to suppress their struggle.

The political measures of the bourgeoisie are aimed at maintaining its maximum profits and preserving the capitalist system through suppressing the class struggle of the working class and people and suppressing their resistance. In this the aims of the bourgeoisie have not changed, but in order to secure them in the conditions of the crisis, in order to force the working class and people to accept the burden of the crisis, it is led to escalate the attack on the rights of the working class and people, rights which the workers and people have won through decades and centuries of struggle. The bourgeoisie is fascising the state and all aspects of life, attacking the strike and other struggles of the workers and broad masses of the people, militarising the economy and preparing for war.

A concerted assault is being launched against the trade-union rights of the working class, aimed at

undermining and weakening the strength and organisation of the working class. The successive laws which have been introduced, such as the Employment Acts, and the further measures in this direction which are planned, are aimed at further restricting the hard-won trade-union rights of the workers. Within this context and to secure this aim the bourgeoisie has also the objective of securing a closer integration of the state apparatus and the trade union apparatus, in order more effectively to curb the revolt of the workers against capitalist exploitation, bringing the trade union apparatus more closely under the direction of the state and strengthening the hand of the most reactionary sections of the labour aristocracy and trade union chieftains against the workers.

The bourgeoisie is demanding that the workers accept attacks on their living standards and rights for the sake of bringing about "economic recovery", that they "make sacrifices" so that "profitability can be restored" as the only way to return to "full employment" and "prosperity". The workers are asked to accept that "we cannot continue paying ourselves more than we earn", that "productivity must be increased", that workers are "pricing themselves out of jobs", that "outmoded attitudes and practices" must be ended, and so forth, to justify the all-round attacks on wages and working conditions.

The bourgeoisie demands that workers accept limitations on their trade-union rights under the pretext that "the unions have become too powerful" and "the balance in industry" needs to be restored. Under the slogan of "increasing democracy in the unions" the state is acting to further limit the democratic trade-union rights of workers.

The bourgeoisie is carrying out an all-sided

ideological offensive against the working class, aimed at liquidating the traditions, dignity, class solidarity and independent self-motion of the working class, and substituting instead a spirit of demoralisation and subservience to the dictate of the exploiters. The ideology of the corporate state is being inculcated, according to which the only salvation of the working class is for it to give up the class struggle, to identify its interests with the interests of capital, to see in the maximisation of the profits of capital the only way to "common prosperity", to adopt the spirit of "sacrifice in the national interest" in the face of every further encroachment by the exploiters, to turn against the militant workers fighting capitalist exploitation as "endangering the national interest", and so on. Part of this offensive and this promotion of corporate-state mentality is the inculcation of chauvinism and militarism, the propagation of the "Falklands spirit" to "make Britain 'Great' again", to support the militarisation of the economy so as to "save British jobs", etc.

The bourgeoisie uses its social prop, the labour aristocracy, as an essential adjunct and instrument in the implementation of its economic and political strategy, to assist in curbing the revolt of the mass of workers, to protect its system and profits, as well as to assist in the expansion of its sphere of influence abroad. The labour aristocracy and class-collaborationist labour traitors are supporting the capitalist offensive, more and more openly betraying the workers. The labour traitors strive to bolster and strengthen their position at the head of the trade unions in order to undermine and liquidate the workers' struggles. The concern of the labour traitors is never the interests of the workers, but only the

privileges of the labour aristocracy, the receipt of the proper reward and recognition for services rendered.

The bourgeoisie is also making extensive efforts to strengthen its military prop, the military caste and the armed forces, though it makes efforts to hide the existence of this military caste, to pretend that "the armed forces are subject to the authority of parliament" and to hide the scale of the preparations which are being made in this direction both to secure British imperialism's ambitions abroad and to suppress the revolt of the working class and people at home.

Social democracy, revisionism and opportunism of all shades serve in the overall scheme of bourgeois strategy as the political reserve of the capitalists to be put into action as and when necessary. The labour aristocracy is the social stratum through which the bourgeois, social-democratic and opportunist ideology and political views and ideas are transmitted to the working class.

Social democracy, revisionism and opportunism of all shades constitute a spectrum of diverse tendencies and factions, with sharp conflicts amongst them. The action and interaction of the multitude of shades and factions serves to divert and split the working-class movement and prevent it from hitting at the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system. At the same time this political reserve serves as a fall-back and reserve for the capitalists, who are ready to install it in government as a ruling party should this prove necessary for the maintenance of the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie has already long since followed this course in the case of the most overtly reactionary opportunist grouping, the Labour Party.

The political reserve, the social democrats,

revisionists and opportunists, are propagating the so-called "alternative strategy", based on their "alternative economic strategy". The essence of this strategy is to call on the workers to follow the path of seeking a reconciliation of capital and labour, i.e., the workers should accept the continuation of capitalist exploitation. They are asking the workers to believe that the source of the crises and ills of capitalism lies in this or that policy, and not in the inherent laws of capitalism, in the development of the contradictions at the heart of the capitalist system. They are calling for the workers to "vote Labour". From time to time they call for the workers to wage "political struggle", by which they mean such things as "putting pressure on the government", "extra-parliamentary struggles to bring down the Conservatives", "bring Labour to victory on a 'socialist' programme", etc. The political reserve is united in a coalition of treachery and betrayal against the fundamental interests of the working class and for turning the working class into an appendage of the bourgeoisie.

In pursuit of its overall economic strategy, the bourgeoisie is engaged in fierce inter-imperialist rivalries, in trade wars, conflicts over spheres for the export of capital, and so on. The propaganda of the political reserve serves the bourgeoisie in the pursuit of its inter-imperialist rivalries. Thus, in the name of "saving jobs", the social democrats incite chauvinism, calling on the workers to line up behind the British monopolies, to accept increased exploitation to "make British goods competitive" and to support the British imperialists' rivalries with the imperialists of other countries under the slogan of "import controls". The "anti-EEC" talk of the social democrats, revisionists, etc., plays a similar role.

As part of its political strategy, the British bourgeoisie conjures with and manipulates the national question. It claims for itself the title "defender of the nation"; in reality it is against the interests of the people of all nationalities. Just as it suppresses the national rights of the peoples dominated by British imperialism, maintains the partition of Ireland through the military occupation of the north of that country, violates the national rights of the Scottish and Welsh people and of the national minorities and immigrants throughout Britain, so too it also subjugates the interests of the people of Britain to foreign imperialism, including US imperialism and the EEC monopolies. The national pretensions of the bourgeoisie are only a cover for its own class interests. The "nationalism" of the bourgeoisie combines a chauvinist arrogance and jingoism against the oppressed nations and nationalities with a toadying subservience to the "great" nations and in particular the United States of America.

The manipulation of the national question, under such slogans as "preserving the British way of life", "the Falklands spirit", "national recovery", "making Britain 'Great' again", etc., serves the bourgeoisie in justifying the monopoly capitalist system; in shifting the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working people, fascising the state, pursuing inter-imperialist rivalries and preparing for war; in justifying the denial of the rights of peoples and nations, including the right of self-determination and the rights of national minorities and immigrants; and in justifying the alliance with US imperialism. The social prop of the bourgeoisie, the labour aristocracy, is the bearer of the same line on the national question. Only the working class consistently defends national rights, in opposition to the

British bourgeoisie and its US and other imperialist allies.

Similarly the British bourgeoisie conjures with and manipulates the democratic question, claiming for itself the title of "greatest defender of democracy", again with a clamour as strident as it is false. For it, "British democracy is the best in the world", whereas socialism is "police dictatorship", the national liberation struggles of the people are "terrorism" or "medieval religious fanaticism". For it, the "preservation of freedom" is synonymous with the strengthening of the repressive state apparatus. The social prop and political reserve of the bourgeoisie are ardent advocates of this line. According to them, violation of human rights exists only when open fascism is in power and torturing and decimating the people. For them the essence of bourgeois democracy is not reactionary, it can be reformed, without the necessity for revolution. This serves to lull the masses as to the dangers of fascism. The essence of present-day bourgeois democracy is reaction. Under given conditions it will be transformed into fascism. The only solution is the revolutionary transformation of society from capitalism to socialism.

The Fascisation of the State and All Aspects of Life

The bourgeoisie is fascising the state and fascising all aspects of life. It is doing so in pursuit of its class interests, to maintain its profits, to maintain its system and realise its ambitions for expansion. In doing so it is threatening the people with disaster. The capitalist offensive is being carried through against the workers and broad masses of the people using all the power of the state, backed by the propaganda means at its disposal, etc.,

to further encroach on the trade-union rights of the workers, increase the draconian measures against the workers at the place of work and deprive the broad masses of the people of their democratic rights won through struggle.

The state machine is being strengthened in all directions to repress the revolt of the workers and broad masses of the people. The preparation of special strike-breaking forces is going ahead, along with the training of specialist anti-strike squads of police and the preparation of crack troops for use against the workers in the future.

This is part of the overall fascisation of the state which is going on continuously, with increasingly draconian laws, the expansion of police and armed forces and the strengthening of the bureaucracy in general (under fraudulent slogans of "combatting bureaucracy").

Since 1979 the bourgeoisie has brought in further reactionary legislation on top of that passed by successive Conservative and Labour governments. It has enacted among others the British Nationality Act, aimed at the citizenship rights of nationalities in Britain; the "short, sharp shock" detention regime for youth; the two Employment Acts, aimed at the rights of the working class to strike and other trade-union rights; and the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act (to be followed by the Police Bill for England and Wales) to greatly increase the powers of the police to stop and search, arrest and hold without warrant or charge, etc.

The unbridled increase in police harassment and police suppression, the open arming of the police, the burgeoning of the police forces and the prison service (with the prison population the highest, as a percentage of the population, in Western Europe), the conscription of youth into the armed forces under

increasingly transparent pretexts, the unrestricted activity of the nazi gangs, the increase in racist attacks launched directly by the state and indirectly through the nazi gangs protected, aided and abetted by the police and state, the escalation of the repression in Britain's colony in the north of Ireland, the increasing legalisation of police surveillance, the preparation for martial law powers under the pretext of "civil defence", and so on, all testify to the strengthening and fascising of the apparatus of the state against the class struggle of the working class and the struggle of the people for democracy and against war preparations. Between 1979 and 1982 the strength of the police force was increased by over 9,000, prison staff by 1,600, staff at magistrates and district courts by 900, and probation officers by 1,700.

The fascisation of the life of the country is seen in all spheres – the prevalence of anti-communist, racist, chauvinist ideas and propaganda, the proliferation of nazi groups and racist attacks, the fostering of corruption and gangsterism, the decadence of the imperialist culture, the preparation of public opinion for fascism, etc. A vivid reflection of this process is seen in the fact that the demagogy of bourgeois politicians is more and more approaching the fascist type, including open avowal of racist sentiments, reference to the militant workers in sub-human terms, a prevailing strident anti-communism, identification of all opposition with communism, insistence that "a woman's place is in the home", etc., etc.

Racism is a preferred policy of the British bourgeoisie. Racism and chauvinism pervade every pore of the British state system in its relation to national minorities and immigrants. The colonial history of British imperialism conditions and deter-

mines its attitude to nationalities. The British state regards those who are not "Britons" as not worthy of full rights, and strives to equate the concept of citizenship with that of nationality to justify this, a policy given further expression in the British Nationality Act. With all the savage cunning built up over centuries of colonialism, the British bourgeoisie applies the policy of "divide and rule" within the confines of the British state to split the unity of the working people and place them at loggerheads, as a lightning conductor for the class struggle. The racism of the British bourgeoisie is rooted in the economic base and, just as the racist ideology justified the slave trade and the colonial system, so today the same racist ideology serves to justify the super-exploitation of national minority and immigrant workers as a source of superprofits and as a lever to force down the wages and conditions of the entire working class. The savage enactments against the rights of nationalities, the discriminatory policy of the state in health, education, employment and other areas, the barbaric and brutal police persecution and repression against national minority people, including the persecution of the Irish people under the "Prevention of Terrorism" Act, the setting into motion of the nazi gangs to commit murderous attacks against national minorities, the judicial enforcement of this system of oppression, and so on, are the expression of a state policy serving to maintain super-exploitation of national minorities and immigrant workers.

The state has increased its spying and subversion agencies in the communities under the pretext of "community policing" and "community services". This, together with the increase in the open repressive power of the state, received a further impetus after the upsurge of youth in 1981, in

accordance with the Scarman Report.

The more or less openly fascist trends and parties, from National Front and "British Movement", through "Freedom Association", to Monday Club, etc., also form a political reserve of the bourgeoisie in pursuit of its strategy. Like the "left", they are used as and when the occasion demands for specific purposes. At the present time they are being kept in the wings but are playing a definite role in the efforts of the bourgeoisie to divide the working class, foster rabid chauvinism and jingoism, do propaganda for imperialist war preparations and for imperialist war, and carry out racist and fascist attacks. They serve as a nucleus for the preparation of reactionary paramilitary bands and for a mass fascist party, as an instrument for the propagation of fascist ideology and commission of terrorist attacks against the progressive forces and racist attacks against national minorities, for the organisation and incitement of terrorism. They serve as a foil before which the fascisation of the state may be depicted as "moderate" and as a reserve which may be brought to power in the extremity of crisis.

A relentless fascisation of the state and of the entire political, cultural and spiritual life of the country is under way. Demagogical propaganda about ensuring "respect for liberties", "constitutionality", "consensus", and so forth, is carried on by the bourgeoisie as a means for creating illusions as to the possibility of relying on the state to oppose fascism, lulling the working class and democratic forces to the grave dangers facing them and the source of these in the ruling monopoly bourgeoisie, giving the latter the time and breathing space to carry out the necessary preparations for the suppression of the class struggle of the working and oppressed people.

The proletariat and its Party do not look to the monopoly bourgeoisie and its agencies for a lessening of the drive to fascism and war, but escalate their struggle against these forces which, with the deepening of the crisis, are becoming more ferocious and unbridled in their assault on and threat to the people.

Finance capital strives for domination, not freedom. Finance capital has subordinated the state apparatus to itself, and bourgeois democracy is reactionary in its very essence. Imperialism strives towards the violation of democracy, towards reaction, in both foreign and domestic policy. Imperialism is a negation not only of the democratic demand of self-determination; it is negation of democracy in general, of all democracy.

The Military Strategy and Foreign Policy of the Bourgeoisie

British imperialism has always been one of the major warmongering powers on the world scale. There has not been a day when it has not been engaged in military activity somewhere on the globe, in inter-imperialist wars, in colonial wars, wars of intervention, occupations, wars waged through proxies, etc. Today its bases and garrisons are spotted around the globe. It is carrying on the war in the north of Ireland; the war over the Malvinas has not been concluded; its troops are stationed in West Germany, Belize, etc.; its "advisers" command the forces of various Middle East countries; it is taking part in the American-led "peace-keeping force" to suppress the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples; it participates in the constant NATO manoeuvres; and so on.

The bourgeoisie is feverishly militarising the

economy and preparing for imperialist war because this serves its pursuit of maximum profits and its expansionist aims. Aggression and war are crucial elements of British imperialism's policy, to secure its imperialist aims – against the revolution, against the national liberation struggles of the peoples, and in its inter-imperialist rivalries.

The British imperialists seek to expand their sphere of influence through war and the threat of war. In this respect they have unlimited ambitions to restore their former "glory" and re-establish Britannia as "ruler of the waves". However, their possibilities are not unlimited. Hence their military strategy is based on operating under the US shield and the NATO shield, at the same time pursuing their own separate imperialist aims where possible and to the extent of their strength. The British military apparatus is firmly subjugated to NATO and the US imperialists and dependent on the United States; the British bourgeoisie wants to strengthen its own independent military capability, but is limited in this among other things by the US overlord's insistence that the NATO member countries strengthen their military capacity in the directions suited to the overall NATO military machine and do not threaten the domination of the US. The pursuit of this strategy is accompanied with growing contradictions between the US and British imperialists as well as growing contradictions within the camp of the British bourgeoisie as to the best course to implement this strategy.

Fascism is necessary to secure the rear for the prosecution of imperialist war. The fascisation of the state is an essential part of the preparations for war, while the threat of war is being used to legitimise the preparations for martial law under the slogan "civil defence". The engendering and incitement of a

bellicose chauvinism and military spirit is an essential aspect of the bourgeoisie's strategy.

At a time when the rest of the economy is in crisis, when unemployment is at record levels, when wages and conditions are declining, when social spending is being savagely cut, and when the plight of the working people is becoming more and more serious, the militarisation of the economy is going ahead at a rapid rate. Nowadays 28 per cent of the output of the electronics industry is bought by the Ministry of Defence, 40 per cent of shipbuilding, 50 per cent of aerospace. Eighty per cent of British Aerospace's £2 billion per annum turnover is war-orientated. The Ministry of Defence employs directly 600,000 service and civilian staff. A stockbroking firm recently estimated that a further 570,000 jobs are directly or indirectly dependent on defence or arms exports. In the current year the Ministry of Defence is providing a £5 billion market for the monopolies in its expenditure on equipment.

The monopoly capitalists enrich themselves enormously through the sale of weapons to the government. These transactions are extremely profitable because there are no risks involved, the market being guaranteed, and because greatly inflated prices can be obtained through the method of "revising estimates". According to the financial press, firms supplying the Ministry of Defence expect to make net profits at three times the rate for other industries. Ministry of Defence contracts are offered on the basis of guaranteed 20 per cent profit for supplies, far higher than in other sectors. Britain is one of the top arms-exporting countries and makes big profits from the sale of arms to reactionary regimes around the world. This trade is a clear expression of the decay of imperialism.

The bourgeoisie carries out its war preparations

under the slogan of the pursuit of "peace" through the ensuring of "strong defence preparedness to deter aggression", and the pursuit of "multilateral efforts towards reduction of forces". The labour aristocracy supports the aggressive wars waged for the maintenance of British colonialism and supports the militarisation of the economy under the pretext that it "provides jobs" and "much-needed exports". The social democrats, revisionists and opportunists work to divert and undermine the opposition of the working class and people to the war preparations and prevent this opposition achieving its goal, with slogans such as "step by step dismantling of nuclear capacity in the lifetime of a government", "conventional defences instead of nuclear", "opposition to Cruise and Trident without disturbing our existing commitments to defensive alliances" (NATO), "putting pressure on governments to disarm", etc.

British imperialism, the rapid decline in whose share of the world markets provides impetus to its hunger for a return to something of its former "glory" through warlike means, is, besides the two super-powers, one of the principal warmongering powers. The same reactionary aims of British imperialism leads it to strengthen its ties with reactionary regimes throughout the world.

The British imperialist bourgeoisie's strategy in the international sphere is the continuation of the strategy which it has followed in the past. It continues this strategy in the forms appropriate to the conditions prevailing in the present-day world.

Britain is a component of the world system of imperialist states and is in alliance with all the imperialist, social-imperialist and reactionary states against the proletariat and peoples, against the

revolution. In particular, its fear of revolution, its interests to suppress the class struggle and the national liberation struggle and maintain the system of neo-colonial plunder and oppression, its inveterate hostility to socialism, the current realities of its relations and contradictions with the various other imperialist and social-imperialist powers, place British imperialism in alliance with and subservient to the gendarme and standard bearer of international reaction, the United States. These factors place it too in alliance with the other former colonial powers of Western Europe, grouped in the EEC, who pursue the policy of neo-colonial plunder and support for the western imperialist alliance headed by the US against the rival Soviet social-imperialist bloc, while seeking to develop their strength to compete with the two superpowers on an equal footing. They place it at the head of the "British Commonwealth", the political form for the neo-colonial domination of the peoples which has replaced the former colonial British empire. These are the present-day versions of Churchill's "three circles" of British foreign policy, the "Atlantic partnership", Europe and the Commonwealth, as part of the counter-revolutionary global strategy set out by Churchill after the second world war for a world-wide onslaught against national liberation and socialism, under the shield and leadership of US imperialism. This was a "crusade" characterised by virulent anti-communism and rabid opposition to all progressive, anti-imperialist and democratic forces, under the general slogan of "defence of the free world against communism".

In service of its foreign policy the British bourgeoisie demands that the working class and people give up their own interests and serve those of the bourgeoisie. For this end it uses chauvinist, anti-

communist and demagogical slogans. The labour aristocracy and the social democrats and opportunists back the bourgeoisie up in this. Thus, for example, the social democrats and opportunists make a show of decrying capital exports, but from the chauvinist standpoint of allegedly "saving British jobs"; they support the capitalists by advocating economic protectionism from the same standpoint; similarly, they refer to "the gap between rich and poor nations" in order to demand an extension of neo-colonial "aid" – an instrument for strengthening the export of capital and the neo-colonial strangulation of the under-developed countries. They call for "opposition" to the EEC, as well as US imperialism, but forbid the struggle for the sovereignty of the British people as "reactionary nationalism"; in practice they oppose neither the EEC nor the US domination. They portray the revisionist Soviet Union as "socialist" and label socialist Albania a "dictatorship" in order to line the people up against genuine socialism.

* * * *

The objective situation shows that the deepening of the crisis is sharpening all the contradictions of the capitalist-revisionist system – the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; the contradiction between the imperialist and social-imperialist states on the one hand and the oppressed nations and peoples on the other; the contradictions among the different imperialist and social-imperialist states themselves; the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. The objective situation confirms that the present epoch is the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, through revolution. The objective sharpening of the

contradictions inherent in the capitalist-revisionist system is opening the eyes of the workers and oppressed people to the realities of imperialism. Revolution is a necessity to overthrow the system of capitalism, imperialism and social imperialism.

The capitalist system in Britain, as part of the world capitalist system, is gripped by the crisis of overproduction taking place in the context of the general crisis of capitalism. At the same time, this crisis is the continuation and expression of the century-long decline of parasitic, decaying British capitalism. Britain was the first country to develop the features of capitalism, the first to develop the features of imperialism, which is monopoly capitalism, parasitic and decaying capitalism, moribund, dying capitalism. British imperialism long since passed its zenith and entered the path of decline.

The features of the present crisis bear out completely, as Marx proved, the inevitability of the overthrow of the capitalist relations of production. The capitalist system in Britain has long since exhausted the possibilities of development, has become a completely reactionary force, a fetter on production and on the advance of society. The revolutionary crisis is inevitably maturing in Britain, and there is an evident measure of desperation about the British bourgeoisie's drive aimed at overcoming the features of the crisis, at seeking a new lease of life for the capitalist system through adventurous expedients which bring with them grave dangers.

3. THE STRATEGIC TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT AND ITS PARTY

The revolution is the necessity of our time. The objective situation in Britain and on the international plane, the profound all-sided crisis, the danger of a new catastrophic imperialist world war and the threat of fascism, prove that the revolution is not only an inevitability but a necessity of our time.

The objective conditions are ripe for revolution. The bourgeoisie and imperialists are unable to overcome the inherent contradictions of their system or its severe crisis; the crisis is deepening and it is sharpening all the contradictions of the capitalist-revisionist system, bringing intensified exploitation and oppression, fascisation of the state, imperialist war preparations and aggression. The objective situation points to the necessity of the proletariat putting an end to the capitalist relations of production, leading the exploited and oppressed in overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie through revolution, in order to rescue society from the capitalist crisis, avert the dangers of war and fascism, transform society from capitalism to socialism and defend freedom and independence.

The bourgeoisie deeply fears the revolution. Because of its class interests, the bourgeoisie not only denies the necessity for revolution but actively opposes it and organises counter-revolution as part of its strategy. It employs its state apparatus to maintain its reactionary rule and system and to suppress the democratic struggle and the revolutionary struggle for the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism. It makes use of the social democrats and revisionists, who also deny the necessity for revolution and the necessity to

prepare for it, and, instead, preach reform of the capitalist order, preach that there is a "third way" between capitalism and socialism.

The bourgeoisie and revisionists tell the people that they must not turn to the revolution as the solution to the problems they face, that they should not embark on such an "extreme" path, but should look to a more "moderate" and "humanitarian" solution, that they should seek their salvation in the capitalist system and in its reform. And behind this demagoguery aimed at diverting the proletariat and its allies from the revolutionary path, an obsolete and oppressive order is defended; fire is directed against any progressive force which fights imperialism and the bourgeoisie, which threatens their system; the struggles of the people are suppressed and the plans to plunge the world into a devastating inter-imperialist war are further advanced.

The bourgeoisie and revisionists say that revolution and socialism are a lost cause, a utopian dream and an impossibility. They point to the failure of the revolution and socialism in the Soviet Union, China, Poland and so on to "prove" this, keeping silent, of course, about the victories scored in the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, and the victories scored in socialist Albania, which has been building socialism on the Marxist-Leninist path uninterrupted for nearly forty years; never admitting, of course, that the reason for the present disastrous situation in the revisionist countries is precisely that they have departed from the socialist, Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary path.

Comrades, the revolution is not an impossibility; the danger to it is real, but the revolution is an inevitability and a necessity, and the Party has taken up the question of revolution for solution. The objective conditions are ripe for revolution. At the

same time, the present situation in Britain also points to the fact that the subjective conditions for revolution are lagging behind; they point to the fact that the main task of the Party for the period is the preparation of the subjective conditions for revolution, the raising and development of the subjective conditions to the level where it is possible to transform society from capitalism to socialism through the revolution. All the tactics of the Party, all the forms of struggle, organisation and slogans, all the revolutionary work and activity which it organises, are directed to the accomplishment of this decisive task for the period.

The main content and aim of the revolution is to transform society from capitalism to socialism through the revolution; the revolution in Britain is the proletarian socialist revolution.

The ultimate aim of the working-class movement is socialism and communism; whether the revolution is directly a proletarian socialist revolution, as in Britain, or whether it has as its main immediate goal the realisation of national and democratic tasks, the ultimate aim of the proletariat always remains the same.

The working class and people cannot win genuine emancipation, cannot eliminate exploitation, oppression, poverty and backwardness, and cannot safeguard their real independence, without establishing and building socialism. It is only scientific socialism which can solve the crisis, radically transforming the relations of production by ending the private, capitalist ownership of the means of production and establishing the social ownership of the means of production. It is only scientific socialism which can bring genuine proletarian democracy, can fully guarantee the continuous

improvement in the material and cultural well-being of the people and carry out and completely solve the anti-imperialist, democratic tasks.

Socialism is not merely an "ideal" or a "dream"; the inevitability of socialism replacing the capitalist order and its great superiority over this order were scientifically proved by Marx and Engels; they were concretely realised in the Soviet Union during the time of Lenin and Stalin and are being concretely realised today in socialist Albania, the only socialist country in the world and the only country which is not being devastated by the crisis.

Nor are there different types or versions of socialism as the bourgeoisie and the pseudo-socialists of the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia and others suggest in order to divert, confuse and split the working-class movement. There is only one genuine socialism, the theory and practice of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the basic principles and universal laws of scientific socialism, which are essential for the building of genuine socialism in all countries.

Socialism cannot be brought into being within the framework of the capitalist system, by reforming capitalism through parliament or through "moving the Labour Party to the left". All these theories are designed to divert the working class and prevent it from accomplishing its main aim. Socialism can be established and realised only through the revolution, the capturing of political power by the proletariat. The necessity is to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, its dictatorship, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat as the first step in the economic transformation of the capitalist system into socialism in Britain, the essential condition for it.

One of the important strategic tasks of the proletariat and its Party is the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

The proletariat and its Party wage the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle, the struggle for the rights and freedoms of the people, the struggle against imperialist war and for lasting peace, the struggle against imperialism, including the US domination of Britain. This struggle is not separate from but is an integral part of the revolutionary process, an integral part of the proletarian socialist revolution, of the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, of the struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism. The anti-imperialist and democratic struggle is one of the great revolutionary movements of the epoch, an integral and component part of the world revolutionary process, directed against and weakening world imperialism, the world bourgeoisie and world reaction headed by the two superpowers.

The question of democracy is not a tactical question but a question of major principle. The proletariat and its Party are not indifferent to the fate of democracy and sovereignty and independence, nor to the great dangers for the lives, freedoms and sovereignty of the people posed by imperialism, social imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. The proletariat and its Party take up the banner of democracy, independence, peace and progress, which the bourgeoisie and imperialists have so openly trampled in the mud. The proletariat has the strategic aim to overthrow capitalism and to build socialism; it also has the strategic aim of defeating imperialism, social imperialism and reaction. The Party wages the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle as a broad struggle on many fronts, including the struggle against the shifting of

the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the people; the struggle against imperialist war, for lasting peace, against the preparations for imperialist war and the fascisation of the state and all aspects of life, and against racism and fascism; the struggle for the rights of the working people, of the youth, women, national minorities and immigrants, the Irish people, the people of Scotland and Wales, and all democratic and progressive forces; the struggle for the sovereignty of the people, against the US domination of Britain, against British imperialism, the two superpowers and all imperialism and social imperialism, and for the freedom, independence and liberties of all the peoples throughout the world.

The democratic and anti-imperialist struggle is an integral part of the revolutionary process and the strategic aim of the proletariat. The Party does not accept, but fights against, any attempt to separate the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle from the proletarian revolution; it does not subordinate the revolution and the preparation of the subjective conditions for its victory to this or that struggle or movement; it does not divorce these struggles from or oppose them to the proletarian revolution, but coordinates them with and subordinates them to it. At the same time, the proletariat and its Party do not take a sectarian attitude to the problems and struggles of the masses of the people, or deny or under-rate the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. They actively seek alliances with all the oppressed, with all those who are discontented with capitalism and imperialism; they actively support and unite with all progressive social forces fighting the monopolies and the imperialists in the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, basing their alliances on concrete analysis of the objective social forces

in operation and the aims and future of the movement.

The proletariat is at the centre of the epoch; it is the main and leading force in the revolution. The proletariat is the most revolutionary and the most numerous class. It is the class which holds the future. It is the decisive force in the development of society, the leading force for the revolutionary transformation of society, and the only class which is able to unite around itself the broad masses of oppressed people and lead them in the struggle for their complete national and social emancipation. As Marx and Engels pointed out: *"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product"* (4).

The proletariat, with the industrial proletariat at its core, stands at the centre of our epoch and it is the leader of all the exploited and oppressed, the gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of socialism. It is the most advanced class, the main productive force of society and the class more interested than any other in national and social emancipation, and in socialism, and it is the bearer of the finest traditions of revolutionary organisation and struggle. It is the class which has the only scientific theory to bring about the revolutionary transformation of society, and which has its own revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist Party to guide and lead it towards this goal.

The problem of realising the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution, of placing the proletariat at the head of the revolutionary process and in all the revolutionary, democratic and anti-

imperialist struggles of the people, is a task of fundamental and decisive importance for the triumph of the revolution. As the struggles of the peoples of all countries have proved, and as Marxism-Leninism teaches, there can be no genuine and lasting national or social liberation without the leadership of the proletariat in the revolutionary process and the crowning of the struggle of the exploited and oppressed with the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revisionists and opportunists of all shades, without exception, deny in one way or another the leading role of the proletariat and deny the necessity for and the inevitability of the class struggle leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is because they deny the necessity of and are against the revolution and stand for the preservation of the capitalist system.

The proletariat exercises its leadership through its proletarian party. Thus the Party has, as its main task for the period, to develop its leading role, the essential condition for putting the proletariat at the head of the revolutionary process, in preparing the subjective conditions for successfully carrying out the revolutionary transformation of society from capitalism to socialism.

The party sets its tasks, determines its tactics and organises its revolutionary activity on the basis of, and always keeping to the fore, the strategic aims and objectives of the proletariat; it acts militantly and independently, placing the proletariat at the head of the revolutionary process, guiding, educating and organising the proletariat to accomplish its strategic aims, to fulfil its historic mission.

The proletariat, as the main and leading force of the revolution, must go into battle together with its allies. Thus the Party pays great attention to the

mobilisation and organisation of the allies of the proletariat for the revolution and in the revolutionary process; it supports and sympathises with their struggles, provides direction and consciousness to their organisations and struggles, and organises and mobilises them around the proletariat, into one revolutionary torrent against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and all reaction.

The natural and closest ally of the proletariat, directly linked to the proletariat both in the immediate and long-term aim of the struggle, is the oppressed and exploited non-proletarian working people. This includes the poor and oppressed strata of the urban working people and the poor and small farmers, fishermen, etc. The petty bourgeoisie of town and countryside, especially the lower and middle strata, are also oppressed, exploited and threatened by monopoly capital and are an objective ally of the proletariat.

The proletariat and its Party strive to build alliances with all those forces who in one way or another are fighting against capitalism and imperialism, who are against oppression and exploitation by the monopoly bourgeoisie, and those who are opposed to fascism, chauvinism, imperialist war and the US dictate, who are enlightened, peace-loving and democratic, etc. The Party maintains a cautious and flexible attitude, especially towards the wavering, potential, or temporary allies of the proletariat.

The proletariat and its allies constitute a mighty force of all the exploited and oppressed against imperialism, capitalism and reaction. But this force cannot be wished into existence or realised through pragmatic manoeuvres or through compromises on revolutionary principle. The unity of the exploited and oppressed is only realised through the common

struggle against common enemies and is based upon the objective social forces, their position in society and the aims and future of the movement. Whilst utilising the contradictions in the ranks of the enemies in order to advance the cause of the revolution and socialism, the Party fights against any attempt to make the movement and struggles of the people subservient to the aims and interests of this or that section of the exploiting classes, or to this or that superpower or other imperialist power. It opposes any attempt to create dangerous illusions amongst the people concerning the class character of any of these enemies of the people.

Whilst the decisive factor for the preparation and triumph of the revolution is the internal factor (i.e., the proletariat and its Party together with the allies, and their revolutionary struggles) this must never be taken to mean ignoring or under-rating the crucial importance of the external allies of the proletariat. The proletarians of all countries, their Marxist-Leninist parties and their revolutionary struggles, the anti-imperialist and national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, and the genuinely socialist countries (at this time socialist Albania) are the powerful external allies of the British proletariat and important external factors in the preparation for and triumph of the proletarian socialist revolution in Britain.

The objective conditions are ripe for revolution and the task is to prepare the subjective conditions for its triumph.

With the development of capitalism to its highest and final stage, imperialism, the objective conditions became ripe for the launching and triumph of the proletarian socialist revolution. Today in Britain and on the world scale, these objective conditions have

further ripened and matured. The profound all-sided crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world, the profound crisis of state monopoly capitalism, the fuelling and aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, and the exacerbation of all the contradictions of imperialism, point to the fact that the objective conditions are ripe for the proletarian socialist revolution.

At the same time, the subjective conditions lag behind the objective conditions. The degree of revolutionary consciousness, of preparedness for revolution, of revolutionary organisation in the class and amongst the broad masses of people, do not correspond to, but lag behind, the objective situation. The working class has not yet arrived at full awareness of the necessity for the revolution, of the necessity to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism.

Thus, the immediate strategic task facing the Party is preparing for the revolution, preparing the subjective factor for revolution. A revolutionary crisis or revolutionary situation does not exist in Britain at the present time. Under these conditions, far from sitting passively with its arms folded, the Party acts militantly to prepare the subjective conditions so that, when a revolutionary crisis does set in, the working class will be prepared to make use of this crisis to overthrow the political power of the bourgeoisie, capture political power itself and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Furthermore, besides the sharpening of the objective contradictions and the deepening of the crisis, the activity of the Party and the class and the advance of the subjective side of the movement are extremely important factors in the development of a revolutionary crisis. Therefore, the Party acts militantly and constantly works to increase the

tempo, quality and quantity of its work and activity, to expand the influence of the Party and its links and ties amongst the workers and broad masses of people, to play its leading role in developing the subjective conditions, the factor which is lacking but which is essential for the revolution.

The objective conditions are favourable for the carrying out of this strategic task facing the Party. The deepening and broadening of the all-sided crisis of capitalism is sharpening the class struggle, broadening the base and the extent of the discontent with and opposition to imperialism and capitalism, sharpening the political and credibility crisis of capitalism, deepening the crisis hitting modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades and hastening the exposure of their treachery in the eyes of the broad masses of people. The working class and broad masses of people are further awakening to the reality of imperialist and capitalist exploitation and oppression, to the dangers of imperialist war and fascism. Objectively the working class and broad masses of people are being radicalised and drawn into the revolutionary struggle. This situation provides the Party with greater opportunities to expand its influence, to organise and mobilise the workers and broad masses, to turn their increasing awareness of the realities of capitalism into revolutionary consciousness, to make them conscious of the strategic tasks and to lead them to accomplish these.

The objective situation points to the fact that the deepening and broadening of the all-sided crisis and the maturing of the objective contradictions are hastening both the great danger of imperialist war and other catastrophes for the people, on the one hand, and the possibilities of and prospects for the organising of the revolution, on the other.

This situation demands the leading role of the

Party, shows the necessity for the Party to be at the head of the struggle of the working class and its allies and to lead the class to accomplish its aims. The Party responds to this situation, increasing its vigilance and the vigilance of the proletariat and people against the acute dangers with which imperialism is threatening them, and making maximum use of the situation so as to develop its leading role.

The Party works systematically and according to a conscious plan. It acts in a broad and all-sided manner, working in several directions and on several fronts. It is the entire revolutionary process which has to be developed and the Party works in an all-sided and militant manner to create the ideological, political and organisational conditions for the victory of the revolution. In viewing this problem, the Party is guided by the teachings of Lenin, who writes: "*Great Britain offers an example. We cannot tell, and no one can tell beforehand, how soon a real proletarian revolution will flare up there, and what immediate cause will most serve to rouse, kindle and impel into the struggle the very wide masses who are at present dormant. Hence, it is our duty to carry on all our preparatory work in such a way as to be well shod on all four feet . . .*" (5).

It is these strategic tasks and the objective situation which determine the tactics employed by the Party. The tactics of the Party are determined by and are worked out within the limits of the revolutionary strategy of the Party and its Marxist-Leninist principles. The Party never puts tactics above its strategy and principles; it never abandons or makes compromises on its Marxist-Leninist principles for the sake of gaining short-term tactical "successes" or support. The tactics of the Party are

worked out in relation to the concrete situation and conditions prevailing nationally and internationally at any given time and they may change according to the ebb and flow of the movement. But, whilst adopting skilful, well-judged and flexible tactics in order to advance the revolutionary movement, to win over the masses of people and frustrate the plans of and defeat the bourgeois and opportunist enemy, the Party resolutely opposes any unprincipled, pragmatic policy.

In carrying out its work to develop the leading role of the Party, the Party works out concrete slogans and tactics, forms of struggle and organisation in order to accomplish its aims. It pays close attention to the continuous ideological, political and organisational strengthening of the Party, to defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to enhancing its proletarian composition, and to establishing its basic organisations everywhere in the working class. The Party participates in and organises revolutionary actions as a central and component part of developing its leading role; it continually strengthens the quality of its intervention in the working-class movement and amongst the broad masses of people.

The Party puts forward both the full and partial demands of the proletariat and mobilises and organises the proletariat and its allies in struggle for these demands. Thus it presents and fights for the full demands, the demand for socialism and communism, the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism through the revolution, the establishment of proletarian democracy and an end to imperialism, the establishment of genuine and lasting peace and independence. And within this context it presents and fights for the partial demands, against the shifting of the burden of the

crisis onto the backs of the people, against the fascisation of the state and the life of society, against racism, against the imperialist war preparations, against US domination, against the two superpowers and their aggressive pacts, against the aggression, expansionism and annexations of British imperialism and all the imperialist and social-imperialist powers, and in support of the struggles of the workers and oppressed nations and peoples of all countries. The Party works out concrete demands and slogans for the struggles, and mobilises the workers and broad masses of people to fight for them, always keeping the strategic aims to the fore and always taking into account the concrete conditions and situation in the country and amongst the people. The Party presents the revolutionary tactical slogan and line MAKE THE RICH PAY FOR THE CRISIS! to give direction and consciousness to the working-class movement and to the struggles of the broad masses of people, to present a fighting programme against the monopoly bourgeoisie's attempts to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers and people, and to present the revolutionary path for the movement. The Party fights for the realisation of both the full and partial demands of the proletariat, and wages this complex struggle in a creative and all-sided manner.

Proletarian internationalism is a basic strategic principle for the proletariat and its Party. As Stalin writes, *"the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of any country can be correct only if they are not confined to the interests of 'their own' country, 'their own' fatherland, 'their own' proletariat, but, on the contrary, if, while taking into account the conditions and situation in their own country, they make the interests of the international proletariat,*

the interests of the revolution in other countries, the corner-stone, i.e., if, in essence, in spirit, they are internationalists . . ." (6).

Thus, the Party sets its objectives, sets its strategic and tactical aims, and conducts its revolutionary activity, from an internationalist perspective, as an integral part of the world revolutionary process to bring about the transition from world imperialism and capitalism to socialism and communism. The proletariat and its Party do not organise for revolution in Britain as an end in itself, but as the main contribution which they can make to advance the victory of the world revolution, the elimination of imperialism, capitalism, wage slavery, all reaction and all the catastrophes they bring mankind on a world-wide scale.

Thus, the Party and the proletariat do not turn proletarian internationalism into an empty phrase or into a tactical question; concretely, it is one of the most important strategic tasks and demands. The proletariat and its Party firmly support the working class and oppressed of all lands, and firmly support their struggles for socialism, for national liberation and for their rights; they defend the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, defend socialist Albania and support and sympathise with all the revolutionary forces throughout the world who stand against and fight imperialism; they firmly support all those struggles of the people which are aimed at and which weaken imperialism.

The essence of proletarian internationalism for the British working class and its Party is organising for the revolution in Britain and supporting and working for the victory of revolution in all other countries, on a world scale.

Chapter II

THE PARTY AND ITS TASKS

I. CONSTANTLY STRENGTHEN THE PARTY IN ORDER TO DEVELOP ITS LEADING ROLE

The Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) is the political party of the proletariat, its most advanced, organised detachment; it is the main instrument of the proletariat in its class struggle against the bourgeoisie. The existence of the Party, its continuous strengthening and consolidation, and the development of its leading role, constitute the decisive and indispensable conditions for the proletariat to triumph in its struggle to overthrow the capitalist order through revolution and establish socialism in Britain.

The founding of the Party in March 1979 and the work carried on over the past four years to build the Party and to strengthen it ideologically, politically and organisationally, have been an extremely important victory for the proletariat. For over two decades the proletariat had been deprived of its organised vanguard detachment, its general staff, as a result of the modern revisionist degeneration of the Communist Party of Great Britain, its abandonment of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the proletariat, and its conversion into a party of reform

and defence of the capitalist order.

With this degeneration, the most pressing and fundamental question which faced the proletariat and the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces was the task of refounding and rebuilding the proletarian party. The history of the period from 1963, when Comrade Michael McCreery led the open rupture with modern revisionism and the "Communist" Party, to March 1979 was a history of the complex struggle waged with tireless determination by the genuine Marxist-Leninists and anti-revisionist forces to solve this fundamental question of re-establishing the Party.

After the initial break from Khrushchevite revisionism and CPGB modern revisionism, a process of differentiation unfolded among those who came forward as Marxist-Leninists, anti-revisionists, between, on the one hand, those who were seriously working to re-establish the Marxist-Leninist party and, on the other hand, those who were either not willing seriously to take this momentous task upon their shoulders or were consciously working to prevent its realisation. This process of differentiation came to a head at the historic "Necessity for Change" Conference organised in London in 1967 by the Internationalists (an organisation of anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries which was formed in Canada in 1963). The Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries attending the Conference took the decision to found the English Internationalists to take up seriously the task of leading and organising the work to re-found the party of the British proletariat.

The English Internationalists and the other forerunner organisations of the Party waged a determined struggle for 12 years for the re-affirmation of Marxism-Leninism in Britain, to unite all the genuine Marxist-Leninists into one

organisation and to create the ideological, political and organisational conditions to re-establish the Party.

These conditions were created by the determined struggle waged by the forerunner organisations to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to continually deepen the ideological and political repudiation of all brands of modern revisionism (as detailed in Chapter 3 of the Report). They were created through revolutionary class struggle waged by the forerunner organisations against the class enemy, mastering Marxism-Leninism and building and strengthening the organisations in the course of revolutionary actions, defending the principles of always turning words into deeds and of combining "Action with Analysis". These conditions were also created through a process of differentiation and struggle which occurred within the forerunner organisations: a process of differentiation between those who were serious Marxist-Leninists and fought resolutely and consistently for the cause of revolution and socialism and those who were not sincere Marxist-Leninists, who were not serious about taking up the task to build the Party and lead the British revolution; a resolute and determined struggle waged by the genuine Marxist-Leninists in defence of the Marxist-Leninist road, and against petty-bourgeois desertionism and wavering.

The First Congress of the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist), convened in the latter part of 1978, marked the successful resolution of this process of differentiation within the forerunner organisations and the securing of the all-sided Marxist-Leninist consolidation of the organisation. Upon this basis, the First Congress of CPE(ML) elected the new Central Committee to take up with complete seriousness the responsibility to found and

build the Party. Thus, at the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPE(ML) the historic decision was taken to found the genuine Party of the British proletariat, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in resolute opposition to all brands of modern revisionism, including "Mao Zedong thought". The years of tireless work organised by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and the determined struggle waged by them following the degeneration of the CPGB, and in particular the 12 years of struggle waged by the forerunner organisations of the Party, had created the conditions for and had culminated in the re-founding of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in Britain.

From the time of its organisation into a class, the British proletariat has always been conscious of and paid attention to the need for a genuine, revolutionary proletarian party and struggled for the establishment of such a party. The class struggle and the inevitable gravitation of the working class to socialism continually brought this question to the fore, and the working class and its advanced sections continually fought for its realisation. From the time of the birth in the 1830s of the Chartist Movement – which Lenin called the *"first broad, truly mass and politically organised proletarian revolutionary movement"* (7) – to the time when great hopes and efforts were invested by the working class in the formation of the Labour Party at the turn of the century – the *"first step on the part of the really proletarian organisations of Britain towards a conscious class policy and towards a socialist workers' party"* (8), as Lenin described it – through to the formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1920, and finally to the refounding of the

Party in 1979: throughout this glorious and rich history the working class and its advanced elements have never ceased their efforts to build the genuine proletarian party.

The Chartist movement had collapsed by the 1850s; the Labour Party never fulfilled the aspirations of the working class and degenerated into open opportunism and became a capitalist party; the Communist Party of Great Britain degenerated into a revisionist party – as happened also with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin. These events do not show the inevitability of the degeneration of the proletarian parties, but show only the absolute necessity to defend the Party like the apple of one's eye, to defend its unity, its Marxist-Leninist ideological and political line and organisational principle, to wage a determined struggle against all the bourgeois-revisionist alien ideas, pressures and attacks, to constantly strengthen and consolidate the Party, and to continually strengthen its links and ties with the working class. This is the conclusion drawn by our Party and all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

The analysis of the positive and negative experience of the communist parties which came into being in the time of Lenin and Stalin, of the important experience of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and of the experience of all genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties today, provides invaluable lessons and a great ideological force for the consolidation of the parties and their protection against bourgeois and revisionist disintegration or degeneration.

Comrades, Marxism-Leninism teaches, and the history of the struggle of the working class of Britain and of all countries confirms, that the essential condition for the triumph of the revolution and

socialism is the Marxist-Leninist party; it confirms that no matter what courageous sacrifices are made by the proletariat, no matter what mighty struggles it wages, unless it has its general staff it will not be triumphant in its revolutionary struggles. Furthermore, historical experience and the experience of the present time also confirm that the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, and the other enemies of the class have long understood the decisive importance of the proletariat building and strengthening its political party. Thus, central to their strategy against the proletariat and the revolution is the launching of continuous attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties and their Marxist-Leninist ideology. The bourgeoisie and revisionists attack the Marxist-Leninist parties and work to destroy them and destroy their influence. Social-democratic and revisionist parties are promoted as the "genuine" parties of the working class. Bourgeois and revisionist ideologues preach that the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party is unnecessary, that the working class and its allies can successfully wage their struggles and gain national and social emancipation without the proletarian vanguard, that the trade unions and other "mass organisations" are sufficient, that the leading role of the proletariat exercised through its Party is not necessary. A hundred and one opportunist caricatures of the proletarian party work to split the class, to spread maximum confusion and pessimism in its ranks and to try to block and disrupt the development of the leading role of the genuine proletarian party. The existence of the Marxist-Leninist Party is denied altogether, or it is presented as being a tiny sect. The Marxist-Leninists are presented as being fanatics, "extremists" and terrorists in the effort to isolate the Party from the workers and the masses. Lies

and slanders are spread against the Marxist-Leninist party to create doubt and confusion in the minds of the people. Marxist-Leninists are attacked, imprisoned and even murdered in the vain attempt to disrupt the work of the proletarian party, and so on.

The Party remains ever vigilant against and consistently and militantly fights the attacks of the bourgeoisie and revisionists. It strengthens itself in the course of revolutionary actions, through the waging of the revolutionary class struggle. The Party must remain at the head of the proletarian movement and this is the condition for its strengthening, for making it capable of leading the proletariat to victory. It carries on constant work amongst the workers and the broad masses of people to show them the necessity of the Party, the justice and correctness of its positions, and the necessity to defend the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line. Through its revolutionary practice and vanguard fighting role, the Party works to bring the workers and broad masses of people to consciousness of and conviction in its leading role.

In successfully accomplishing the tasks which have been set since its founding, the Party has never allowed the victories which have been achieved to "go to its head" or allowed a euphoric atmosphere to develop in its ranks. The Party imbues its members with consciousness of the great tasks and responsibilities which rest on the Party, of the colossal amount of work which has to be organised, of the great sacrifices which must be made and of the difficult and complex problems which must be solved. The Party takes a self-critical attitude to its work, seriously and sincerely analyses its weaknesses and shortcomings and takes the theoretical and practical measures to overcome them. The Party

opposes both euphoric and pessimistic ideas. It imbues its members with the spirit of revolutionary optimism and never underestimates the tasks which have been fulfilled, the important and significant victories which have been scored. It resolutely combats any spirit of self-satisfied complacency; on the basis of the accomplishment of these tasks, the winning of these victories, it works to achieve greater and still better results in its work. In particular the work organised by the Party and the tasks accomplished since its founding have placed before it the task of further developing the leading role of the Party.

The essential condition for the development of the leading role of the Party is the constant strengthening of the Party. This is permanent work which must be carried out at all times and under all conditions. The First Congress considers that work must be organised on the following major fronts in order to further advance and improve this strengthening.

The Defence of the Purity of Marxism-Leninism

Comrades, in order for the party of the proletariat to be truly an advanced, vanguard detachment of the class, it must be guided by and armed with the most advanced ideology, the most scientific theory. As Lenin writes, *"the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory"* (9). This theory is, and can only be, Marxism-Leninism, the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It is this and only this theory which enables the Party to grasp the objective laws governing the revolutionary process, to determine scientifically the correct strategy and tactics of the revolution and to guide

the course of the struggle through all its complexities, twists and turns to achieve victory. Marxism-Leninism is the indispensable and universal scientific theory, obligatory for all countries, for the emancipation of the working class, the construction of socialism and the ultimate establishment of communism.

Thus, the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, the defence of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, is a major and permanent task for the Party, essential in order to defend the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party, to defend it from the bourgeois-revisionist pressures, and to improve its fighting capacity and its ability to lead the proletariat. It is a task which cannot be taken up in a spontaneous and inconsistent manner, because it is Marxism-Leninism which is the very foundation of the Party, theoretically and ideologically, and which guides all its activity. Since its founding the Party has paid great attention to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to the defence of its revolutionary line and its revolutionary principles; this work cannot be slackened or relegated to a secondary position, but must be further developed and enriched.

Imperialism, social imperialism, the bourgeoisie and all reaction place special importance on and devote great attention to attacking Marxism-Leninism and trying to deprive the proletariat of its revolutionary ideology. This is done both directly and indirectly, both directly by the bourgeoisie and indirectly through those who pose as "Marxists" and "friends" of the struggle for socialism and the proletariat – the modern revisionists and opportunists of all shades. In either case the aim is the same: to distort the Marxist-Leninist theory and make it

harmless to the bourgeoisie and ineffective for the proletariat.

Indifference to or lack of vigilance on this question is extremely dangerous for the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party. Bourgeois ideology is the dominant ideology in society and exerts a powerful and continuous influence on the proletariat and its Party. Modern revisionism is today the official ideology of one of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union, and of a number of other revisionist states, including social-imperialist China. Imperialism and the bourgeoisie are very clear about the counter-revolutionary role played by modern revisionism. Modern revisionism arose as an agency of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, headed by US imperialism; it is part and parcel of the imperialist counter-revolutionary strategy against the proletariat, the national liberation struggle and socialism; and it represents the main danger to the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement.

Thus Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist parties are confronted with the most savage enemies of the revolution and socialism and their ceaseless efforts to attack, revise and distort the Marxist-Leninist teachings. They are confronted with the imperialist and revisionist pressure and sabotage, their confusion-mongering and demagoguery, their promotion of the various pseudo-socialisms and of every kind of counter-revolutionary, anti-popular theory. Furthermore, with the deepening and broadening of the all-sided crisis of capitalism and revisionism, with the sharpening of the class struggle, the hostility to Marxism-Leninism of the bourgeoisie, the imperialists and social-imperialists increases still further; their attacks on Marxism-Leninism become even fiercer. The bourgeois-

revisionist pressures, far from decreasing, become even more intense.

The Party, as with all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, is acutely aware of the dangers, attacks and pressures from the enemies of the proletariat and the revolution; it wages a resolute class struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction and against the bourgeois-revisionist pressures on the Party; it defends the Party and its revolutionary line and it defends the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The Party arms its members against the reactionary activities of the class enemy on all fronts and makes them vigilant against the bourgeois-revisionist pressures, the pressures aimed at causing the Party to depart from revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle. These bourgeois-revisionist pressures on the Party exert themselves in many ways. For example, from the right comes the pressure that in order for the Marxist-Leninist party to become a "big force" it must give up its leading role and "water down" and revise its revolutionary principles and make them acceptable to the bourgeoisie; from the "left" comes the pressure to keep the Party on the sidelines of the movement, isolated from the workers and broad masses of people and their struggles.

The Party does not take a sentimental attitude to this question; on the contrary, it deals with it militantly, realistically and scientifically. It defends the purity of Marxism-Leninism and fights against all deviations from the Marxist-Leninist line, whether right or "left". The Party educates its members and the broad masses of people that the struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to defend the revolutionary principles and the Marxist-Leninist positions of the Party, is a life-and-death struggle to defend the cause of the proletariat, the revolution

and socialism. This struggle is an essential condition for strengthening the Party and preparing the subjective conditions for revolution. It is a task for the entire Party.

The Party has waged vigorous struggle against and exposed the theories of the CPGB modern revisionists, according to whom the task of the Marxist-Leninists is allegedly to devise a "nationally specific", "British road" to socialism. It has fought against and repudiated the maoists, who want to make Marxism-Leninism a matter of "interpretations" of dogma and of reaching a "consensus" through "ideological struggle". The struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism is a struggle waged against the modern revisionists, whose efforts are directed at adulterating and emasculating the indispensable scientific guide to action of the proletariat and its Party.

The modern revisionists pay lip-service to Marxism-Leninism, while attacking, revising and distorting it under the guise of "creatively applying Marxism" to modern-day conditions, to the specific conditions in a given country, etc. They reduce Marxism-Leninism to the repetition of some Marxist-Leninist phrases learned by rote and the drawing of some historical analogies and parallels. They deny the scientific objectivity of Marxism-Leninism and negate its revolutionary essence; they turn the principles of Marxism-Leninism into dogmas which can be speculated upon and interpreted in different ways; according to the maoists and other modern revisionists the truth is to be discovered through debate around these different "interpretations", i.e. Marxism-Leninism is "developed" through "ideological struggle".

Marxism-Leninism is the scientific theory of the proletariat, obligatory for all countries and

completely valid for modern times; it is the reflection of objective reality. Marxism-Leninism must be understood, assimilated and mastered in its purity. At the same time, Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, it is a guide to action. It is mastered and assimilated not for purposes of mere illumination but for the purpose of applying it, applying it to the concrete national and international conditions in order to bring about the victory of revolution and socialism. Defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism is a question of revolutionary practice, of using the Marxist-Leninist outlook, approach, method and science to solve the problems of the British revolution and to contribute to the worldwide victory of the revolution. The defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism is an activity conducted by the Party to ensure the victory of the revolution and socialism; the purity of Marxism-Leninism is defended in the course of solving the problems of the revolution.

The Defence of the Leninist Principles of Democratic Centralism

This task is central to the strengthening of the Party, to the continuous strengthening of the Party organisation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Democratic centralism is one of the fundamental bases of the structure of the Party and it is the conscious and voluntary application of the principles of democratic centralism by all Party members and organisations which gives the Party its unified and organised character. Thus, it is essential that the Party pay continuous attention to the deepening of the understanding and mastery of the principles of democratic centralism on the part of all Party organisations and members and to the effective and

correct application of these principles in all the work of the Party.

The attacks by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists and opportunists of all shades on the principle of democratic centralism and on the revolutionary organisational form of the proletarian party are aimed at undermining and destroying the revolutionary content and style of the Party, its fighting capacity and its unified and organised character, in short, at depriving the proletariat of its militant, organised and conscious general staff.

The attacks on democratic centralism take a number of forms, and the Party makes the membership conscious of these and wages a continuous struggle to defend and strengthen democratic centralism throughout the Party and to ensure that it is not eroded by the bourgeois-revisionist pressure.

In the first place there are open and blatant attacks on democratic centralism, on the revolutionary forms and the unified and organised character of the proletarian party. In order for a party to fulfil its role as the vanguard of the proletariat, to lead the class through the complicated and difficult tasks of realising the victory of the proletarian revolution, it is absolutely essential that it be strong by reason of the unity and iron discipline which prevails throughout its ranks. It is this steel-like unity of the Party which is a precondition for achieving the unity of the class; without such unity existing in the party of the proletariat, it is impossible for the unity of the class to be realised. It is precisely this monolithic character of the Party which the enemies of the proletariat and the revolution despise and attack. The bourgeoisie and opportunists preach ideological pluralism in order to create disunity. They denounce

democratic centralism and the unified and organised character of the proletarian parties as "dictatorship", "negation of democracy", negation of "individual freedom", "contrary to human nature". The maoist theories of "two-line struggle" are designed to turn the Party into a "party" of warring factions, as the trotskyites tried but failed to achieve in the CPSU during the time of Lenin and Stalin.

The bourgeois-revisionist pressures aim at fomenting localism, the group spirit and indifference to unity and discipline within the Marxist-Leninist parties. The bourgeois-revisionist theories and pressures are aimed at causing confusion, disorganisation, disunity and disintegration in the proletarian party and at eliminating it as the revolutionary party of the class. Since its founding, our Party has never permitted such trends to emerge; it has waged a stern struggle against all these bourgeois-revisionist pressures. The Party and its members must never relax their vigilance against bourgeois-revisionist pressures and elements, or underestimate the constant work to strengthen unity and discipline throughout the Party, to safeguard and correctly apply the principles of democratic centralism.

The covert attacks on democratic centralism take on the one hand the form of liberalism, the denial of or indifference to revolutionary form and to the defence of democratic centralism, the under-rating of its crucial importance, and the opening of the doors to bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. On the other hand they also take the form of bureaucratism, the turning of democratic centralism into a dead formula and a mere phrase, devoid of revolutionary content. Bureaucratism nullifies and destroys the Leninist norms based on democratic centralism as effective revolutionary principles

which provide the Party with iron discipline, defend its unity and safeguard it from alien class elements and trends. Norms and forms are maintained which resemble Leninist ones, but as a shell, with a myriad of "rules and regulations" aimed at destroying the living, dynamic and revolutionary form of the Party, undermining and destroying the revolutionary content and style – as was done in the CPSU from the time of Khrushchev onwards.

The Party develops and strengthens both its revolutionary form and its revolutionary content, resolutely and creatively, according to the Marxist-Leninist ideology and outlook. Form and content are dialectically linked; both have to be resolutely defended and strengthened.

The attack on democratic centralism also takes the form of the eclectic counterposing of democracy and centralism. Thus the modern revisionists and opportunists have their theories as to the need for a "centralised" party, whereby democratic centralism is reduced to a mere formality, inner-party democracy is negated and rules are implemented with no regard to the revolutionary interests and content; they also have their theories as to the need for a "democratic" party, whereby all principles and norms can be violated, and chaos, disunity and confusion reign. They pragmatically switch between the two in realising their counter-revolutionary objectives. The principles of democratic centralism teach that there is a dialectical relationship between inner-party democracy and centralism. Both must be defended and strengthened, the living, dynamic relationship between the two being continually enriched.

It is precisely the correct application of the principles of democratic centralism which combines into a single unity the centralised leadership and iron

discipline within the ranks of the Party and the full inner-party democracy. For example, in the preparations for the First Congress of the Party extensive discussions on the Political Report have been held among all members, in all Party organisations; every member has had full possibility to consider the questions being discussed and to present views; but, once the Congress adopts the Political Report, takes its decisions and sets the tasks for the Party, these will become binding on all Party members and organisations.

Democratic centralism is an organisational principle with a profound ideological and political basis. The splittists, factionalists and anti-Party elements oppose and violate democratic centralism not merely because they are opposed to the organisational principle of democratic centralism but because their ideology and political line are quite opposite to the ideology, political line and aims of the proletariat. In order to mask this fact and to attack and try to split the Party, they raise various diversionary questions: they attack various individuals and tell stories as to how they have allegedly been "mistreated" by this or that person; they attack various forms of organisation, giving the pretext that they have a "difference of opinion" on this or that question; they blame this or that factor for the "grievances" and "differences" they have against the Party. It is precisely the militant and profound application of democratic centralism which protects the Party from such elements and clearly exposes that their differences are not with this or that individual, form of organisation, or other factor but are differences with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and political line. The principles of democratic centralism are not simply a set of norms and rules but are profound Marxist-Leninist,

proletarian principles. The defence of democratic centralism is part and parcel of the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

In defending the principles of democratic centralism, continuous attention must be paid to defending and strengthening the organisational forms and procedures which are derived from the democratic-centralist principles. The Constitution clearly elaborates the organisational principles of the Party and clearly and simply defines the organisational structure and rules which are established on the basis of democratic centralism. The Constitution regulates the life of the Party, defines the rights and duties of the different Party organisations and the rights and duties of the members. It is a fundamental responsibility and duty of all Party members to study, master, defend and implement the Party Constitution.

The principles of democratic centralism and the Constitution of the Party must be applied in all their profundity and in an all-sided and creative manner. This application is essential to the strengthening of the functioning of the Party and enhancing its revolutionary style of work and method. In this respect, all the Party organisations conduct themselves, and the work of the Party is carried out, on the basis of collective work and leadership and individual responsibility. The Party exercises leadership not through individuals but through the collective, through the elected organs, and no individual can usurp the duties and rights of the elected organs and the different Party organisations at any level. Members of the Party have different responsibilities in the Party, but every member has the same rights and duties as defined by the Constitution, and is accountable to the collective. At the same time, all Party members develop their individual respons-

ibilities, initiative and leadership. The combination of collective leadership and work with individual responsibility ensures both democracy and centralism within the Party, tempers and trains the members in the course of the work, and ensures that the creative energies of all members are brought into play to strengthen the Party and its work. The combination of collective work and leadership with individual responsibility gives the Party its militant, organised and unified character, and is an important weapon in the protection of the Party against bourgeois-revisionist pressures and against liberalism and bureaucratism. Thus, the Party must pay continuous attention to the strengthening of the collective leadership at all levels, to the strengthening of all Party organs, and to the tempering and training of all members of the Party to develop their individual responsibilities and carry out their duties with confidence.

The principles of democratic centralism are a powerful weapon for the proletariat and its Party. Democratic centralism is not a principle applicable only to, or uniquely reserved for, the Party of the proletariat; democratic centralism is a Marxist-Leninist principle for all the revolutionary forces, giving their organisations their conscious, organised, militant and unified character. The Party considers, therefore, that the principles of democratic centralism are a powerful and indispensable weapon for all the revolutionary mass organisations of the workers, youth and other revolutionary forces; to consider otherwise is to reduce the significance and profundity of democratic centralism, and effectively to abandon the work of providing consciousness and organisation to the class and its allies.

Since its founding, the Party has been built on the basis of the organisational principles of democratic

centralism, and these principles have been resolutely defended, applied and strengthened. This has been an important victory for the Party. But the Party allows no euphoria to develop in its ranks and is acutely aware of the attempts of the class enemy to attack and liquidate the proletarian parties and to realise this aim through attacking the principles of democratic centralism – either directly opposing it or, like the modern revisionists, paying lip-service to it while opposing it in deeds. Any concessions in defending democratic centralism can only lead to disintegration. The Party sets itself the task to defend these principles, to further their mastery throughout the Party, to enrich and strengthen their application in a living and dynamic way, opposing all bureaucratic and liberal distortions, and to remove all defects in the application of the organisational forms and norms derived from them.

The Further Revolutionisation of Inner-Party Life

Great responsibilities rest upon the Party's shoulders to lead and organise the class to accomplish its strategic aims. Indifference, passivity, conservatism, complacency, marking time and standing on the sidelines are incompatible with the realisation of this task. The Party wages a resolute and relentless class struggle against the bourgeois-revisionist pressures and sets itself the crucial task of constantly revolutionising and invigorating inner-party life as an essential condition for the strengthening of the Party.

The entire work of the Party is organised systematically and according to a plan. It is the plan, based on the general tasks of the Party, which provides consistency, stability and momentum to the life and work of the Party, ensures that the tasks set

are fulfilled and that the influence of the Party is expanded. The Party does not organise its work on a spontaneous basis and reduce itself to simply responding to this or that event; it does not make concessions to the idea that it is impossible to have a plan and to organise on the basis of the plan of the Party, that there is "insufficient time", that there are "too many tasks" for the work to be organised in this manner. In order that the Party be further strengthened and that its mobilisation of and ties amongst the workers and broad masses of people be further developed, it is essential that the plan of the Party be fully understood, resolutely implemented and realised.

The Party steadily develops the momentum and tempo of its work, organises its work efficiently and with revolutionary sweep. It educates all the organisations and members of the Party to work with revolutionary initiative, drive, creativity and responsibility in order to fulfil the tasks set by the Party for the period. Thus, the entire work of the Party, whatever work is undertaken, must be organised systematically, according to the plan, consistently and with determination.

Crucial to the constant revolutionising of inner-party life is the continuous and systematic check-up on the work undertaken and the results achieved. Greater attention must be paid by all Party organisations to this important question, to organising well-prepared summing-up meetings, where account is seriously rendered by all the members on the basis of the study of the concrete work undertaken, the duties assigned, the results achieved. These meetings, which are organised according to the Party Constitution, are indispensable for the training and education of the members, for highlighting the defects and shortcomings in the

work and for drawing the lessons as to the specific theoretical and practical measures which need to be taken to correct the defects and advance the work and activity of the Party.

The Party is not afraid of criticism; it is not afraid of admitting mistakes, analysing the cause and basis of these mistakes and finding the methods to eliminate them. On the contrary, it is the militant and resolute work to eliminate mistakes as they appear which is one of the permanent tasks in revolutionising inner-party life, strengthening the Party and expanding its influence amongst the broad masses of people. The Party uses the method of criticism and self-criticism and the method of rendering account as powerful and indispensable weapons to combat defects in the work, to fight the bourgeois-revisionist pressures and to improve the Marxist-Leninist quality of the members and the fighting capacity of the entire Party.

It is the duty of all Party organisations and members to ensure that the decisions and tasks set by the Party are thoroughly studied in order fully to grasp and understand them and find the practical ways and means to implement them. Thus the Party and its organisations encourage and organise broad discussions on the general line of the Party, on the decisions taken and the tasks set, and on how they are to be implemented. Discussions are carried on both inside and outside the Party, to convince both the members and the revolutionary masses of the justice, correctness and the scientific basis of the decisions and line of the Party. The line of the Party is discussed on an ongoing basis throughout the Party and the line is developed and enriched through vigorous discussions in the Party. The Party does not permit any stifling of discussion on these questions, but it opposes intellectualism. It is an important task

for the Party to further invigorate and enrich these discussions.

The Party imbues its members with the spirit and attitude of militantly taking up problems for solution, finding the ways and means to solve them and actually organising to achieve the tasks set. It is discussions on concrete practical matters, on how the tasks are to be implemented and how problems are to be solved, and the work organised to actually solve the problems and realise the tasks, which invigorate the life of the Party. The Party opposes idle illuminism on this or that question in the life and work of the Party and it opposes the pressure to pay main attention only to some technical or secondary task while overlooking the essential. Therefore, the discussions and the work organised to solve the difficult task of turning the decisions of the Party into life need to become more profound, concrete and vigorous. The problems may be difficult but if they are taken up for solution with the single-mindedness, honesty and resoluteness of communists then solutions will be found.

Whatever work the Party undertakes, answers can be found and results can be achieved only if the problems are taken up on a scientific basis; the solution of problems requires vigorous preparations and systematic and serious study. The entire work of the Party must be organised on the basis of action with analysis. This means scientifically studying and analysing the situation, working vigorously to find the practical solutions to the problems and to set out the specific tasks and objectives for the work, carrying out all-sided work to accomplish the tasks, mobilising the creative energies of all the members and revolutionary masses to solve the problems. It is this scientific, militant and communist attitude and approach to

the tasks of the Party which must be further enhanced throughout the Party.

The further strengthening of the basic organisations is of central importance in revolutionising inner-party life. This requires that all the organisations of the Party, at all levels, implement the line of the Party and ensure that it is turned into life in the work of the basic organisations.

Every member is organised in a basic organisation. It is only through the basic organisations that members can enter the Party. It is in the basic organisations that they are trained and tempered as revolutionary communists; it is through the basic organisations that the line of the Party is turned into life and that the links of the Party are established with the masses. Thus, if the basic organisations and their work are weak then the same will be true of the recruitment and training of new members, and the improvement in the proletarian composition of the Party, the tempering of the members, the implementation of the decisions and tasks of the Party and the extension and expansion of the influence and links of the Party will remain weak and unsatisfactory. This will not only result in the weakening of the effectiveness of the work and activity of the Party but it will also open up the doors for disruption and disintegration of the Party, will make the Party more vulnerable to bourgeois-revisionist pressures, the admission of unsound elements and infiltration.

Important advances have been made in expanding, strengthening and consolidating the basic organisations since the founding of the Party. These advances have also brought out what specific defects and shortcomings appear in their work, and what further work needs to be organised to correct these.

The entire Party must be organised and united and the basic organisations too must carry out their responsibility at the basic organisation level. They must be organised and united to carry out the responsibilities entrusted to them, to increase the influence of the Party and strengthen the Party's ties with the masses.

The strengthening of the work of the basic organisations is impossible without the work of the leading organs at higher levels, the Central Committee and the Regional Committees. In particular the Party must pay attention to the task of strengthening the regional bodies of the Party, not only as an essential element in the overall strengthening and consolidation of the Party in general, but in particular for the strengthening of the work of the basic organisations, for the expansion of the Party's influence and the strengthening of the ties with the masses. The regional bodies have the responsibility and duty to lead and guide the all-sided activity and work of the Party in the regions. For the strengthening of the work of the Regional Committees the further strengthening of the work of the Central Committee is essential. The Party functions as an organised system and advance is possible only when the full weight of the entire Party is brought to bear for the solution of the tasks set by the Party, for expanding the influence of the Party and its links among the masses. All the bodies of the Party must strengthen their work and carry out the responsibilities entrusted to them at the respective levels.

The revolutionisation of inner-party life is a fundamental question in the strengthening of the Party. As with all the other general tasks which the Party sets itself, this is not to be viewed as a short-

lived campaign but as an on-going task. The Party is the main instrument of the proletariat in its class struggle against the bourgeoisie, and the revolutionisation of inner-party life is inconceivable without waging the class struggle, organising revolutionary actions, constantly improving the quality of the Party's interventions and its mobilisation of the class and the broad masses of people. At the same time, it is only through the revolutionisation of inner-party life on a continuous and consistent basis that the Party will be able to fulfil its role as vanguard party of the class.

The Ideological Consolidation of the Party and the Communist Education and Training of the Members

The ideological consolidation of the Party is an extremely important task, a permanent one which is carried out in the course of the revolutionary class struggle. As Marxism-Leninism teaches, and as the negative experience of the Communist Party in Britain before its degeneration confirms, the Marxist-Leninist party must never underestimate the extremely important on-going revolutionary work to consolidate the Party ideologically, to wage a consistent and determined ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism and opportunism of all shades, to deepen the mastery of Marxism-Leninism and to deepen the study and analysis of the objective situation and conditions.

The pressure and influence of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and of the deceptive revisionist ideologies can never be underestimated. The bourgeoisie and revisionists conduct an on-going ideological offensive against the proletariat and its Party, as well as against the broad masses of people, in order to create as much ideological and political

confusion as possible.

Thus, the Party wages a continuous and determined ideological struggle against the views and ideology of the imperialists and social imperialists, the bourgeoisie, and the revisionists and opportunists of all shades. It wages the ideological struggle against all views which are harmful and detrimental to the working-class and communist movement. For example, great efforts are made by the imperialists, bourgeoisie and revisionists to attack scientific socialism and to create confusion around this question. The pseudo-socialist systems of the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia, etc., are promoted as being "socialist"; vicious attacks and slanders are levelled against the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin and against socialist Albania today; great confusion is spread through the propagation of the notion that state monopoly capitalism is "socialism", or that socialism is merely an impracticable, unworkable or unachievable ideal, a system which is "contrary to human nature", or that the "Labour" Party, its "left" wing, and the myriad of revisionist and opportunist organisations, are "socialist" organisations fighting for "socialism" in Britain, and so on and so forth. The Party wages continuous ideological struggle against these views of the bourgeoisie and revisionists on the question of socialism, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, is *"the nub of the ideological struggle going on in the world today"* (10), as well as against the other bourgeois, revisionist, social-democratic, anarchist ideas, against all other views which are alien and harmful to the working-class and communist movement.

The Party wages the ideological struggle continuously and with determination. This struggle is a class struggle, class struggle on the ideological

front inside, as well as outside, the Party, against the bourgeois ideological offensive, against alien ideas and manifestations. This struggle is not a campaign which is merely waged from time to time, but a continuous, on-going struggle in the Party.

Through this ideological struggle the Party is ideologically consolidated, made able to resist the ideological onslaught of the bourgeoisie, revisionism and opportunism of all shades, armed ideologically for carrying out the struggle against the class enemy, for carrying out its tasks as the vanguard of the class.

The Party carries on constant, ongoing work to deepen the mastery of Marxism-Leninism and to carry out the necessary theoretical analysis of the objective social development so as to provide the ideological and theoretical basis for the solution of the problems facing the revolutionary movement. This work is indispensable for the ideological consolidation of the Party. It is never divorced from revolutionary practice, but is carried out in the course of revolutionary practice.

The Party also carries out constant work to educate, train and temper the cadres and all the members of the Party, and the improvement of this work is extremely important. The failure to conduct the communist education of the membership was one of the reasons why many former communist parties degenerated into revisionist parties.

The Party fights against any tendency to "practicalism", the under-rating of the crucial importance of education and study, as well as against any tendency to academicism, intellectualism and illuminism, to study divorced from revolutionary practice.

The Party educates and trains the cadres and members as vanguard fighters for the cause of the

proletariat and the revolution, trains and educates them always to be in the front ranks of the struggles of the people, to act courageously and with the spirit of self-sacrifice. The Party educates and trains the members and cadres always to act with a high sense of responsibility, to continually enhance their communist quality and spirit, to be of high communist morality, to be ready to go into action wherever the Party calls upon them to, and always to set the example of real communists. The members and cadres of the Party are educated and trained in the revolutionary class struggle.

The cultural aggression against the workers and broad masses of people, stemming from the decadent, decaying and parasitical capitalist society, the spiritual and cultural degeneration, is a great weight on the backs of the people. The Party pays close attention to the education and training of the cadres and members so that they do not succumb to but resolutely combat this bourgeois, degenerate culture.

The Party pays first-rate attention to the consistent education of the members in Marxism-Leninism, through the study of the classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in order to deepen the mastery of Marxism-Leninism throughout the entire Party, ensuring that this work is carried on in an organised and serious manner and in close connection with revolutionary practice. The Party also pays close attention to the education of the cadres and members in the line and the history of the Party, so that the members' grasp of the general line of the Party is continually deepened and their ability to apply it and find their bearings under all conditions is continually enhanced. The Party educates its members in proletarian internationalism and to

resolutely support the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head and support all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The education and tempering of the members must be further enhanced throughout the Party. In order to achieve this the Party will further develop its theoretical work on a number of important questions, as well as continuing to organise various forums, scientific sessions and study courses. But these initiatives cannot be restricted to those of the leading bodies of the Party, and, within the democratic-centralist norms of the Party, all Party organisations, and the members individually, need to organise their own initiatives and work on this front, with the basic organisations paying consistent and serious attention to the education of their members.

The Party is the organised vanguard of the class, but the Party is composed of its members, the advanced and most conscious sections of the class, and it is inconceivable that the leading role of the Party can be realised without the continuous work to raise and develop the Marxist-Leninist quality of its cadres and members. Therefore, this entire broad and all-sided activity, to raise the Marxist-Leninist quality and communist education of the Party members, must be further enhanced and developed.

* * * *

The Party's tasks of defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, of defending and applying the principles of democratic centralism, of revolutionising inner-party life, of strengthening and consolidating the work of the Party organisations at all levels, of ideologically consolidating the Party, and of educating, training and tempering the Party cadres and members are all integrally bound up and

are indispensable for the strengthening of the Party as the political party of the proletariat. This entire work is of great importance at all times and under all conditions, and all Party organisations must pay first-rate attention to the realisation and implementation of these tasks. Without this work being taken up in its entirety, not only will the Party not be continually strengthened, but it will also open itself up to disruption and degeneration through the attacks of the class enemies. Therefore the work to constantly strengthen the Party and to implement the tasks on this front can never be slackened for the sake of expediency, on account of "pressure of work" or the "upsurge in the movement", etc. The Party always keeps in mind the Leninist teaching that *"the greater the spontaneous upsurge of the masses, the more widespread the movement becomes, so much the more rapidly, incomparably more rapidly, grows the demand for greater consciousness in the theoretical, political and organisational work of Social-Democracy"* (11).

At the same time, the work to constantly strengthen the Party can never be organised divorced from the revolutionary class struggle; the Party primarily strengthens itself and revolutionises its inner-party life through the quality of its interventions in the class struggle, through organising revolutionary action, turning its decisions into reality, and mobilising the working class and its allies to fulfil their aims. The continuous work of strengthening the Party and revolutionising its inner-party life is not an end in itself, but is undertaken in order to realise the leading role of the Party, to lead the proletariat and its allies to victory.

2. DEVELOP THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY

The main general task for the period is developing the leading role of the Party.

The Party is the political party of the class, its vanguard. It develops its leading role in the practical movement through its correct Marxist-Leninist line and through its consistent and determined work to put this line into practice, to lead the proletariat and its allies, and all those discontented with and opposed to capitalism, imperialism and reaction, and organise them into a single revolutionary torrent against the enemies. The Party is at the head of the proletarian movement for emancipation and acts in several broad directions and fronts of work to bring the consciousness of the masses to the consciousness of the vanguard, to revolutionise the working class and its allies and mobilise them to accept the leading role of the Party in real life, through all the complexities of the revolutionary process.

The Party already exercises its leading role; it is the most organised, advanced and conscious detachment of the class, armed with and based upon the most advanced revolutionary theory, the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The Party has advanced its Marxist-Leninist positions and tempered itself in the course of revolutionary struggles, organising and leading concrete actions and playing the leading role in developing many mass struggles of the people. The task which now confronts us is to further develop the leading role of the Party, in particular to deepen the influence of the Party in the working-class and people's movement and expand the Party's links and ties with the masses.

This task is a practical question for the entire Party, for all Party organisations and members. The Party does not stand on the sidelines merely talking

about the necessity for the Party to lead, or act as if it were just one among many "socialist" sects. Instead it works actively in the working-class movement to turn the necessity of developing its leading role into reality.

Developing the leading role of the Party means that the Party sets its tasks according to the needs of the class and organises its work on the basis of mobilising the class and its allies to accomplish these tasks. All the activity, propaganda, agitations and revolutionary actions of the Party are organised with this outlook and perspective, whatever the concrete degree of organised support and influence which the Party has attained at any given time. The Party is not a propaganda sect, nor does it submerge itself in the spontaneous movement: the Party is the general staff of the class, and sets its tasks and conducts itself in all its work and activity from this standpoint.

The tasks, calls, slogans and agitation and propaganda of the Party are addressed to the crucial problems of the movement; the Party conducts its activity to make the class and its allies conscious of the immediate and strategic tasks; and it works to mobilise, arouse and unite with the broadest sections of the proletariat and people to accomplish these tasks. More effective work must be done to study the key problems in the movement, to provide solutions to these problems and to enhance the work to mobilise the workers and broad masses to solve these problems. The erroneous idea of reducing the mobilising and organising of the class and its allies to "contact work" alone must be laid to rest. The Party does not reduce its work to merely having discussions with individuals on this or that question but addresses the class with its advanced positions and calls on the masses to come forward and fight for these positions.

The Party does not act alone or in isolation from the class and its allies. The Party is, and always works as, a detachment of the class, as its conscious and most organised vanguard.

In developing its leading role, the Party mobilises and organises the advanced sections of the class, uniting in action with them, winning them over to the positions of the Party and recruiting them into its ranks. The Party works vigorously to expand its ranks, organising repeated and ongoing campaigns for this purpose. This is a most important task in this period.

The Raising of the Ideological and Political Level of the Working Class and Broad Masses

An essential part of developing the leading role of the Party is the raising of the ideological and political level of the working class and its allies.

The Party combats the opportunist theory of spontaneism, that the spontaneous and day-to-day struggle, on its own, will give rise to revolutionary consciousness, which keeps hidden the strategic aims of the working-class and people's movement and works to prevent the working class and its allies taking the revolutionary path. The Party opposes economist and "workerist" ideas and practices which reduce the class struggle to the economic struggle alone and negate or underplay the political and ideological forms of struggle. As Lenin writes, the Marxist-Leninists do "*not confine themselves entirely to the economic struggle*", but "*must actively take up the political education of the working class and the development of its political consciousness*" (12).

The ideological and political propaganda and

agitational work of the Party is a permanent part of the revolutionary work of the Party, organised continuously and constantly strengthened and enriched.

The Party develops its work to raise the ideological and political level of the workers and broad masses of the people by combining propaganda and agitational work with revolutionary actions. Ideological and political propaganda and agitation are essential to pave the way for revolutionary action. Propaganda and agitational work become really effective when they are carried out together with revolutionary actions. Propaganda work, agitations and revolutionary actions form an integral whole; they are all essential and closely connected components of the work to prepare the subjective conditions for revolution and to raise the ideological and political level of the masses. This work is consciously developed as an inseparable part of the revolutionary process.

In its work to raise the ideological and political level of the masses, the Party pays serious attention to dealing with and clarifying important concrete problems and questions facing the working-class and people's movement and analysing events and providing insight into the ideological basis of important problems. The Party's propaganda work is not just limited to exposures and to "supporting the struggles". Neither is it intellectualist; it is linked to the revolutionary class struggle nationally and internationally. The quality of this work must be further improved, made more accessible to the workers and people, so that they can more easily grasp and make use of it.

The Party must also further improve the work of educating the workers and broad masses of people in Marxism-Leninism, popularising the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the objective social development. The Party uses various forms for this purpose, which include the organisation of forums and study groups. It does not reduce this important work simply to repeating some phrases, or to mere academic instruction, but concretely applies the Marxist-Leninist analysis to the concrete conditions and problems of the class struggle, to the tasks of the period and the methods to accomplish these tasks.

"Workers' Weekly" is an extremely important weapon in raising the ideological and political level of the people, and greater work must be devoted by all members and Party organisations to supporting "Workers' Weekly" in an all-sided manner. Greater attention must be paid to increasing the circulation of the paper, and to contributing to and writing for the paper, reporting on the struggles and other events in the areas. This work must become more consistent and vigorous and the readership and influence of "Workers' Weekly" must be greatly increased. Along with "Workers' Weekly", the theoretical organ of the Party, "The Marxist-Leninist Journal", is also an important means to raise the ideological and political level of the masses and the Party will soon produce this theoretical journal on a more regular basis.

The newspapers in the factories and other areas are also important weapons for raising the ideological and political level of the masses, and the frequency and quality of these journals must be further improved and developed to ensure that the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Party is disseminated on a sound and regular basis. These newspapers

must be clear and convincing, closely linking the general problems, and the general line of the Party, with the concrete problems and experience of the people, addressing themselves to and answering important problems and questions facing the workers, and written in a manner which arouses the people actually to solve them. Among their other tasks these newspapers should educate the workers and broad masses of people in Marxism-Leninism by taking examples from real life, from the national and international situation and the struggles of the workers and oppressed people in Britain and all over the world. They should actively gain the support of the workers and broad masses, who should be mobilised to write articles and to distribute the papers.

The publication of pamphlets, books, leaflets and other material is also important in raising the ideological and political level of the people, and this work of the Party at various levels must also be further improved and made more frequent; its quality must be raised, and, very important, it must be distributed on a much wider scale.

The Party uses various other forms to raise the ideological and political level of the class and broad masses of people. All Party organisations should broaden this all-sided work, take it to wider sections of the people, organise various programmes to broaden and develop this work, in the towns and in the various factories, communities and colleges, and launch more well-judged and well-timed ideological and political initiatives.

The Organising of Revolutionary Actions, a Key Factor in Developing the Leading Role of the Party

The Party participates in, organises and leads revolutionary actions as a component and central part of the work to develop its leading role, to facilitate the working class and its allies coming under the leadership of the Party in practice, to enable them from their own political experience to see that the leading role of the Party is essential for the victory of the struggle. Courageous and well thought-out revolutionary actions (which naturally have a completely different character from terrorist and anarchist actions) forge the links of the Party with the masses and develop its leading role in real life.

The Party and its members are vanguard fighters for the cause and interests of the working class and broad masses of people, standing in the front ranks of the struggle. The Party pays close attention to supporting, organising and leading the struggles of the masses of people for their rights; it does not utter phrases on the sidelines, leave the field open for the class enemy or take a sectarian attitude to the problems and demands of the people. The Party participates in and develops its leading role in the struggle for the short- and long-range economic, political and social demands of the people.

The Party remains very vigilant against the right-opportunist concept that the "movement and immediate demands are everything, the final aim is nothing", which takes up the concrete day-to-day demands of the people in the narrowest and most economist way, divorced from the strategic aims and tasks of the proletariat, as "single issues" in isolation from or in opposition to the aims of the movement. The Party at all times links the concrete day-to-day

demands of the people with its general line; it coordinates the day-to-day struggles with and subordinates them to the strategic aims and tasks of the proletariat.

The Party views this question as a broad, all-sided problem and it works out concrete slogans and tactics in order to accomplish this task, always keeping seriously in mind the concrete situation, the stage and thrust of the struggle, the problems facing the masses of the people and the level of their consciousness, and the strategic aims of the movement.

The Party also has experience of, and vigorously opposes, the "left" sectarians who shun revolutionary action and sit on the sidelines of the movement uttering "revolutionary" phrases; it vigorously opposes the "left"-sectarian concept of "the final aim is everything, the movement is nothing", which remains smugly content with having a "correct" line but does nothing to organise the masses on the basis of this line or to link it to the concrete demands, needs and problems of the people.

The Party has the important task of further developing and raising the quality of its interventions. In dealing with this question, the Party neither makes concessions to the bourgeois and revisionist positions nor isolates itself from the class and broad masses of people and their struggles. In its work the Party fights against any tendency or spirit of sectarianism or any spirit of capitulation to the bourgeoisie and revisionism. It is vigilant against and fights right-opportunist as well as "left"-revisionist influences and tendencies. It also remains very much on guard against any tendency, in fighting one of these, to reduce its vigilance and struggle against the other.

With the deepening of the crisis, the class

struggle is sharpening. The mass movements of the people are developing; the masses of the people are in motion, in action fighting for their rights and against the class enemy. The bourgeoisie is also in action, striving to prevent the people realising their aims. The bourgeoisie, social democrats and revisionists strive to manipulate the mass movement and introduce their counter-revolutionary and opportunist positions to prevent the people from realising their objectives and from advancing along the revolutionary path. They work to hold under their sway and influence the masses of people in action, and to confine their demands and struggles to the framework permitted by the bourgeoisie. The Party does not isolate itself from the broad masses of people and remain on the side-lines of various movements because of the manipulation by the bourgeoisie and revisionists. On the contrary, the Party militantly and actively intervenes, exposes those positions which are detrimental to the movement, clarifies the correct line of march, orientation and perspective, and organises and leads the broad masses of people. The Party, far from recoiling from the fight, vigorously intervenes in the working-class and people's movement, works to isolate those who split and divert the movement, to win the broad masses of people away from their influence and to the just positions of the Party, and organises to guide and lead the movement to accomplish its aims.

Take for example the peace movement. It represents the deep sentiments and aspirations of the people for genuine and lasting peace, their opposition to the war preparations of the two superpowers and their military blocs and the danger of war. The peace movement hampers and obstructs the imperialists and their plans for war. At the same time, the social

democrats and revisionists and others are promoting themselves as "leaders" of the movement and trying to create dangerous pacifist and reformist illusions amongst the people, especially the illusion that the two superpowers and the other warmongering powers can be "pressured" and "reformed" into guaranteeing peace, that one or another of these powers actually stands for "peace" and that detente can be "made to work". These forces are generally aligned with one imperialist bloc or the other; they do not stand for the struggle for genuine peace, but work to disrupt, divert and split the movement and line it up behind the particular bloc which they represent or with which they are connected. But the fact that the social democrats and revisionists and others are striving to manipulate the peace movement and trying to install themselves as its "leaders" does not at all mean that the peace movement should be ignored or opposed, that there is no role for the proletariat and its Party. It is a vital question for the masses to increase their struggle against the warmongers so as to avert the war for which the latter are preparing. Far from standing on the sidelines the Party acts vigorously in the peace movement, organising the masses to avert the danger of imperialist war, seeking and building alliances with all those who genuinely stand for and want to fight for peace, presenting its analysis and assessments and exposing the role of the revisionists, social democrats and others and exposing the dangerous illusions they create. The proletariat and its Party have the task and duty of mobilising the people to avert imperialist war, as well as the task of organising to eliminate the conditions which give rise to war.

The full weight of the Party is put behind the task of organising and arousing the workers and masses of

people in revolutionary struggle. The Party does not tail behind events and the mass movements and reduce its work to simply responding to this or that situation and struggle. The Party works systematically according to a plan, conducting its own work, with its own line, banner and programme. It carries out its work of building the unity of the class and the masses, of organising its own mass fronts and of building and strengthening its levers and other mass organisations under its leadership. It carries out the work of organising in trade unions which are under the sway of the social democrats and revisionists, and in other mass movements and organisations which the bourgeoisie and revisionists are striving to manipulate and divert. It advances its work and develops its leadership amidst the realities and complexities of the situation.

The solution to these problems is not achieved overnight, but it is impermissible to sit with arms folded and adopt a myopic, gradualist and narrow attitude. The Party must increase the tempo of its work and the quality of its intervention, neither viewing the question independently from the existing state of the movement and the consciousness within it nor failing to utilise the favourable conditions which are being opened up. The Party must work with great vigour and determination to expand its influence and ties so as to develop its leading role in practice.

Unity in Action

The Party participates in and leads the working-class movement and people's movement on the basis of unity in action; it advances the call UNITY IN ACTION! and calls upon the workers and broad masses of people and all those discontented with and

opposed to capitalism and imperialism, irrespective of their ideological and political views, their religious beliefs, their sex or their national and class origin, to unite in action in the struggle against the enemy. It calls upon all those who are fighting, who are in action against the enemy, to unite. It is the fight against the enemy, against the onslaughts of the monopolies and the imperialists, against the great dangers with which they are threatening mankind, which is the basis of unity. Thus, the Party fights for and builds the unity of the working class in struggle against monopoly capital and class compromise, in struggle against capitalist exploitation and for the elimination of the system of wage slavery; it fights for and builds the unity of the people in the struggle against racism, fascism, war and imperialism, for the democratic rights of the people and their freedom, independence and sovereignty.

Today, more than ever, the work of the Party to implement this principle assumes great importance. The realisation of this principle can only be achieved through struggle against the common enemy, through the struggle to build the unity of all those who are fighting and in motion against the enemy, through the struggle against and the isolation of the diverters and splitters of the movement, the capitulators and the traitors to the struggle of the people.

In this way the Party stands in the front ranks of the struggles of the working class and broad masses of the people and, through the justice and correctness of its positions and the boldness of its stands, wins the fighting sections of the people to its side.

In building and fighting for this class and people's unity, compromises and concessions are necessary for the skilful leadership of the struggle, of the

workers' and people's movement. The question is: what concessions and compromises, how they are made, with whom and to what extent and for what purpose? In dealing with the question of concessions and compromises, the Party never pushes into the background, but always keeps to the fore, the objective of advancing the revolutionary struggle; whilst using flexible tactics, compromises and concessions are never made on revolutionary principle. The question of concessions and compromises cannot be approached in a subjective fashion but must be decided on the basis of the analysis of the objective conditions and the strategic aims of the movement.

In fighting for and building the unity of the class and people, the Party puts forward positions which are correct and just and calls for unity on that basis. The Party wages vigorous struggle against the splitters, sectarians and fanatics who call for "unity" on the basis of this or that unjust, erroneous or sectarian principle, who use sectarian tactics to split the unity of the workers and people in order to disrupt and divert their struggles and line them up behind the bourgeoisie and one or other of the two superpowers. Thus, for example, in the people's movement against the imperialist war preparations, the CPGB modern revisionists say that US imperialism is the greatest enemy whilst Soviet social imperialism and the Warsaw Pact are "for peace"; the "three worlds" revisionists and others say that the Soviet Union is the greatest enemy while NATO is not to be regarded as an aggressive military bloc but as an instrument for "peace"; the social democrats and revisionists say that the peace movement should be a "pressure group" to "make detente work", whilst various trotskyites and others issue "revolutionary" phrases about what they will do

when war breaks out in order to divert attention from the task of averting imperialist war, and so on. On the basis of these unjust and sectarian positions and tactics, the revisionists and opportunists split the movement, as they do the workers' movement, the struggle for democratic rights, the struggle of the youth, women, etc.

The Party wages a relentless struggle against the splitters, diverters and disrupters of the mass movements, a struggle which is waged as a component part of fighting the common enemies. It upholds the slogan UNITY IN ACTION! and unites with, and builds the unity of, all those who are fighting the common enemies. At the same time, in building and fighting for this unity, the Party never loses its voice and personality; it never gives up its independence and leading role; it never gives up its right to speak its mind, to present its ideological and political positions and win over the advanced elements to them. The banner of the Party is always kept high.

The line of unity in action conforms with the analysis of the objective conditions, which shows that modern capitalism and imperialism not only exploit the proletariat but levy tribute on the whole of society. The economic essence of imperialism is monopoly and its political essence is reaction. Political reaction is directed not only against the workers but affects the lives of others too, the vast majority of the people. The danger of imperialist war and the danger of fascism affect the vast majority of the people in Britain and on a world scale; the fascisation of the state and of all aspects of life, the increasing limitation of rights and freedoms and the attacks on the sovereignty of the people confront not only the proletariat and its closest allies, but threaten broad sections of the people. This is the

objective situation, to which the tactics of the Party must conform. The proletariat is at the centre of the epoch. It must play its leading role to save mankind from the danger of imperialist war and fascism. The proletariat and its Party do not leave the fate of the people, the fate of mankind, to the superpowers, the imperialists, the monopoly bourgeoisie and reactionaries. They stand at the head, as the leader of all those who are exploited and oppressed by big capital; they respond *"to all cases, without exception, of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected"* (13), as Lenin said, and play their leading role in the struggle to save mankind from the grave dangers of imperialist war and in the struggle against and for an end to "all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse". The Party, as the political leader of the class, adopts its tactics in accord with this objective situation, and calls upon all those who are oppressed and exploited by imperialism and monopoly capital, who are threatened by the danger of fascism and war, to unite in action to fight the enemy, and fights to bring about this unity in action.

Furthermore, the analysis of the objective situation concretely shows with whom to unite, whether this unity is strategic or tactical and temporary, etc., and who are the enemies of the peoples and their struggle. In this regard the Party does not consider it to be a revolutionary tactic, or that it assists the development of the movement in any way, to present the modern revisionists and opportunists of all shades as being "anti-imperialist", "fighters for the cause of the people" or "leftists". On the contrary, the strategy and tactics of the Party are based on irreconcilable opposition to modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades. The facts

of life and revolutionary experience show that the modern revisionists and opportunists are agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, are disrupters, splitters and liquidators of the workers' and people's movement; they deny and are against the revolution, and they are not front-rank fighters for the cause of the proletariat and its allies but stand against and work to disrupt the struggle for socialism and the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

In carrying out their splitting, disruptive and diversionist activity, the revisionists and opportunists demagogically pretend that they are also fighting imperialism and the bourgeoisie, that they are the great champions of democracy, socialism and anti-imperialism, and that they stand for the "unity of all". The objective of the Party is to expose this demagoguery, and this can never be done by creating illusions amongst the people which cover over the reactionary character of revisionism and opportunism, their disruptive, sabotaging and diversionist role.

The Party advances just positions and unites with all those who support and fight for the just positions. It exposes and fights against those who oppose these just principles, who capitulate and betray, who split the movement, who unite with the enemy against the people. In this way the Party safeguards the interests and cause of the workers and broad masses of the people and develops the implementation of the principle UNITY IN ACTION! against the enemies.

This is the line the Party has followed in the anti-fascist movement. The Party and its forerunners advanced the principle "fascists have no right to speak or organise!", and called for the unity of all democratic people to implement it. The Party united with all the anti-fascist fighters and fought in the forefront of the struggle, carried propaganda and

agitational work to propagate the justice and necessity of these positions, and exposed and fought the attempts to divert and liquidate the struggle. It exposed and denounced the revisionists and others who came out with the slogan "peaceful opposition" to prevent the masses from achieving the task of stopping the racists and fascists from speaking, marching and organising, and who formed cordons alongside the police against the anti-fascist demonstrators. In this way the Party implemented and continues to implement the principle of unity in action in the struggle against fascism. The same is the case in the struggle against the racist attacks, where the Party advanced the principle "Self Defence Is the Only Way!", uniting with all who supported and fought for this just principle, exposing and isolating the opportunists who, on the one hand, sought to liquidate the movement through calling for reliance on the state to fight racism, and, on the other, sought to divert the movement into terrorist actions.

The Party participates in the struggle and organises wherever the people are in action. It organises its own work and its mass fronts; it also participates and organises in demonstrations, actions, movements, etc., organised by other forces. It does not leave the field open to the revisionists and opportunists to cause disruptions and splits; nor does it recoil from the struggle or compromise principles and create illusions about the enemy.

The clashes between revolution and counter-revolution, between the real fighters for the cause and interests of the proletariat and people and the sham ones, between Marxism-Leninism and bourgeois and revisionist ideology, are inevitable and unavoidable in class society. The Party fights with confidence on just and principled positions, with

clear conscience and with the objective of realising the victory of the working-class and people's movement. It does not hide its opinions from the workers and broad masses of people but vigorously advances them, so that, from their own experience, they see the justice and correctness of the Party's positions and actions and the counter-revolutionary and criminal nature of modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades.

3. THE TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE MASS FRONTS

The Work of the Party in the Working Class

The RCPB(ML) is the party of the proletariat and the central question which faces it is to realise the leading role of the proletariat in the revolutionary transformation of society from capitalism to socialism – in the first place, to prepare the subjective conditions for the proletariat to capture political power, destroy the bourgeois state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The entire work of the Party in the working class is organised with this political aim in the forefront, the aim of preparing the subjective conditions for the proletarian revolution – and all the day-to-day tasks, tactics and work are subordinated to and coordinated with the accomplishment of this strategic aim of the proletariat.

The emancipation of the proletariat is and must be the act of the working class itself, and it is the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat which is the main motive force in social development and which must inevitably lead to the

revolutionary transformation of society and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But in order to win victory the proletariat must be led and guided by its Party based on Marxism-Leninism. Thus, the Party pays first-rate attention to the organising of the advanced sections of the class into its political party, to the continual strengthening of the Party as the political party of the class, to the defence and development of its proletarian Marxist-Leninist line and ideology, to the continual enhancement of its proletarian composition, and to the building of the foundations of the Party in the factories and other workplaces.

The Party never under-rates the importance of the practical movement – as Marx teaches "*Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes*" (14). At the same time the necessity for the Party to lead the working-class movement to realise its aims must never be underestimated, and the entire work of the Party in the working class must be guided by a profound grasp of this necessity.

The principal task of the Party is to organise and direct the proletarian class struggle to realise the aims and objectives of the movement, the aim of "*the abolition of the wages system*" (15). Thus, the Party makes the class conscious of the necessity of revolutionary struggle, the necessity to overthrow capitalism, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism, and to mobilise its allies for the achievement of this aim. The Party wins over the advanced workers to its positions and organises the masses of workers towards accomplishing this strategic aim. The Party stands at the head of the working-class movement and works to fuse scientific socialism with the movement and to unite and organise the advanced sections of the class

around the Party and recruit them into its ranks. As Lenin writes, "*attention must be devoted principally to raising the workers to the level of revolutionaries; it is not at all our task to descend to the level of the 'working masses' as the Economists wish to do, or to the level of the 'average worker' . . .*" (16).

In order to accomplish the task of organising and directing the proletarian class struggle towards its goal, the building of the unity of the class is essential. The working-class movement is not a single homogeneous bloc. The bourgeois and revisionist ideology and political trends split the proletariat in order to prevent it from realising its historic mission as the gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of socialism. The working-class movement is split between the influence of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology and political lines and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology and political line. The victory of the proletarian struggle, the victory of the revolution, requires that this split be healed, that the unity of the class be established.

This unity can only be established on the basis of revolutionary principles and proletarian ideology and politics, on the basis of revolutionary action and the struggle over the concrete economic and political demands of the class, and on the basis of waging a determined struggle against and purging of the bourgeois-revisionist influences from the movement in the course of waging the class struggle.

The labour aristocracy is the principal social prop of the bourgeoisie for tying the working-class movement to its aims and interests, for keeping the working-class movement split. Thus, in order to unite the class and organise it to fulfil its objectives, it is necessary to wage protracted and determined struggle against the hold of the labour aristocracy over the mass of workers, to organise to smash this

hold, and to drive this ideological, political and organisational influence of the bourgeoisie and revisionism and opportunism from the ranks of the working-class movement. Only in this way will the conditions be created in the class to build and strengthen its unity on a genuine class basis.

The Party organisations in the factories must step up the struggle, and wage this struggle relentlessly and consistently, against the reactionary doctrines of the labour traitors and their bourgeois politics of class conciliation and class peace. It is the reactionary doctrines of the labour traitors, of the social democrats, revisionists and opportunists which split the proletariat and detach the workers' movement from the communist movement, from the strategic aims of the class, and which have become one of the principal roadblocks to the merging of scientific socialism with the workers' movement. They oppose the Marxist-Leninist conception of politics and the Marxist-Leninist programme of merging scientific socialism with the working-class movement. They preach that the main thing with which the class should concern itself is simply the latest dispute with the employers, the "current negotiations", "the present struggle". This narrow trade-unionist conception of politics is used to obscure and conceal the final aim of the working-class movement, the overthrow of capitalism, and keep scientific socialism out of the working-class movement. This trade-unionist and workerist conception, the labour-aristocratic conception of politics, is the instrument of bourgeois politics in the working-class movement, serving to maintain the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the working class. This bourgeois trade union politics, the politics which is characteristic of social democracy, modern revisionism and all varieties of opportunism, talks

about the "long-term aim" of the struggle, about "socialism" and "Clause IV", but this programme is postponed indefinitely and "in the meantime" the workers are told that the achievements of the everyday strike struggles are the be-all and end-all; the workers are called upon to put all their strength and energy only into what is "practical", "immediate" and acceptable to the "average worker": voting "Labour", "being realistic about the crisis", and paying attention only to the immediate trade-union struggle. As Marx and Engels characterised it in 1879, *"The programme is not to be given up but only postponed – for an indefinite period. One accepts it, though not really for oneself and one's own lifetime but posthumously, as an heirloom to be handed down to one's children and grandchildren. In the meantime one devotes one's 'whole strength and energy' to all sorts of petty rubbish and the patching up of the capitalist order of society so as to produce at least the appearance of something happening without at the same time scaring the bourgeoisie"* (17).

The Party militantly and actively intervenes in the economic struggles of the class; it does not under-rate the struggle of the workers for their economic demands but organises to extend and develop these struggles and to fight the sell-out and betrayal of the labour traitors. At the same time, it vigorously fights against all economist and "workerist" concepts which limit the struggle of the workers merely to trade unionism and the struggle for economic demands. The Party never puts the immediate strategic aim of preparing for the revolution into a secondary position and therefore it strives to develop the political struggle of the workers, to put forward both the economic and political demands, linking the economic demands

with the political demands and giving priority to the latter.

The Party militantly participates in and organises the struggle in defence of the economic, political and social rights of the workers, calling upon and organising the working class to vigorously fight against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and its savage efforts to make the workers pay for the crisis. Whilst intensifying the struggle for the economic and political rights of the workers, the Party never descends to the positions of the reformists and opportunists, who create illusions that the problems facing the class, such as mass unemployment, the crisis, etc., can be solved under capitalism. On the contrary, in the course of this struggle, the Party organises and prepares the conditions for the class to launch its own offensive against the bourgeoisie, the capturing of political power by the proletariat being the main aim.

The Party calls upon and organises the working class to participate in and play its leading role in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. It pays serious attention to the communist education of the proletariat, and to the raising of its ideological and political level, and educating the workers in proletarian internationalism, at all times organising its work with the perspective and aim of *"raising the workers to the level of revolutionaries"* (16). The Party wages a consistent and determined struggle against bourgeois, social-democratic, revisionist, anarcho-syndicalist and other alien ideas and to arm the working class with the proletarian Marxist-Leninist ideology and outlook. The Party organises its all-sided work to realise the aim of fusing the workers' movement with scientific socialism.

The Party, the vanguard of the class, cannot go

into action without the mass of workers. Therefore, the Party pays close attention to the organisation of the mass of workers, to the building of its levers in the class, with the aim of raising their level to the level of the vanguard. It is in the light of this task that the Party took the initiative to establish the Trade Union Revolutionary Opposition and has played the leading role in building the organisation.

The Party does not consider its work in the factories and in the working class as being in any way separate from the revolutionary process; on the contrary, it is central to it. Thus, the Party does not restrict its work in the working class to narrow fields of struggle, but takes broad questions to the class; it organises its work in the factories and other workplaces, in the trade unions and other organisations, with the single aim of preparing the subjective conditions for revolution, of merging scientific socialism with the working-class movement. It organises and calls upon the workers to step up the struggle against capitalist exploitation and class compromise and to develop the political struggle, the struggle for the capturing of political power by the proletariat and the destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie being the main aim. It arouses and mobilises the class as the leading force in the revolutionary process, the builder of scientific socialism, the only class which has the solution to the crisis, and the leading force in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

The Work of the Trade Union Revolutionary Opposition

The Trade Union Revolutionary Opposition is a revolutionary mass organisation of the workers. It has both a revolutionary character and a mass

character, and it is built on the basis of the united front of the working class, on the basis of its unity in action and struggle against monopoly capital and class compromise, in struggle against capitalist exploitation and for the elimination of the system of wage slavery. It is a mass organisation which organises the workers around the strategic aims of the class and which organises to channel the revolts and struggles of the workers into organised and conscious opposition to the capitalist system and class collaboration.

TURO is a mass organisation of the working class. Any worker, irrespective of ideological and political views, religious beliefs, etc., who agrees with the basis of unity of TURO, who agrees with its programme, can join the organisation. TURO is based on just positions and these positions are the only basis of unity. It is based on the line of building the unity of the class in action against capitalist exploitation, class collaboration and the wages system.

The work of the Party in the class cannot be separated from the work of TURO. Both organisations have the objective of organising the working class to accomplish its strategic aims and to end the capitalist system. At the same time, TURO is not an organisation of the Party; the Party and TURO cannot be fused and merged together, or the one substituted for the other. The Party is the organisation of the advanced sections of the class, it is the vanguard of the class; TURO is an organisation of the mass of workers.

The work of TURO is led by the Party, the vanguard of the class; without the leadership and leading role of the Party, it is impossible for the working-class movement and its mass organisations to make serious headway in their struggles, to achieve victory in their struggle. Far from

capitulating to the pressures and attacks of the revisionists and opportunists on this question, the Party and TURO work to win the class over to the just and correct position of the necessity for its political party and the necessity for this party to develop its leading role. The labour aristocrats and revisionists and opportunists work to prevent the proletariat building its political party and to prevent this party developing its leading role; they work to consolidate the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the class, especially through the bourgeois "Labour" Party. They declare that the trade unions should be "neutral" as far as politics and "political organisation" are concerned, that the trade unions are simply "economic organisations", and so forth, in order to oppose the Marxist-Leninist politics and programme being introduced into the working-class movement, to prevent the merging of scientific socialism with the working-class movement. At the same time, the trade unions under their control act, in reality, as a lever for the bourgeois "Labour" Party, and work to tie the working class politically to the bourgeoisie. Far from being independent of politics, the politics of class collaboration – social-democratic and revisionist politics – dominate; in short, the political line of the bourgeoisie. Whilst the Party leads the work of TURO, TURO is not an organisation of communists. Its basis of unity is expressed in its programme. When a worker joins TURO it is not at issue whether he agrees with the Party and agrees to accept its leadership. He joins because he agrees with and supports the programme of TURO. Greater attention must be paid to this point and "left"-sectarian and right-opportunist attitudes must be seriously combatted.

The Trade Union Revolutionary Opposition is not

a new parallel revolutionary trade union centre; nor is it a "rank-and-file" trade union "ginger group" to "educate" and "reform" the trade union chieftains. It is a mass revolutionary organisation of the workers which fights for the revolutionary unity of the class and which organises both in the trade unions and outside them, uniting the workers in conscious and organised opposition to the capitalist system and class collaboration. TURO exposes the treacherous activities of the labour aristocracy and the class-collaborationist labour traitors, and works and organises to destroy their stranglehold on the trade-union and working-class movement.

TURO never for a moment forgets or puts into a secondary position the aim of the working-class movement – the elimination of the capitalist system of wage slavery and the establishment of socialism. No genuine class organisation of the workers can be divorced from or neutral to this strategic aim. TURO continually works to make the working class conscious of its real and ultimate aims and mobilises and organises the workers in the struggle to realise these aims, to win them over to accomplish them.

At the same time, and as a component part of this work, TURO pays serious attention to the immediate aims and short-term demands of the class. It stands in the front ranks of the struggle. It organises militant activity and actions in the struggle of the workers against the shifting of the burden of the economic crisis onto their backs, and raises and fights for immediate, partial economic demands – the wage demands, the demand for jobs and job security, for proper living and working conditions, etc. It also raises and fights for the immediate political demands of the workers, raising demands against the political attacks on them, etc. TURO pays serious attention to mobilising the workers to

fight against the imperialist war preparations, against the fascisation of the state and of all aspects of life, against racism and racist attacks, and to take up all other democratic questions and struggles. TURO pays serious attention to the political education of the workers, to educating them in Marxism-Leninism, in the history of the working-class movement and the present situation nationally and internationally. TURO educates the class in proletarian internationalism, supports the workers and oppressed people of all lands, builds its unity with similar revolutionary mass organisations of the working class throughout the world, and fights for the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie on the world scale. TURO also pays attention to the social and cultural questions facing the workers.

The work of TURO is not organised separate from or in opposition to the main and ultimate aim of the class. On the contrary, its work in its entirety is directed to, and is a component part of, mobilising the mass of workers and raising them to the position of the vanguard, preparing the class for revolutionary struggle, for overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the first step in the economic transformation of society from capitalism to socialism. TURO does not confine its activities to the limits which the bourgeoisie strives to impose on the working-class movement; on the contrary, it conducts its activity from the standpoint of organising and mobilising the class to break from these limits and to fulfil its mission as the gravedigger of capitalism. TURO stands against and fights economism and bourgeois trade-union politics and wages a constant and determined struggle against all forms of class collaboration, treachery

and class compromise. It wages a concerted struggle against every kind of betrayal and sell-out of the interests and cause of the workers and organises its work on the basis of militant class struggle, self-sacrificing and militant activity in the factories and other workplaces, in the trade unions and amongst the unorganised workers.

* * * *

The deepening of the all-sided crisis of capitalism is creating favourable conditions for the advance of the work and influence of the Party and the work of TURO in the working-class movement. The British working class has a long and glorious history of struggle, has great democratic and socialist sentiments and aspirations, and is waging powerful struggles against capitalist exploitation and oppression and for its rights. As the crisis deepens, the revisionist and opportunist trade union chieftains are further exposing their openly reactionary and anti-working-class features, are showing themselves to be completely inadequate to the class as leaders, and the workers are further awakening to this fact. The eyes of the workers are being further opened to the realities of the capitalist system, which cannot provide jobs for five million people, which cannot guarantee the welfare of the workers and their families, which is viciously attacking all the hard-won rights of the workers, which is bringing the danger of a catastrophic war ever nearer. The class struggle is sharpening and, whilst the working class remains split and the bourgeoisie and revisionists are working feverishly to prevent the working class from taking the revolutionary road, a favourable situation is being created to develop the revolutionary class struggle.

Contradictory processes are at work in the working-class movement: on the one hand the objective radicalisation of the workers is taking place; on the other the bourgeoisie is escalating its offensive and the bourgeoisie, the social democrats, revisionists and opportunists of all shades are doing their utmost to suppress, obstruct, split and divert the struggles of the workers, and line them up behind the bourgeoisie, exposing the class to grave dangers. The Party must make the maximum efforts to resolve the situation in favour of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism. It must step up the struggle for the economic and political demands of the workers and for the revolutionary unity of the class; step up the struggle against the politics of class collaboration and against the hold of the labour aristocracy on the workers' movement; step up the work to raise the ideological and political level of the class; expand the ranks and influence of the Party and make greater efforts to build Party organisations in the factories and other workplaces and to build the mass organisations of the workers.

The Party must pay serious attention to, and play the leading role in developing, the work of TURO – building, strengthening and extending it as a national revolutionary mass organisation of the class, further developing the struggle and work of TURO in the trade unions, not as a tactic, but as a principle, organising where the masses of workers are and uniting them in struggle, and never veering away from the principled and determined struggle against the labour aristocracy and the class-collaborationist labour traitors. TURO must be extended to more of the main industrial centres, as well as more trade unions and areas, and it must step up its work to challenge and defeat the stranglehold of the bourgeoisie, revisionists and social democrats on the

trade-union and working-class movement. The Party must stand at the head of the proletarian movement and develop its leading role.

The Work of the Party Amongst the Youth

The youth are an inexhaustible source of revolutionary energy. Their role and participation in all revolutionary movements has always been great and by their very nature the youth are ready and willing to fight for progressive, new and revolutionary ideals and against reactionary, old and backward ones. But on their own the youth are incapable of finding the correct road. It is only the proletarian party and Marxist-Leninist ideology which can guide them in this; it is only by the youth combining their energies with the energies of the working class and coming under its leadership that their revolutionary potential and capacity can be realised and put on the correct road, and their aspirations fulfilled.

Under the capitalist system the youth have no future and no prospects; they have no possibilities of realising their aspirations and needs, no way out of the economic, social, cultural and political conditions with which they are faced. The bourgeoisie attacks the youth in many ways and on many fronts. Large-scale unemployment, the constant and increasing harassment and oppression, the vicious exploitation of the youth in the workplaces, the attacks on the personality of the youth and the cultural aggression, with a future in which the danger of imperialist war and fascism is becoming ever greater – this is what the bourgeoisie has to offer the youth.

Favourable conditions exist for the development of the work to mobilise and organise youth for

revolutionary struggle. The discontent, anger and struggles of the youth are increasing all across the country. Large numbers of youth have been in the front ranks of the struggle against the imperialist war preparations, the fascisation of the state and the nazi gangs, the struggle against unemployment, and against persecution, harassment and oppression by the bourgeois state. The revolts of the youth in 1981 were a concrete expression of the willingness of the youth to rise up in struggle and militantly fight for their rights and the rights of the people. Large sections of the youth are becoming increasingly disillusioned with the capitalist system, are acutely concerned about and opposed to the imperialist war preparations; they take an active interest in politics and are keen to listen to and discuss the revolutionary alternative.

At the same time, the bourgeoisie is also very active in trying to mobilise the youth as its own reserve. The attempt is being made to set different sections of the youth at loggerheads with each other. Efforts are being made to mobilise youth, especially the unemployed and the most down-trodden, into openly reactionary, racist and fascist organisations. The mass unemployment which exists amongst the youth is used to pressure them into joining the bourgeois army, as well as the police force. An intense ideological campaign is being waged by the bourgeoisie for militarism, chauvinism, racism and for the preservation of the status quo, and to befuddle the minds of the youth. There is wide-scale promotion amongst the youth of drugs, violence-for-violence's-sake, "doing your own thing", etc., for the purpose of numbing their democratic sentiments, making them indifferent to the dangers and problems which face the people, for the purpose of promoting reaction and nihilism amongst the youth, and

mobilising them for the war preparations. Furthermore, as part of these attempts to mobilise the youth behind the aims and interests of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists and opportunists are also paying a great deal of attention to the youth, attempting to mobilise them for the bourgeois Labour Party, trotskyism and other opportunist trends; they try to split the youth from the working class, deceptively promoting the youth as the "leading force" in the "revolution"; they strive to ensure that the struggles and energies of the youth are dissipated in all kinds of diversionary and dead-end activity.

The youth are a very important reserve for the proletariat and the revolution, and the entire Party must greatly step up its work amongst the youth and increase its mobilisation of the youth. It is one of the most important fronts of work for the Party.

Special attention must be paid to the Marxist-Leninist education and enlightenment of the youth, winning the youth over to communism, in particular, strengthening the work of the Communist Youth Union of Britain, extending the scope and tempo of its activities amongst the youth, consolidating it organisationally and expanding the organisation. It is the Party which tempers the youth as Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries and it is under the guidance and care of the Party that CYUB develops its work and activity and finds the ways and means to implement the policy of the Party amongst the youth.

The Communist Youth Union of Britain is the organisation which trains the youth for communism, in conformity with the line of the Party and under its leadership. Its role is to serve as an instrument of revolutionary propaganda and agitation; as an

instrument of communist education, mobilisation and organisation of the youth; as a reservoir of new Party members. It is a fighting, militant, internationalist and communist organisation to lead the youth in their struggles. It is an organisation based on democratic centralism, Marxist-Leninist in its outlook and style, and constantly working to direct the energies and creative abilities of the youth along the correct, revolutionary road.

The Communist Youth Union of Britain is not an intermediary youth organisation; it does not have a programme, strategy and tactical line which are separate from the Party. It is bound to the Party ideologically and politically and it is an organisation which is based and built upon democratic centralism. At the same time, the CYUB is not a "junior Party"; it is a communist youth organisation to mobilise the youth for communism. It is very important that the Party members and organisations have a profound understanding of this character of CYUB and remain very vigilant against and combat all right-opportunist and "left"-sectarian positions on this question. The CYUB does not make concessions on ideological, political and organisational principles, turning the organisation into a loose organisation not based on democratic centralism or without Marxist-Leninist outlook and style; nor does it isolate itself from the masses of youth or keep the revolutionary youth outside of the organisation under the pretext that only trained Marxist-Leninists can join. CYUB is an organisation which guides the revolutionary strivings of the youth for a conscious cause, the cause of communism and proletarian revolution, which imbues the youth with Marxist-Leninist consciousness and trains them as Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

The youth entering CYUB are educated in the line

of the Party, its aims and objectives, Marxist-Leninist ideology and political and organisational line. They are educated and trained to stand firmly against and fight the bourgeoisie on all fronts and to stand firmly with and fight for the interests of the proletariat in Britain and throughout the world. They are imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and the perspective and outlook that it is only in revolution and the struggle for socialism and communism that the aspirations of the youth can be realised, that their future lies. This work of CYUB is not an end in itself, but has the aim of mobilising and arousing the youth to take up the cause of communism and training them to become members of the Party.

The CYUB does not limit itself in the scope of its activities, but closely links itself with the broad masses of youth; it stands in the front ranks of the struggles for their rights, stands in the front ranks of the revolutionary mass struggle and works to educate and mobilise the youth for the cause of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism. CYUB is an instrument of revolutionary agitation and propaganda and pays close attention to realising the Party's tasks on this front. It organises vigorous agitational and propaganda work amongst the workers and broad masses of people and amongst the youth, militantly contributing to the work of imbuing the class and its allies with revolutionary consciousness. CYUB combines propaganda and agitational work with revolutionary action, and carries out vigorous all-sided work amongst the youth to open the path for them to accept the Marxist-Leninist analysis, positions and objectives.

CYUB acts in a revolutionary way, as a militant fighter for the cause of the proletariat, the broad masses of people and the masses of the youth. It

works in the midst of the youth, fighting the day-to-day struggles, fighting the bourgeois and revisionist forces which are trying to divert, split and disorientate the youth, mobilising and organising the youth for the revolutionary path, under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party. Thus, CYUB stands in the forefront of the day-to-day economic and political struggles, fighting for the economic, political and social demands of the youth and broad masses of people, with the perspective and aim of preparing the subjective conditions for revolution.

The CYUB pays first-rate attention to mobilising young workers in the factories and communities, and actively takes up the tasks set by the Party for the work in the working class. The CYUB pays close attention to arousing and mobilising the broad masses of the youth for the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle, in the struggle for their rights and the rights of all the people, and to mobilising the youth as a militant force in the struggle against racism, fascism, war and imperialism headed by the two superpowers. It fights for unity in action of all the fighting forces in the struggle against the common enemies, waging this struggle as an integral part of the revolutionary process; it firmly supports the work of People's Democratic Front and of the Women's Union of Britain, and establishes appropriate forms of organisation to unite, organise and mobilise the broad masses of youth in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

The CYUB also pays first-rate attention to the mobilisation and organisation of the student youth, in the universities, colleges, etc. The CYUB does not remain aloof from the many problems which the students face, nor does it agree that the student youth should confine themselves merely to their own

problems. The CYUB organisations in the universities, colleges, and so on, arouse and mobilise the student youth on the basis of viewing their problems as part and parcel of the problems facing the working class and broad masses of people; the CYUB stands in the forefront of the struggle of the student youth for their rights, mobilises and organises them to take up the cause of the working class, the cause of revolution and socialism and actively mobilises them for the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

The work of the CYUB is an integral part of the work of the Party. CYUB works closely as one with the Party to expand the work and influence of the Party and to implement its general tasks. The CYUB carries out constant work in its ranks and amongst the revolutionary youth, amongst the broad masses of youth, to educate the youth that without the leadership of the proletariat and its Party there can be no transformation of society from capitalism to socialism and the youth will not be able to gain a happy and secure future.

The road for the youth is the road of revolutionary struggle, of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. Great responsibilities rest on the shoulders of the Party and CYUB, as well as other revolutionary mass organisations, to direct the energies, militancy and creative capabilities of the youth along this road and to pay greater attention to the mobilisation of the youth.

The Party's Work for the Mobilisation and Organisation of Women

The Party attaches great importance to the question of women. It pays serious attention to the task of winning women over to communism and the

Party, and of arousing and mobilising women for the revolutionary struggle to transform society from capitalism to socialism, the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle and the struggle for the rights of women and for the complete emancipation of women.

Women represent a colossal social force, an extremely important reserve of the proletariat, and the Party considers the mobilisation of women a very important task in the preparation of the subjective conditions for revolution. The mobilisation and organisation of women, their participation in the revolutionary struggle, is essential for the victory of the struggle for socialism, the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle and the struggle for the complete emancipation of women. Thus the degree of mobilisation of women is an acid test of the work of the Party to develop its leading role, of the degree of advance of the work to prepare the subjective conditions for revolution. The Party considers its work amongst women to be one of the most important fronts of work.

Women comprise half the population and the vast majority of them face capitalist exploitation and oppression as part of the exploitation and oppression of the working class and broad masses of people. A large proportion of women are part of the vast army of the proletariat.

Women have been historically, as they are today, one of the most oppressed sections of the people, suffering discrimination, abuse, indignity and attack, over and above the exploitation and oppression to which the masses of people are subjected by the capitalist class and the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie has passed various laws allegedly to guarantee equality for women in society, but the objective reality is quite different. Women are in the

main paid lower wages than men for the same jobs, providing an additional source of superprofits for the bourgeoisie. They are found in the worst paid jobs, with the worst conditions; they are discriminated against on all fronts, suffering inequality in work, pay, conditions and rights, as seen in the massive unemployment amongst women workers and in the lack of opportunities which exist for them. Combined with this, women are attacked and discriminated against on the political, social and cultural fronts, whilst national minority and immigrant women are triply exploited and oppressed, facing further discrimination and abuse on the basis of their nationality. With the deepening of the crisis, this all-sided discrimination and attack on women is increasing. Increasing numbers of women are being driven into the most serious poverty; the health, social and welfare facilities for women are rapidly deteriorating, while the social crime and the decadent culture and other attacks of the bourgeoisie are further increasing.

The demand for the emancipation of women is one of the key banners of the proletarian movement for emancipation. The question of fighting for the rights and complete emancipation of women is a central and strategic part of the programme of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party. The emancipation of women is a demand for which the Party resolutely and militantly mobilises and organises the working class and broad masses of people to fight as an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

The emancipation of women is inseparably bound up with the emancipation of the entire working class. Just as the bondage of women is connected with the appearance of private property, as Marx and Engels explained, so the real liberation and complete

emancipation of women will come about only with the overthrow of class society. The level of emancipation of women in a society is an indicator of the extent to which that society is free from class exploitation and oppression. Capitalist society is class society based on exploitation and thus the women are enslaved; it is only socialism which creates the conditions for the emancipation of women, as the example of socialist Albania today clearly shows.

Historically, as today, the working and oppressed women have been an extremely militant, active, fighting social force, waging powerful struggles for their rights and for the rights of the oppressed people, standing in the front ranks of the communist, workers' and democratic movement in Britain and internationally. In this respect, women in Britain have a great history and tradition as revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists, and have played a very important role in the building of the Party. The deep resentment and opposition of women to the capitalist system is expressed in the many protest marches, demonstrations, strikes and other forms of struggle in which they participate. Women are everywhere present in the front ranks of the struggle against social injustices, against the shifting of the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the people, against the imperialist war preparations and the fascisation of the state. Women are very active in struggle for the rights and dignity of women and for an end to all discrimination against them. They actively participate in the economic, political, social and cultural life, in the fight to ensure that the younger generation has a sound upbringing, is well cared for and provided with the necessary amenities. This struggle of women is a real indictment of the capitalist system, which cannot provide equality for

women, respect for their rights or care for their families.

The Party sets itself the task of further developing its work amongst women and its mobilisation of women. The Party organises its own work on this front and does not hide behind any organisation to accomplish this task. It carries out its own ideological, political, organisational and educational work for the mobilisation of women and pays special attention to the task of mobilising women to join the Party and take up the cause of revolution and socialism. The Party resolutely stands shoulder-to-shoulder with all the working and oppressed women fighting for their rights and emancipation.

The Party pays serious attention to the ideological struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and revisionism on the question of women. This is a determined ideological struggle in defence of the rights of women and in support of the programme for their emancipation, against all the ideological attacks on women, against the attempts to hide the class basis of their oppression and to distort the character of their struggles. The Party pays attention to raising the ideological and political level of women and to showing that their complete emancipation is realised through, and is conditional upon, the emancipation of the class.

The Party played the leading role in the establishment of the Women's Union of Britain and has led the building and strengthening of this mass revolutionary organisation of women.

The WUB works closely with the Party and under its leadership; but it is not an organisation of the Party; its basis of unity is not support for the Party but support for the programme of WUB. The WUB is

an organisation of the broad masses of women, an organisation which is composed of women workers and women from other strata of the exploited and oppressed people. It is an organisation which has as its basis of unity and programme the mobilisation and organisation of women in the struggle for their emancipation, in the struggle for their rights and in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. The WUB presents just positions and a just programme and calls for unity on the basis of these. It unites in action with all women who are fighting for their emancipation, irrespective of ideology, class and national origin or religion; it builds a united front of the working and oppressed women against the common enemies.

The WUB does not organise its work amongst women separate from, but as an integral part of, the revolutionary process; it organises the struggle of women for their rights and emancipation as one with the struggle of the working class and all the oppressed for their rights and emancipation. There can be no emancipation of women without the emancipation of the working class, which means that women must be aroused and mobilised to take up the emancipation of the proletariat as their own strategic aim. Thus, the WUB puts forward demands which are consistent with the strategic demands of the class; it does not organise its work among women separate from but as an integral part of the main aim of the working class to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism.

At the same time, the WUB does not take a sectarian attitude to the problems which face women; it does not narrow the scope of its activity, ignore or underestimate these problems and isolate itself from the broad masses of women and their struggles. The WUB, therefore, presents immediate

and partial demands in relation to these questions and actively mobilises and organises women in the struggle for these demands; it stands in the front ranks of the day-to-day struggles of women. The WUB opposes any idea which isolates these struggles from the struggle of the broad masses of people and the strategic aims of the proletariat, which narrows and distorts these struggles or turns them into a struggle of "men versus women" or a struggle confined to the limits of reform and diverted in favour of the preservation of the capitalist order.

The WUB pays attention to the mobilisation of women both for their immediate and partial demands and for the demand of the emancipation of women and the emancipation of the working class. It does not succumb to bourgeois reformism or bourgeois feminism; nor does it isolate itself from the broad masses of people and fail to unite in action with the women in struggle against the common enemies. In its work WUB remains vigilant against and fights any sectarian spirit and any spirit to capitulate to bourgeois-revisionist positions. It organises women and fights for their unity on the basis of its just and principled positions, always paying attention to the overall aims of the movement and to the realities and complexities of the situation.

The WUB pays attention to mobilising and organising women in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and against the shifting of the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the people. It mobilises and organises women to participate actively in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle, in the struggle against the imperialist war preparations, against the danger of fascism, against imperialism and social imperialism, and for the democratic rights of the people. It fights against all forms of discrimination, whether on the basis of sex, class,

race, nationality, religion, etc. The WUB links the struggle of women inseparably with the struggle of the working class and oppressed people in Britain and on the world scale.

The WUB wages determined struggle against the anti-women attitudes and ideas of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists and opportunists, which are used to try to disrupt, split and liquidate the struggles of women and to ensure that women do not get organised for their real emancipation and the emancipation of the working class. On the one hand, openly reactionary ideas are being promoted to mobilise women against the struggles of the proletariat and people, to turn them into a reserve in support of, as well as for recruitment into, the bourgeois army and police force, to submit to the reactionary "women's place is in the home" doctrine and shut their eyes to the increasing dangers which face mankind. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie, revisionists and opportunists promote bourgeois feminism with the aim of splitting the people, turning women against men and men against women as well as creating divisions amongst women, and diverting the struggle of women away from the common enemies of all the people. The issue of women's emancipation is being manipulated in order to try to mobilise women behind imperialist pacifism, reformism and bourgeois politics, to prevent women from accomplishing their aims and building their genuinely progressive and revolutionary organisations.

The WUB pays first-rate attention to these questions, as a crucial and integral part of the mobilisation and organisation of women. It militantly and unwaveringly puts forward and fights for the just positions which serve the interests of women and all the exploited

and oppressed. The WUB organises all-sided work for the broad education of women in the course of the struggle for their rights and emancipation. The WUB carries out education on the class basis of women's oppression, on the national and international situation and the objective social development and to popularise proletarian ideology and the science of Marxism-Leninism, in accordance with the reality that there are only two outlooks and ideologies, the proletarian and the bourgeois. In carrying out this work it never departs from the basis of unity of the organisation.

The WUB organises all-sided work amongst the women to mobilise them in support of the struggle of the working and oppressed women and broad masses of people throughout the world, and educates women in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Very favourable conditions exist for the advance of the work to mobilise and organise women, and the situation demands such an advance. Thus, the Party sets itself the task of further developing its own work to organise women and of leading the organisational, political and ideological strengthening of WUB, further developing the scope and extent of its activities and its work to unite in action with all fighting sections in the struggle for the emancipation of women.

The Anti-Imperialist and Democratic Struggle and the Work of the Party in the People's Democratic Front

The Party has great responsibility to lead the broad masses of the people in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

The anti-imperialist and democratic struggle is a strategic struggle, not a tactical one; indeed the struggle against imperialism exists after the

establishment of socialism, as long as imperialism exists and threatens the freedom and sovereignty of the people. This struggle is an integral part of the revolutionary process.

The Party takes up the question of freedom and independence and of the sovereignty of the peoples and the question of the struggle to defend and extend democratic rights, and organises the broad masses of the people for the fulfilment of the aims of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle as an essential part of its work.

The Party opposes confusion-mongering on the question of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle, the attempts to liquidate this struggle or to place it in opposition to the struggle for socialism. The anti-imperialist and democratic struggle is not in opposition to or an obstruction to the struggle for socialism, but facilitates it and creates favourable conditions for it. Nor is the struggle for socialism to be postponed until such time as victory is achieved in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. The Party wages both the struggle for socialism and the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle, neither struggle being postponed. There is no wall between these two strategic struggles, and no contradiction; neither can be defined away in favour of the other. In fact the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle is part of the proletarian socialist revolution, an integral part, which is subordinate to and coordinated with it.

The opportunists of all shades are past masters at juggling and confusing the question of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. The CPGB modern revisionists for example reduce the struggle for socialism to a struggle for "democracy" and, separating the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle from the revolutionary process, convert the

struggle for "democracy" into a struggle for strengthening parliamentary democracy, for reforming and perfecting the capitalist system. The trotskyites attack, disrupt and split the anti-imperialist struggle and democratic struggle under the pretext that the only "real" struggle is the struggle for (what they call) "socialism". The maoists of the "three worlds" variety call for the elimination of the class struggle in favour of what they term "the anti-imperialist struggle", a struggle to line up the people behind one or another imperialism in its contention with others. The Party has always vigorously opposed these reactionary concepts and will continue to do so in the future.

The anti-imperialist and democratic struggle has its own aims and objectives and the Party wages this struggle on the basis of clearly defining these aims and working to mobilise the broad masses of the people to fight for these aims. Thus, the Party sets the anti-imperialist struggle as a strategic task and works out tactics and presents clear slogans and demands to mobilise and organise the broad masses of people to fight for both the immediate and strategic aims of the struggle. The essence of the struggle is resolute opposition to imperialism. The attitude taken towards imperialism is, as Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, *"a touchstone to evaluate the political and ideological position of every political force which operates. . . a line of demarcation which divides the genuine patriotic and democratic revolutionary forces, on the one hand, from the forces of reaction, counter-revolution and national betrayal, on the other hand"* (18).

Basing itself on this Marxist-Leninist analysis of the attitude towards imperialism, the Party takes up the strategic question of sovereignty, freedom and independence, and organises the masses of people in

the broad struggle against imperialism, the imperialist war preparations and the danger of imperialist war.

The Party mobilises the broad masses of the people in struggle against all imperialism and social imperialism, against the aggression, expansionism and annexations carried out by the imperialist and social-imperialist powers, against their interference, domination and colonial and neo-colonial enslavement and plunder of the peoples. It mobilises the people in support of the national liberation struggles of the peoples, the struggle of countries for freedom, independence and sovereignty.

The Party fights against all imperialism. In particular it resolutely fights, and mobilises the broad masses of the people against, British imperialism and its crimes against the peoples. It has fought and will continue to fight against the colonial occupation of the north of Ireland and in support of the struggle of the Irish people for freedom, independence and national reunification, against the colonial and neo-colonial enslavement of the peoples of southern Africa, against the colonial war waged by British imperialism against Argentina for the reoccupation of the Malvinas, against all the colonial and neo-colonial activities of British imperialism anywhere in the world. The Party holds that the attitude to one's "own" bourgeoisie is an acid test of whether a force is genuinely anti-imperialist and democratic or is a supporter of and apologist for imperialism. It holds in the forefront of its attention the principle enunciated by Marx and Engels that *"a nation which oppresses other nations cannot itself be free"* (19), and vigorously mobilises the broad masses of the people in accord with this principle. In doing so it sharply exposes and combats the social democrats, revisionists and opportunists of various shades who

want the people to turn a blind eye to the crimes of British imperialism, and to be indifferent to or oppose the struggles of the Irish people and other peoples, to be a prisoner of the lying propaganda of the British imperialists that the national liberation fighters are "terrorists", that the British imperialist troops are "peacekeepers" and so on. It exposes and combats too the practice of these forces to divert the resolute struggle of the people against British imperialism's crimes with slogans of "one man, one vote", "troops to barracks pending withdrawal", "bill of rights for northern Ireland", "setting a time limit of two to three years for British withdrawal", "U.N. settlement", etc., etc., which are aimed at lining up the people behind the neo-colonial solutions of British imperialism. The Party mobilises the broad masses of the people to support the revolutionary struggle of the peoples against British imperialism as an inseparable and indispensable part of their own struggle for rights and freedom.

The Party fights against all imperialism. In particular it fights against US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism which are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples on the world scale, as well as the main source of the danger of a new imperialist world war. Thus the Party has always mobilised the broad masses of the people in struggle against the crimes of the superpowers – the crimes of the US imperialists in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, in Central America and Latin America, in the Middle East, etc., the crimes of the Soviet social imperialists in Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, etc. In this the Party resolutely combats the attempts of the opportunists of all hues to line up the people behind one or other superpower by portraying the other as the only or the main danger. Thus it fights against the propaganda of

the revisionists and trotskyites and various maoists that the US imperialists are the sole enemy, while the Soviet Union is an ally of the peoples, and against the propaganda of various other maoists that the Soviet Union is "the main danger" while US imperialism is "in decline".

The Party fights against all imperialism. It fights against the crimes of all the imperialist and social-imperialist powers against the peoples – of British imperialism, the two superpowers, the EEC powers, the Chinese social imperialists, etc.

The Party mobilises and organises the broad masses of people in the anti-imperialist struggle against the imperialist war preparations, the danger of imperialist war and for genuine and lasting peace. It is the system of imperialism which is the cause of the growing danger of war; as long as imperialism exists, so will the danger of war. The broad masses of people cannot successfully wage their struggles against the danger of war and for genuine peace with illusions about, or by relying on, one superpower or the other, with illusions that the detente talks between the two superpowers can be "made to work" or with the illusion that the warmongering imperialist powers can be "pressured" and reformed into becoming peaceful, that the broad masses of people should look to these powers to bring about peace. On the contrary, the struggle against imperialist war and for genuine peace must be directed against both the two superpowers, against all the warmongering imperialist powers and all their aggressive military alliances, and against all the imperialist war preparations, both nuclear and conventional. It is the broad masses of people and their revolutionary struggle against imperialism which are the force to avert the danger of imperialist war.

For Britain, under the present conditions of imperialism, the national question does not present itself in the same manner as in those countries where the national liberation struggle is on the order of the day. Nevertheless a major national question exists in relation to the US domination. The Party takes a resolute stand against, and mobilises the broad masses of people to fight against, the US imperialist domination of Britain, against the monopoly bourgeoisie's sell-out of the independence of the country and its submission to US imperialism's dictate, and in defence of the sovereignty and independence of the British people.

The waging of the anti-imperialist struggle means resolutely opposing and struggling against world imperialism, the world bourgeoisie and world reaction, at the head of which stand the two superpowers. The struggle has the objective of defeating and destroying imperialism, of making it impossible for imperialist war to break out and averting the danger of fascism.

It is in the same light that the Party takes up the democratic struggle. The struggle for the elimination of feudal vestiges or the settlement of the agrarian question is not posed in Britain as it is for many of the oppressed nations. At the same time, this does not mean that under the present conditions of imperialism the democratic struggle does not exist. On the contrary the threat to democratic rights and freedoms is becoming ever more pressing. The struggle for democratic rights is a struggle for real democracy and a struggle which is waged with a revolutionary perspective and revolutionary objectives.

The British parliament and "democratic process" do not guarantee the democratic rights of the people; on the contrary the reactionary bourgeoisie uses

them as weapons to restrict and take away these democratic rights. The Party rejects and fights against all reformist illusions on this question, and it also opposes those who sit on the sidelines leaving the reactionary bourgeoisie an open field to deprive the people of their rights and prepare for fascism.

Thus, the Party takes up and wages the democratic struggle in a broad and all-sided manner. It fights against the fascisation of the state and of all aspects of life and against the danger of fascism, against the militarisation of the economy, against chauvinism and social-chauvinism, and against racism, racist attacks and racial discrimination. It wages a determined struggle for the rights of the workers, youth, women, national minorities and immigrants, for the national rights of the Irish people and of the people of Scotland and Wales, and against the persecution of progressive and democratic people.

The Party organises and mobilises all the forces fighting imperialism into one common and united struggle against the common enemies; it wages the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle in a broad and all-sided manner and it fights for and presents demands for both the short-term and long-term aims of the struggle. The Party never puts into a secondary position, but pays very serious attention to, developing the long-term aims of the struggle, the overthrow of imperialism. It is the revolution which is the principal weapon to realise these aims, and the Party always keeps to the fore the main task of preparing the subjective conditions for the victory of the revolution. Thus for example the Party unites in action with all the forces fighting to avert war, to prevent it breaking out, under the conditions that imperialism still exists, and in the course of the overall struggles prepares the subjective conditions

for the victory of revolution, for the overthrow of imperialism; it is the victory of revolution on the world scale which will put an end to imperialism and so guarantee genuine and lasting peace.

The organisation of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle brings to the fore the problem of building alliances and the establishment of broad popular fronts around concrete political, democratic, anti-imperialist demands and programmes. The principle which guides the work of the Party in this direction is UNITY IN ACTION!, unity with all freedom-loving, peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces to fight the enemy and to fight for concrete democratic and anti-imperialist political demands. At the same time, the Party never submerges itself in the front, giving up its organisational and political independence, its right to speak its mind on questions and the work to develop its leading role.

It is with this perspective that the Party carries on its work in People's Democratic Front. The People's Democratic Front embodies the unity of the people of Britain, embodies their unity in defence of their full democratic rights, against imperialism and the dangers of imperialist war and fascism, and in defence of their sovereignty.

The Party fights alongside and is active in PDF because the Party is the most militant fighter for these anti-imperialist and democratic aims. The Party unites with all fighting and progressive and democratic forces in the struggle for these aims, irrespective of ideological, political, religious or other convictions. The Party supports PDF as the embodiment of the unity of the people in action, as the organisational form to unite the people to achieve victory in the struggle for the anti-

imperialist and democratic aims.

The Party supports PDF because of its just positions and thus it actively supports and leads the work of PDF and provides it with every assistance to enable it to realise its aims. At the same time, the Party does not hide behind PDF and refrain from conducting its own work in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle or lose its personality in PDF. Nor is PDF a Party organisation. PDF is a mass organisation of the people which calls upon, mobilises and organises the broadest sections of the people, irrespective of their political, ideological or religious beliefs, to unite in action, to unite in struggle against the common enemies. The formation of the National Organising Committee of People's Democratic Front at the June 7 Conference Against Racism and Fascism in 1981 was a very important step in building this popular front.

The Party will actively support and provide every assistance to the National Organising Committee of PDF to further expand its activities, to build more local committees of PDF and strengthen and develop the work of the national organisation.

The Work of the Party on the Cultural and Various other Fronts

Whilst the work of the Party in the working class, amongst the youth and women and in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle represents the main fronts of its work among the masses, it also organises work on a number of other fronts, which are not separate from, but integrally bound up with, the main fronts.

The Party has paid attention to the important and strategic task of defending socialist Albania and popularising the great victories it has scored under

the leadership of the PLA in socialist construction and in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism. The Party has carried out its own work on this front, as well as supporting the activities of various other progressive organisations. It will further strengthen and develop this work in the future.

The Party must also pay attention to, and step up its work amongst, broader sections of the people and amongst the allies of the proletariat. For example, the work amongst small and poor farmers, fishermen and the urban working people, the closest allies of the proletariat, is of strategic importance and cannot be neglected. The Party will pay attention to work among these sections as well as among all justice-loving and enlightened individuals in society, so as step by step to expand its influence.

The Party also considers that work among intellectuals is of great importance, winning the progressive sections of the intellectuals over to the side of the proletariat, to convince them of the inevitability of and necessity for revolution and mobilise them as an ally of the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle, in the struggle for socialism and in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. In carrying out this work, the Party neither takes a sectarian attitude to intellectuals nor does it make any concessions to the various bourgeois and revisionist theories which assert that intellectuals constitute a class in themselves and can or should replace the proletariat as the leading force in the revolution.

As part of its work amongst intellectuals, the Party pays serious attention to working amongst revolutionary, progressive and democratic cultural workers. Culture is an important auxiliary for the progress of the struggle for socialism and the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle, for inspiring

and arousing the broad masses of people. At the same time, the decadent culture of the bourgeoisie and its cultural aggression against the people are an important means of the class enemy in its efforts to pacify, disorientate and bemuse the people; it is an important auxiliary of the imperialists in their subjugation of the people.

The decay and parasitism of imperialism is very much in evidence in its reactionary, decadent, degenerate and nihilist culture, in its hampering of the progress of culture, which in turn has its negative and numbing influence on the broad masses of people. Sports and culture have been converted into a field controlled by the giant monopolies for the purpose of reaping enormous profits. Reactionary violence, militarism, racism, fascism, pornography and decadence are glorified. And this "development" in sports and culture is integrally bound up with the fascisation of the state and of all aspects of life and the war preparations, as well as the selling out of the sovereignty of the people.

The Party pays serious attention to opposing, criticising and fighting this decadent culture of the imperialists and the bourgeoisie and their cultural aggression against the people, to defending the positive cultural traditions and achievements of the people and of progressive mankind as a whole and to developing, in the course of the struggle, progressive and revolutionary culture. With regard to this latter question, the Party's work on the cultural front pays particular attention to developing both the form and content of the culture; to developing culture which inspires the workers and broad masses of people and gives impetus to the revolutionary and democratic struggles, which moves the revolutionary process forward; to developing culture which pays attention to the national traditions and psychology of the

people, and which is imbued with militancy and revolutionary spirit.

Important developments in this direction have been made on the cultural front, both in terms of the concrete achievements which have been made in producing a sound base for its further development through the work of the Progressive Cultural Association, as well as in terms of the broadening of the work amongst wider sections of progressive and democratic musicians and cultural workers. The Party has fully supported and worked for these achievements and will continue to pay serious attention to the steady strengthening and development of the all-sided work on the cultural front.

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The Party has set its main tasks for the period, in relation to the constant strengthening of the Party, in relation to developing the leading role of the Party, and in relation to the work of the Party in the mass fronts. This entire work of the Party is indispensable, and is the basic work of the Party, which is carried out under all conditions and at all times, and in all its complexity. These tasks represent an integral whole; they are all essential component parts of the revolutionary process and of the work to prepare the subjective conditions for revolution. At any particular time more emphasis may need to be placed on one particular task or the other; the limits of each task at any given time and in any given area and the possibilities for its accomplishment must be studied seriously and worked out methodically and in a living way. But this can never be turned into a question of taking up one

task separate from the others, of taking up one task and exaggerating it at the expense of the others.

The complex and all-sided nature of the work, activity and tasks of the Party must be clearly and profoundly understood by all Party organisations and members. The decisions of the Party must be turned into life and, according to the Party's plan, all Party organisations and members must work systematically and militantly, with drive, creativity and initiative, to implement and realise the tasks set.

Chapter III

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM OF ALL SHADES

The Party was born out of the struggle for the cause of communism and Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the proletariat, and out of struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades. The Party was founded on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of a clear-cut and resolute stand against modern revisionism and all its currents, against Khrushchevism, Titoism, "Mao Zedong thought" and Eurocommunism, and against the particular currents of modern revisionism in Britain.

The struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades is essential for the victory of the working class and its allies in their struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. As Lenin points out: *"the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism"* (20).

Since its founding the Party has continued this essential struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism, deepening and broadening the struggle, and waging it continuously. It has further developed

its ideological and political analysis and criticism of the "Communist" Party of Great Britain, the main modern revisionist trend in Britain, and of the followers and defenders of "Mao Zedong thought"; it has further developed its ideological and political analysis and criticism of social democracy; it has continued the ideological struggle against the main international currents of modern revisionism. In this, the Party has received very valuable assistance from the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and their struggle against modern revisionism, especially from the heroic struggle waged by the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, and from the important works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, such as "Imperialism and the Revolution", "With Stalin", "Eurocommunism is Anti-Communism", "Reflections on China", "The Khrushchevites", "Yugoslav 'Self-Administration' – a Capitalist Theory and Practice" and "The Titoites", as well as the Reports to the 7th and 8th Congresses of the PLA.

The Party pays serious attention to analysing the role of revisionism and opportunism, and unmasking the essential features of all the main revisionist and opportunist trends in Britain and on the international plane.

Whilst modern revisionism is in deep crisis and rapidly degenerating into social-democratic positions and whilst social democracy itself is deep in crisis too, there can be no relaxation in vigilance and struggle against revisionism and opportunism.

Social democracy and modern revisionism are political reserves of the bourgeoisie; they serve as weapons in the hands of the bourgeoisie to deceive the workers and broad masses of people and to line them up behind the aims of the bourgeoisie. They are an integral and essential part of the system of rule

employed by the monopoly bourgeoisie, the system of violence and demagoguery – the hangman and the priest. Modern revisionism and opportunism are part of the strategy of imperialism employed to create reformist illusions amongst the people, to split and divert the working-class movement, and to prevent the proletariat from rallying and organising itself and its allies into a great revolutionary force against capitalism.

The Labour Aristocracy, Social Prop of the Bourgeoisie

The labour aristocracy provides the main channel for the injection of bourgeois ideology, revisionism and opportunism into the working-class movement and the base for the bourgeois Labour Party in the working class.

The labour aristocracy is a stratum of the working class, the upper crust of the working class, brought into being on the basis of bribery of this section of the workers from the enormous profits which are made from the plunder of colonies and neo-colonies and from the super-exploitation of the lowest-paid strata of the working class. The labour aristocracy is, as Lenin said, "*the principal social . . . prop of the bourgeoisie . . . agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement*" (21). Together with the newcomers to the working class from non-proletarian classes, who have various petty-bourgeois prejudices and ambitions, the labour aristocracy constitutes a channel for the spread of reformism and chauvinism in the working class.

The system of promotions, favours and privileges, the Trades Union Congress, corruption within the trade unions, the Labour Party, parliament and local government, the judicial system, the honours system,

government and nationalised industry committees at various levels, the health committees, etc., all operate to foster the labour aristocracy. The labour aristocracy, for the sake of the privileges and favours it receives, supports and defends the capitalist system, supports the demands of the capitalists, and acts as their reliable ally and agency within the working-class movement. The labour aristocracy defends the imperialist ambitions of its "own" bourgeoisie abroad and defends its system of exploitation and oppression at home.

The labour aristocracy is the basis of the split in the working-class movement. The working class is split on the basis of ideology; it is split between the bourgeois and revisionist ideology and political lines on the one hand and the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist ideology and political line on the other.

Historically, the narrow craft and trade mentality has been used by the bourgeoisie to split the class and these ideas are still a force today, aimed against the unity of the class in opposition to capitalist exploitation and class compromise. The labour aristocracy works very actively to maintain these ideas; it is the stratum which spawns them. It also works with the bourgeoisie to foment splits in the working-class movement and to incite contradictions amongst the workers along various other lines. It promotes differences and jealousies amongst the workers, creates divisions between higher and lower paid, between public and private sector workers, between industrial and non-industrial proletarians and between workers of different nationalities and regions, etc.

Alongside reformist ideas, anarcho-syndicalist ideas also have a long history in the working-class movement. These especially have their origins amongst workers in industries where there are

violent fluctuations in economic conditions. Anarcho-syndicalism, which once had a powerful influence amongst the workers and played a certain progressive role in the early part of the century, is, today, a backward trend in the working-class movement, which is maintained by the bourgeoisie and sections of the labour aristocracy. It is a trend which appears very "revolutionary" but which pushes every anti-Leninist position, opposes the party of the proletariat and its leading role and works to prevent the working class breaking from bourgeois trade-unionist politics in favour of the revolutionary positions.

The bourgeoisie pays close attention to the fostering of the labour aristocracy as an extremely important vehicle for perfecting the integration of trade unions with the bourgeois state, for the strengthening of the grip of the bourgeoisie over the trade unions. A large amount of time and money is spent by the bourgeoisie for this purpose. Specially trained labour "experts", consultants, lawyers, etc., are dispatched by the bourgeoisie into the upper echelons of the working-class and trade-union movement. Numerous laws are passed to bind these unions to the bourgeois state and bourgeois legality. Many departments at various levels have been established to give organised expression to the collaboration between the labour traitors, the monopoly bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governments, such as in the NEDC, and so on. The chief representatives of the labour aristocracy and of the trade union bureaucracy are promoted to top posts in the nationalised industries, government and state apparatus, and enter the House of Commons and the House of Lords, as well as being found in high management positions of various monopolies.

Millions of pounds are put aside for "labour education", for "assisting" the trade unions to organise "secret ballots", and so on. Financially the trade unions have become increasingly integrated into the capitalist economic system with their large investments in various monopolies and financial institutions.

Through these and many other such measures, the bourgeoisie ensures that the trade union apparatus is maintained as an instrument for quelling the class struggle and for funnelling reformist and bourgeois ideology into the working-class movement. The bourgeoisie controls trade unions with its men, its money and with the numerous laws which have bound these unions hand and foot to bourgeois legality.

The labour aristocracy was greatly swelled after the second world war, especially with the unprecedented development of state monopoly capitalism. This was reflected in the still greater development and still more open avowal of the class-collaborationist line by the Trades Union Congress and its affiliated unions. The chief representatives of the TUC openly declared that their aim was the "proper recognition" of the "trade union movement" in the corridors of government and, recognising their indispensability to the working of the capitalist system, they demanded a share in the power of the bourgeois state on a more equal footing.

The essence of the treacherous, bourgeois character of the labour aristocracy was clearly evident in the shameless boast of the then TUC General Secretary Woodcock, made in 1968 during the centenary of the TUC. He bragged about "how a small debating assembly grew into the national representative body of British trade unionism, sharing in the making of government policies and taking part in administering major social services

and meeting on equal terms with the spokesmen of the nation's employers . . ." "Governments", he said, "recognised the essential contribution which the TUC could bring to the conduct of national affairs . . . employers similarly accepted the TUC's right and competence in industrial affairs. The TUC's assertion of a right to share in the government of the nation inevitably involved an obligation to assume some share of responsibility in implementing policies agreed with governments . . ."

All the monopoly capitalist parties are linked to and utilise the labour aristocracy. But it is the Labour Party which is particularly linked to the labour aristocracy, which has the labour aristocracy as its main social base in the working-class movement. The labour aristocracy wants to liquidate the struggle of the workers for their economic and political demands by calling upon the workers to rely on parliamentarism and the Labour Party, which is a party of the monopolies just as the Conservative Party is. The labour aristocracy advocates the bourgeois reformist struggle as the means to liquidate the struggle of the workers for their economic and political demands; it is trying to eliminate any independent economic and political demand of the class. It tells the workers that the principal means for securing their economic and political interests lies in a "Campaign for a Labour Victory", to "kick out the Tories", or in the class-collaborationist forms which they have established with the exploiters and their governments.

The labour aristocracy creates illusions about the economic crisis. It pretends that this crisis is not a result of the capitalist economic system but merely a result of erroneous policies of this or that individual, manager or government. Through this, it diverts the

working class away from the struggle for its economic and political demands into parliamentarism, into a struggle to change such and such a policy, government or manager. Within this context, the labour traitors act as necessary in any given situation, moving from outright class-collaborationist talk, and outright treachery and sabotage of the workers' interests, to the adoption of a "militant" disguise at certain times. Their treachery becomes most blatant when the struggles of the workers develop in defiance of bourgeois legality, when they threaten to get out of control and break from the framework permitted by the bourgeoisie. Then the labour traitors demand that the workers must give up their struggle, that it is "suicidal" for them to continue, and openly collaborate with the bourgeoisie in quelling the struggles. The nation-wide struggle of the hospital workers, the struggle of British Leyland workers, the train-drivers' struggle and many other recent examples vividly illustrate how these labour traitors openly collaborate in liquidating the struggles of the workers for their economic and political demands.

The labour traitors have fine words to say against the attacks on the trade union rights of the workers under the Employment Acts – and then set about liquidating the struggle against these attacks. They say they oppose the government for creating mass unemployment – and then refuse to raise and fight for the demands of the workers for jobs, job security and the rights of the unemployed. They condemn the economic strategy of the Conservative government – and then proceed to present their "alternative" strategy based on the call to "put the 'Great' back into Britain", to make industry more profitable, to increase productivity, to "be realistic" in the face of the crisis, to exercise restraint on

wages, organising their "social contracts", "national economic assessments", etc. with the Labour Party. They speak of their "support" for the struggles of the workers – and then set about betraying them at the earliest possible moment and trying to isolate, discipline and attack militant workers and trade unionists. They work all the time to keep the struggle of the workers within the bounds set by the capitalist system, and within these bounds they strive to ensure that at most the workers only ever gain through their struggles some minor reform or some slight increase in their wages, which can be quickly negated by inflation, rationalisation, "productivity" deals, speed-ups, etc.

The labour aristocracy is a reliable ally of imperialism in general and an important agency of and essential instrument for the strategic aims of British imperialism in particular. Thus, the TUC played a leading role in the splitting of the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1949 at the behest of the Anglo-American imperialists. The TUC was an enthusiastic supporter of US imperialism's Marshall Aid Plan after the second world war, and was an important element in the anti-communist cold-war campaign launched by world imperialism. In Greece it played a vicious role in the suppression of the national liberation movement by US and British imperialism.

Likewise, in the post-war period the labour traitors played a big role in the spreading of the "British concept of trade unionism" in the colonial, neo-colonial and dependent countries in order to disrupt the workers' movement and the anti-imperialist, national liberation struggles of the peoples. The labour aristocrats side with British imperialism's plunder and oppression of other nations

– as seen in their open or tacit support for British colonial rule in Ireland and for British imperialism's bloody colonial war in the South Atlantic. They oppose the national liberation and anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. They consider themselves part of NATO, in line with Labour Party policy, and support the "special relationship" with US imperialism. They support the imperialist war preparations under the pretext that this is "necessary for defence" and "provides jobs" for the workers. In the name of "free trade unions", they support the reactionary "Solidarity" organisation in Poland – certainly not out of any concern for and support of the struggles of the Polish workers against exploitation and oppression, but solely from the standpoint of supporting the attempts by US imperialism and its allies to wrest Poland from the hands of Soviet social imperialism and bring it into the western imperialist camp. The "free trade unions" they support in Poland are the same "free trade unions" they build in Britain: "free" from the proletarian ideology and political line and imbued with bourgeois trade union politics, the politics of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The labour aristocrats are imbued with the chauvinist, racist and reactionary ideology of the British bourgeoisie and are the channel for the injection of these ideas into the working-class movement. They brazenly talk about "putting the 'Great' back into Britain" and defending its "vital interests". They incite antagonism between the workers of different nationalities; they express all the racist outlook and racist prejudices of the bourgeoisie, and themselves practise blatant racial discrimination and racist abuse against the national minority and immigrant workers. They are enthusiastic supporters of the "Buy British"

campaign and are currently trying to mobilise the working class directly behind the monopolists with their campaign for import controls, promoting antagonism between British workers and workers of other countries, accusing the workers of other countries of "stealing" British workers' jobs, and calling upon the workers to fight to protect the markets and interests of British companies.

The class-collaborationist labour traitors and the labour aristocrats are defenders of the monopolies and capitalist exploitation and oppression at home and the defenders of imperialist robbery and oppression on a world scale. Thus, the struggle against the labour aristocracy is inseparable from the struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The working class cannot realise its economic and political demands, cannot realise its strategic mission to overthrow capitalism, without the most determined struggle against the labour aristocracy and its reactionary bourgeois ideology and class-collaborationist politics. The working class cannot achieve its goals and build its unity without the most determined struggle to get rid of this ideological, political and organisational influence of the bourgeoisie from the ranks of the working-class movement and to break the hold which the labour aristocracy has established over the movement. This task can never be reduced to a struggle against this or that individual or to a question of "reforming" various trade union chieftains. It is a struggle to build the unity of the class in action against the class enemy, fighting against the class-collaborationist labour traitors, opposing reformism and chauvinism and organising the class to overthrow the capitalist system of wage slavery.

Social Democracy, a Life Insurance for the Capitalist System

Social democracy is the bourgeois policy of deception and disruption of the working-class movement. Its role is to instil reformist illusions in the minds of the workers and line them up behind the aims and interests of the bourgeoisie. Social democracy is not in the least socialist and progressive; on the contrary many of the ideas and practices of social democracy have been incorporated into the structure and superstructure of the monopoly capitalist system of exploitation and oppression.

The Labour Party, which is a social-democratic party, has long been a staunch defender of the capitalist and imperialist order. It is a capitalist party which, since the second world war, has been one of the preferred political parties of the monopoly bourgeoisie; it has alternated with the Conservative Party as the bourgeois government in Britain, the executive of the modern imperialist state.

The Labour Party presents itself as a party of the working class and its policies and programme as being socialist. But nobody should be confused on this question; the working class and broad masses of people must see through the demagogy and deception of the social-democratic Labour Party. The Labour Party, which emerged at the turn of the century as a party of the working class, has long degenerated into a party of the bourgeoisie, and there is nothing socialist or progressive about its policies and programme.

At the turn of the century, with the transition of capitalism to imperialism, important and significant changes and developments occurred in the working-

class movement. Capitalism had developed into its highest and final stage, the stage in which the objective conditions are ripe for proletarian socialist revolution. The ranks of the working class had further increased, as had the scope of its activity and its struggles. Other capitalist powers had begun to challenge Britain's world supremacy; British imperialism was losing its monopoly position, and this was bringing to an end the former complete domination of liberal-labour politics in the working-class movement; it brought an awakening of the working class, its turning away from the capitalist Liberal Party and its demand for its own independent political party.

It was under these conditions that the Labour Party was formed in 1900, coming into being as a party of the working class. However, the Labour Party never pursued a truly independent class policy; it never became truly independent of the bourgeoisie. It reduced the question of the working class conducting itself politically independent from the bourgeoisie to a question of forming a separate labour group in the bourgeois parliament.

In the historical conditions where the class and liberation struggles were rising and the lives and liberties of the people were being increasingly threatened as the inter-imperialist contradictions intensified, the opportunist character of the policy and leadership of the Labour Party soon became even more pronounced. The opportunist elements consolidated their positions in the leadership; the Labour Party began openly betraying the cause of the working people and took the road of capitulation to the bourgeoisie. As Lenin wrote in 1913, "*The British Labour Party. . . is the workers' organisation that is most opportunist and soaked in the spirit of liberal-labour policy*" (22). The outcome of this

opportunism and capitulation of the Labour Party, and also the cause of its open exposure, was its treachery and cowardice in the face of the reactionary onslaught of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The main chieftains of the Labour Party took the same stand as the opportunist leaders of social democracy on the world scale, who betrayed the proletariat and the revolution, sided with and supported their "own" bourgeoisie in the latter's contention for markets and spheres of influence, raised the social-chauvinist banner of "defence of the fatherland", voted for war credits and the sending of millions of workers to serve as cannon fodder for the imperialist robbers during the inter-imperialist world war of 1914-18. The cowardice and treachery of the leaders of social democracy made it possible for the imperialist powers to plunge the world into imperialist war and slaughter millions of workers in their efforts to re-divide the world between them.

The social democrats, basing themselves on a wholesale revision of Marxism, became open counter-revolutionaries; they came out in frenzied opposition to the Great October Socialist Revolution, Leninism and the Third, Communist International. From that time the Labour Party, like the other social-democratic parties, has openly defended the capitalist and imperialist order and has stood on the side of imperialist robbery, stood against the interests of the workers and oppressed masses of Britain and all lands; it has been virulently anti-communist, has frenziedly opposed scientific socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat and has gone down in history as an oppressor and butcher of the working and oppressed people striving for their national and social emancipation.

In the twenties, the Labour Party was twice

brought to power to preside over the state apparatus and manage it on behalf of the monopolies. During the second world war the Labour Party chieftains shared the government with the Conservatives. Through its services in this period and before, the Labour Party proved itself as a "responsible" party of government for the post-war period, necessary to give a further lease of life to the capitalist system, to act as its life insurance.

Thus, with historical development and under the historical conditions of imperialism, the Labour Party degenerated into a bourgeois party; its chieftains became merged with the monopoly bourgeoisie, and it became a tried and tested capitalist party, a "natural party of government", as the Labour leader Harold Wilson described it. All the socialist demagogy of the Labour Party has been refuted by life itself over the decades; the facts of life show that whatever socialist poses the Labour Party chieftains adopt to try to deceive the workers, and whether they are at the head of the bourgeois government or acting as "Her Majesty's Opposition", their aims, policies and actions are geared to preserving and strengthening the capitalist and imperialist order. As the "Financial Times" put it in 1963, "... the industrialists are less afraid of the Labourites, and some of them are of the opinion that a Labour government will open up better prospects for development than the Tories" ("Financial Times", June 28, 1963).

The Labour Party poses as an "alternative" to the "straightforward" party of the bourgeoisie, the Conservative Party, and stands ready to form the bourgeois government when it is called upon to do so by the monopolists and financial oligarchy. Throughout the history of the capitalist system in Britain, essential to maintaining the power and rule

of the bourgeoisie has been the operation of a "two-party" system. As Marx wrote, "*The oligarchy perpetuates itself not only through the aid of permanently keeping power in the same hands, but also by turn and turn about – letting power out of one hand in order to catch it in the other*" (23). As with the Tories and Whigs, the Conservatives and the Liberals, in the past, the Labour Party and the Conservative Party are the two main bourgeois parties which have been central to the operation of this system for well over 50 years: the system of periodic "change of horses" in government, the system where each party blames the other for all the ills of capitalism and for the failure of its own policies, where each party boasts of having a "real" alternative and tries to fool the people that a change of government will solve everything.

The Labour Party has nothing socialist in its programme and policies. It preaches so-called "democratic socialism", which is not democratic and has nothing in common with scientific socialism. Rather, it is a programme for strengthening and perfecting the capitalist order by further nationalisation of various concerns to put them in the service of the whole bourgeoisie, by extending state monopoly capitalism, by extending the intervention of the capitalist state in the economic life of the country, by further increasing deficit financing to "stimulate" the economy – with a few liberal-bourgeois reforms which do not threaten the capitalist order in any way. This "democratic socialist" programme of the Labour Party is a bourgeois programme, which on all major questions coincides fundamentally with that of the Conservative Party. The differences centre around the degree to which this or that policy is implemented, the precise form the implementation of the policy

takes, the differences in demagogy which surround the policy, and so on. Within this, the one or the other party is called upon by the monopoly bourgeoisie to take control of the state and to manage it on its behalf, one or the other party being at any given time the most suited by its demagogy and particular policies, by the concrete conditions in the country, the level of the class struggle, the particular needs of the monopolies, and so on.

The contradictions and differences between the Labour Party and the Conservative Party, their differences over various aspects of policy, are very real and sharp. With the deepening of the crisis these contradictions and differences are intensifying. At the present time the Conservative Party is becoming more openly reactionary whilst the Labour Party is increasing its deception. The fact that differences exist and are sharpening does not change the character of either party: the Conservative Party and the Labour Party are both capitalist parties, are both defenders of the capitalist and imperialist order, and both implement the strategy of the bourgeoisie.

Whilst the Labour Party has degenerated from a party of the working class into a party of the bourgeoisie, it has maintained its connections in the working class, especially with the upper crust of the working-class movement, the labour aristocracy. The Labour Party is a party of monopoly capital but in its development it has been able to retain its base in the working class; it has retained various forms and habits, an "image" which perpetuates the deception that it is a "workers' party". The Labour Party relies especially on the labour aristocracy to effect this fraud.

Thus, the particular importance of the Labour

Party in the strategy of the bourgeoisie is that it portrays itself as the "party of the working class". The Conservative Party is presented as the party with the policies of the capitalists, whilst the Labour Party is presented as the party with "alternative policies" which are "socialist" and "serve working people and their families".

The Labour Party serves in the strategy of the bourgeoisie as its most important political weapon to prevent the working class from taking the revolutionary road; it is to mobilise the working class behind the aims of the bourgeoisie, turning the working class into a reserve of the class enemy, to create reformist illusions in the minds of the workers and to divert and disrupt the working-class movement. The Labour Party preaches to the working class that there is no necessity for revolution. It tries to instil in the minds of the workers reformist illusions about the reactionary monopoly capitalist system in Britain and its "democracy". It tells the workers and broad masses of people that there are no fundamental differences of interest between them and the bourgeoisie, that only through securing the superprofits and prosperity of the bourgeoisie can the well-being and aspirations of the people be realised. Today the capitalist-revisionist system is deep in crisis, the bourgeoisie is shifting the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the people, fascising the state and all aspects of life, militarising the economy and preparing for war; the inter-imperialist and inter-monopoly contradictions are becoming increasingly acute and the two super-powers and their military blocs are threatening to unleash a catastrophic world war. Under these conditions, the Labour Party is preaching reform instead of revolution. It lulls the people to sleep concerning the impending disasters with which

imperialism is threatening mankind, and preaches to the people that they should maintain their faith in this dying system, that there are "credible" policies which can "make capitalism work" and avert the dangers.

In order to effect this fraud, the bourgeoisie as a whole never stops repeating the lie that the Labour Party is a socialist and workers' party. For its part, the Labour Party never stops repeating the lies that the ills and crises of capitalism can be reformed away, that socialism can be achieved by "evolution and not revolution", that socialism consists of state monopoly capitalism, the "welfare state" and having the Labour Party in government; it never stops telling the workers that it has "real" alternatives.

When the Labour Party is in power, its demagogy about so-called alternatives is exposed because it is no different from any other party of the bourgeoisie. It imposes wage controls, attacks the trade-union rights of the workers, fascises the state, sells out the sovereignty rights of the people, suppresses the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed peoples, militarises the economy and carries out the imperialist war preparations and all the other policies of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

In this respect, the Labour Party always has two tunes. When the class struggle escalates, when it is not in government or when elections are not imminent, the Labour Party adopts one tune, the socialist demagogy becomes more pronounced, the more "leftist" decisions are brought to the fore and it talks about peace, supporting the workers and so on. At other times the Labour Party changes its tune – especially when it gets elected to government, where it behaves like any other bourgeois government.

On all the important questions facing the working class and broad masses of people, the Labour Party

takes a counter-revolutionary stand. It refuses to look reality in the eye and tell the truth; if it did, then the only conclusion it could draw would be the necessity for revolution. The Labour Party chieftains are not naive people; they refuse to draw the necessary scientific conclusions concerning the main problems of our time because their motivations and interests are not on the side of the proletariat but are on the side of the bourgeoisie. Whether on the question of the crisis, the question of peace, the national question, or the question of democratic rights and so on, the social-democratic Labour Party offers no solutions for the workers and broad masses of people; on the contrary, its policies and solutions on these questions are the same as those the other parties of the bourgeoisie are proposing.

Thus, for example, on the question of the crisis, in all their fine speeches the Labour Party chieftains never mention anything about the real cause of the crisis; they never say that the crisis is a crisis of the capitalist system, of state monopoly capitalism, that crisis is a fellow-traveller of capitalism. Their "analysis" is reduced to blaming, among other things, "world recession" or the Conservative government and Margaret Thatcher. Hence their "solution" is only a reformist illusion, that the capitalist system can overcome its ills and crises through some reforms – in particular, that increased deficit spending, a further growth in the state monopoly sector, selected import controls, more subsidies to the monopolies and its so-called "alternative economic strategy" can overcome the crisis and the inherent contradictions of capitalism. In other words, they advocate more of the discredited social-democratic policies which have been a factor fuelling the present crisis, more of the policies which have saddled the people with enormous debts to the

financial oligarchy, more of the same policies which enrich the monopolies and financial oligarchy and further impoverish the people.

The Labour Party is trying to confuse the workers and broad masses of people on the question of the crisis so that they do not come to the necessary conclusion that if the crisis is to be eliminated the bourgeoisie must be overthrown and the economic system of capitalism replaced by socialism. This is the only sound and correct conclusion which can be drawn, a conclusion which the social-democratic chieftains oppose as the hardened counter-revolutionaries they are.

Similarly, on the question of war, the Labour Party pretends that it stands for peace but then proceeds to support and justify the imperialist war preparations and imperialist aggression on the basis of "defence of the country" and defence of the "vital interests of Britain", in other words defence of the interests of the monopolies and imperialism. When at the head of the bourgeois government, the Labour Party has executed all the imperialist war plans of the British imperialist bourgeoisie, and when out of office it has enthusiastically supported them, as witnessed in the recent bloody colonial war in the South Atlantic (the "peacemonger" Michael Foot declared that "there is no question in the Falkland Islands of any colonial dependency or anything of that sort" and called on Thatcher for "deeds not words"). At the same time it tries to fool public opinion on this question. Now, when it is not actually in office, it can afford to issue its demagogical calls for peace, presenting the Labour Party as a "natural party of peace". On this basis it attempts to lull the people to sleep in the face of imperialist war and presents the question as being one of the policy of this or that individual, this or that government. It

criticises this or that particular policy of the Conservative government or of the White House and presents its "alternative" policy, which is still a policy of imperialist war preparations. It advises the people not to fight actively against the imperialist war preparations, but to put their faith in the two superpowers and their detente talks, in the "sensiblyness" of British "democracy" and in the "alternative" policies of "peace" being presented by the Labour Party – such as the pacifist and reformist illusion that the danger of imperialist war can be averted "simply" by "pressuring" the British imperialists to "unilaterally" disarm, or the suggestion that the danger of imperialist war comes only from nuclear weapons, or the pretence that NATO is to be seen not as an aggressive military pact headed by the US imperialists but as an instrument of "peace" and "defence".

On the political front, the Labour Party defends bourgeois "democracy", the "parliamentary process" and the "great democratic institutions" of Britain. Like all the bourgeois parties the Labour Party claims that British "democracy" is the "best" democracy in the world. It joins with the entire bourgeois political spectrum in telling the working class that there is no real alternative to bourgeois democracy, that proletarian democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat are "totalitarian" and "undemocratic". Through this the Labour Party sows illusions amongst the people concerning the real character of the bourgeois dictatorship in Britain. Under the banner of "defence of the free and democratic world", it also champions the global interests of imperialism with US imperialism at the head, its domination and aggression against the oppressed nations, the subversion of the struggles of the people for national and social liberation.

The social-democratic Labour Party denies the fact that democracy is not and cannot be "above classes", denies the fact that the "democracy" in Britain is bourgeois democracy, with rights for the exploiters and lack of democracy and rights for the working people. It serves the strategy of the bourgeoisie by covering up the fact that the state in Britain is in the hands of the monopolies and is the instrument of the latter for exercising their dictatorship over the proletariat and broad masses of people. The Labour Party does not admit that bourgeois democracy, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, is reactionary all along the line, that the bourgeoisie will install an open terrorist dictatorship in place of its bourgeois-democratic form of class dictatorship when it finds this form of rule necessary to preserve the capitalist system and avert the revolution. Thus, at a time when the bourgeoisie is strengthening its instruments of repression, rapidly restricting the democratic rights of the people and preparing for fascism, the Labour Party tells the broad masses of people to have faith in British "democracy", advocating that the danger of fascism can be averted by some reforms and more "control" over the state apparatus, police and judicial system, etc. The Labour Party serves the bourgeoisie by creating reformist illusions amongst the people about its dictatorship, and also actively stands for its strengthening in the face of the deepening of the crisis and the intensification of the class struggle. The "democratic" demagogy of the Labour Party is refuted by the facts of real life. Whether at the head of the bourgeois government or in opposition, it stands for the preservation and strengthening of this dictatorship, for the passing of numerous laws to restrict the democratic rights of the people.

The Labour Party is not proletarian internation-

alist, it is chauvinist. It has long betrayed the struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism and for their national independence and freedom. It stands for the interests of the British imperialist bourgeoisie against the peoples. At the head of the bourgeois government it has executed, and in opposition actively supported, brutal suppression of the national liberation, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples, as has been the case in India, Malaya, South Yemen, Ireland, Zimbabwe and, recently, in the Malvinas. Like any other bourgeois party, it defends and justifies British colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialist robbery and it defends and justifies world imperialism's enslavement, oppression and plunder of the oppressed nations.

In relation to Britain itself, the Labour Party has also betrayed the cause of independence and sovereignty; it is, like all the other bourgeois parties, a traitorous party which stands for the selling out of the sovereignty of the country. Thus, it does not recognise the existence of a national question in Britain in relation to the US domination of the country. It does not want to recognise the fact that, as a result of the US economic penetration of Britain, the actions of the US multinationals, Britain's participation in the US-headed military blocs and international economic organisations and the stationing of US bases, troops and missiles on British territory, the sovereignty and political independence of the country is being more and more restricted. The Labour Party does not consider US imperialism to be, alongside Soviet social imperialism, the greatest enemy of the world's people; on the contrary, it considers it to be an "ally" and "friend". Thus, in government it has actively developed, and

whilst in opposition (notwithstanding a few noises against the US) it has actively supported, the strengthening of the "special relationship" of the British bourgeoisie with US imperialism, the submission of Britain to the US dictate, the support by the British bourgeoisie for the aggressive policy of US imperialism against the peoples.

The deepening of the all-sided crisis of capitalism has given rise to a crisis in the Labour Party. Its policies have been further discredited; it has increasingly experienced splits and divisions. In particular, on the one side there has been an open break from the Labour Party and the formation of the Social Democratic Party; on the other side, there has been a strengthening of the bloc which forms the "left" wing of the Party.

The "left"-wing social democrats say they are dissatisfied with the past and present policies of the Labour Party, with its performance in government, as well as in opposition, and they are demanding changes. But, as with the Labour Party as a whole, they refuse to look reality in the eye and tell the truth. For, anyone who did could only draw the conclusion that the Labour Party is not a workers' party but a party of the bourgeoisie; that social democracy has nothing socialist, democratic or progressive about it but is a bourgeois policy of deception and disruption of the working-class movement; that, far from there being any possibility of reforming capitalism and ridding it of its ills and crises, of reforming away the acute dangers with which the imperialist system is threatening mankind, it is the revolution which is the necessity of our time. No other conclusion can be drawn.

But "left"-wing social democracy does not draw these scientific conclusions. Instead, it maintains all

the reformist illusions and social-democratic policies of the social-democratic Labour Party; it holds that the Labour Party can be "corrected", can be reformed and "moved to the left" so as to become a "genuine" workers' party, and can become the vehicle for bringing about the evolution of capitalism into socialism in Britain.

As with the Labour Party as a whole, so, too, with "left"-wing social democracy, the workers and broad masses of people must see through its demagogy and deception, must not be confused on the question. While it adopts various left-sounding positions on certain questions, on the central question of the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism it falls back on the same reformist, reactionary stand of social democracy as a whole, preaching that capitalism can be reformed into socialism through the securing of a majority in parliament, through the "nationalisation" of industry, and so on. The positions of "left"-wing social democracy are not socialist; they have nothing in common with scientific socialism; like social democracy as a whole, they serve to divert the working class and its allies away from revolutionary struggle into parliamentarism.

In fact, the bourgeoisie, in summing up its historical experience over many years, sees in "left"-wing social democracy a useful element of its overall strategy; it puts to good use its affectation of an "anti-capitalist" rhetoric and promise of reforms as one of the means to keep within the confines of the capitalist system those who are coming into opposition to the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system. "Left"-wing social democracy plays the role of stopping the disenchantment of the workers and progressive people with the Labour Party and preventing their desertion from its social-

democratic positions and from its ranks.

The existence of the "left"-wing social-democratic trend within the Labour Party, and the acute contradictions it has with other trends, do not make the Labour Party any less a party of the bourgeoisie. From the beginning social democracy has had its "left" wing. In fact the "Independent" Labour Party was formed already last century, prior to the formation of the Labour Party itself. This "left"-wing of the Labour Party, which, having its objective basis in the conditions of society, has existed throughout the history of that party, has been put to use by the bourgeoisie and has played an important role in its overall strategy as well as in the functioning of the Labour Party itself. Many of the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party started their careers as leaders of the "left" wing, as seen with Ramsay MacDonald, Stafford Cripps, Harold Wilson and now Michael Foot. At the same time, "left"-wing chieftains, even if they have been obliged to resign from time to time for this or that reason, have presided in the right-wing cabinets, while acting as the "fiery standard-bearers" of "left-wing socialist" policies in opposition.

The "left" wing of the Labour Party is especially suitable as the propagandist for the Labour Party's "alternative" policies, which are the same old social-democratic policies refurbished. Thus, the Sidney Webb constitution of 1918 pledges (in the famous Clause IV) the "taking into public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange"; likewise, the Labour manifesto of the seventies, repeated for this year's elections, "firmly" pledges this party to an "irreversible shift in wealth and power in favour of working people and their families". The "left" wing is not different, but merely calls for the "real" implementation of these policies,

which are the classical, hallmark policies of social democracy, based as they are on the repudiation of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as essential requirements for the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism. The "left" wing blames the right-wing leaders for the lack of progress in bringing about "socialism", while the right uses the "left" to give it credence among the workers as "socialist". The right forms the government, the "left" criticises it, while voting for its measures "out of loyalty", and the reactionary actions of former "left-wingers" in government are variously explained as "tactical necessity" and individual betrayal.

Present-day social democracy is a direct successor to the traitorous Second International. The social democrats began their betrayal with their deviation from and hostility to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which, they preached, were outdated and unsuitable in the conditions of modern capitalism. They renounced the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat; they negated the revolution; they preached class harmony and class conciliation, reform of the capitalist order, the peaceful and parliamentary road to "socialism"; they renounced proletarian internationalism to the extent of openly calling for unity with the imperialist bourgeoisie. They became hardened counter-revolutionaries and reactionaries and enemies of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism.

The working-class movement cannot advance and achieve victory unless a continuous and determined struggle is waged to unmask and defeat social democracy ideologically and politically; the Party has waged this struggle and will continue to wage it with determination and resolve. As Lenin writes,

"The fact is that 'bourgeois labour parties', as a political phenomenon, have already been formed in all the advanced capitalist countries, and that unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these parties - or groups, trends, etc., it is all the same - there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a socialist labour movement" (24).

Modern Revisionism, the Main Danger to the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement

Modern revisionism is a bourgeois ideological and political trend, an agency of imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Modern revisionism was a product of, and took shape in, the concrete conditions which existed nationally and internationally during and after the second world war. It arose at the time when the imperialist powers and the whole world imperialist system were faced with an extremely serious crisis and were experiencing heavy blows as a result of the great victories scored by Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, and the advance of the revolutionary struggles of the workers and oppressed people all over the world. It was in these conditions that the bourgeoisie and world imperialism, headed by US imperialism, besides their use of various other means adopted at that time, placed special importance on inciting and setting into motion the various currents of modern revisionism. The role of modern revisionism in the strategy of imperialism and the bourgeoisie was, and is today, to attack Marxism-Leninism, to attempt to liquidate the socialist camp, to undermine and liquidate the proletarian parties from within, and to quell and subdue the rising tide of struggles for national and social liberation. Whilst the different

currents of modern revisionism all have their own specific features and roles, whilst they have acute contradictions with each other, they all have this same counter-revolutionary strategy.

Modern revisionism, like its counter-parts from the past, is the product of the pressure of the bourgeoisie and imperialists on the working-class and communist movement.

The modern revisionists, who present themselves as being Marxist-Leninists, revise and distort all the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. They deny the necessity of the proletarian socialist revolution, the smashing of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They deny the leading role of the proletariat and its Party in the revolutionary process, abandon and oppose the national liberation struggles and negate proletarian internationalism. They preach conciliation and compromise with the bourgeoisie and with imperialism; they attack and distort scientific socialism and work to corrupt and liquidate the communist parties.

The fact that modern revisionism is today the official ideology of reactionary social-imperialist states such as the Soviet Union and China confirms the identity of the modern revisionist ideology and politics with bourgeois ideology and politics in general.

The main currents of modern revisionism arose in different countries at different times. The first was Browderism, which arose at the time of the second world war. This trend developed in the United States, stemming from the former General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, Earl Browder. It caused great damage to the communist movement especially in North America and in some Latin

American countries. Browderism stood for converting the proletarian parties into mere educational associations; it promoted the infamous theory that US capitalism was allegedly a "young capitalism" with progressive features; it proclaimed Marxism-Leninism outdated; it advocated the abandonment of the class struggle and the struggle for socialism, and compromise and conciliation with US imperialism, and became one of the spokesmen for the global ambitions of United States imperialism.

A further current of modern revisionism was Titoism, which emerged in Yugoslavia during the second world war and was the first to represent revisionism in power. It played a crucial role for the US and other imperialist powers, especially in the period after the second world war, in their struggle against and attacks on socialism and Marxism-Leninism. At a critical time Titoite revisionism reared its head, came out to attack the Soviet Union, the science of Marxism-Leninism and the leader of the international proletariat, J.V. Stalin, and split the unity of the socialist camp and the International Communist Movement. Titoism prevented the possibility of socialism being built in Yugoslavia; it turned the country into a tool and base of world imperialism; it worked to realise the annexation and subjugation of other countries such as Albania; it carried out the most brutal class and national oppression inside Yugoslavia; and, with its counter-revolutionary theory of "non-alignment" and its advocacy of the peaceful and parliamentary road to "liberation", preached capitulation to imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Titoism has long since been conclusively proven to be an agency of imperialism.

Chinese revisionism, with its anti-Leninist theories on new democracy, the dictatorship of the

proletariat, proletarian revolution, the leading role of the proletariat, and on the party, also emerged at the time of the second world war. The foundation of Chinese revisionism is "Mao Zedong thought", which was presented by the Chinese revisionists as being "the highest development of Marxism-Leninism", but which had nothing in common with Marxism. "Mao Zedong thought" is an amalgam of views, in which phrases borrowed from Marxism are mixed up with idealist, pragmatic and revisionist theories. Chinese revisionism and "Mao Zedong thought" neither did nor could build socialism in China after the victory of the anti-imperialist revolution; nor was a consistent anti-imperialist stand upheld. The anti-Leninist positions and ambitions of the Chinese revisionists headed by Mao Zedong determined that the dictatorship of the proletariat was never established in China. They advanced the thesis of "mutual supervision" of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and of alliance with the bourgeoisie in the state power and in the economic system. Internationally, Mao Zedong and the other Chinese revisionists collaborated at first with the Khrushchevite revisionists and Soviet social imperialism and then later with US imperialism; they advanced the theory of "three worlds", denying the whole world revolutionary process. China has developed into a social-imperialist power, aligning with the darkest forces of reaction.

It was the birth and rise of Khrushchevite revisionism in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin which represented the heaviest and most dangerous blow struck at Marxism-Leninism and the cause of revolution and socialism. The Khrushchevite revisionists destroyed the first socialist state, the great centre of world revolution, restored capitalism in the Soviet Union, liquidated the dictatorship of the

proletariat, established a social-fascist rule over the Soviet working people and turned the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin into a social-imperialist superpower. Khrushchevite revisionism, which after the fall of Khrushchev was further developed and consolidated under the leadership of Brezhnev and now Andropov, with its anti-Leninist theories of the "state of the whole people", "the party of the whole people", "peaceful coexistence" and "detente", etc., represents the most fully developed, the most complete and the most dangerous of all the variants of modern revisionism. Its emergence gave credence to and encouraged all the other currents of modern revisionism, as well as old-line revisionism, social democracy and trotskyism.

Eurocommunism, which emerged out of the crisis and splits of Khrushchevite revisionism, principally in the Western European revisionist parties, represents another brand of modern revisionism. Eurocommunism openly negates and attacks Leninism, shamelessly and openly declares that it is "outdated" and "not suited" to the conditions of present-day capitalism. The Eurocommunists have openly renounced the theory and practice of proletarian revolution, and the struggle against imperialism and capitalism, and collaborate with the latter against the workers and oppressed people and nations; they have converted the "class struggle" into gaining posts and positions in the governments of the bourgeoisie. Eurocommunism and its open negation of Leninism have their roots in and were the logical outcome of the modern revisionist betrayal by the West European communist parties during and after the second world war.

Variants of modern revisionism also arose in many other countries. Whilst they supported and were closely related to the main currents of modern

revisionism, they had their own specific characteristics, with each advocating its own "specific road to socialism".

The treacherous activities of the Khrushchevite revisionists and other modern revisionist trends caused serious setbacks to the communist movement and the cause of revolution; but these were and could only be temporary. The cause of Marxism-Leninism, the class struggle and the revolution and socialism can never be extinguished. At the very beginning of the emergence of modern revisionism, the Marxist-Leninists, headed by the CPSU(B) and led by Stalin, waged a resolute and stern struggle against it and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism. After the death of Stalin in 1953, the genuine Marxist-Leninists continued the struggle against modern revisionism with great determination, never ceasing to defend the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. It was the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, which made the most outstanding contribution, with its courageous struggle against Titoism, Khrushchevite and Chinese revisionism and Eurocommunism, and all other variants of modern revisionism. The resolute struggle which the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have waged against all the variants of modern revisionism has made a great and decisive contribution to the defence of Marxism-Leninism and has further enriched Marxism-Leninism both in theory and practice.

This just, principled and courageous struggle waged by the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world, the unmasking and repudiation of all the currents of modern revisionism, created the necessary conditions for the further advance of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist

Movement, for the birth of new, genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and for the further development of the cause of revolution and socialism on a world scale.

As a direct expression of the crisis of capitalism and of bourgeois ideology in general, modern revisionism too is deep in crisis. This is expressed in the failure of modern revisionism in power, and in the political degeneration, the splitting into many different trends, the dwindling support and the profound ideological crisis which are affecting all the revisionist parties.

But as the crisis which faces modern revisionism continues to increase, the Party, as with all Marxist-Leninist parties, whilst making maximum use of the favourable situation, does not consider that modern revisionism has become less of a danger. On the contrary, with this crisis, and with the deepening of the crisis of world imperialism in general, the modern revisionists become even more perfidious and dangerous. Thus the Party never lowers its vigilance or softens its struggle against any of the currents of modern revisionism.

Modern Revisionism in Britain

The "Communist Party of Great Britain" is communist in name only. It has ceased to be a revolutionary party of the proletariat and has been converted into a reformist party of the bourgeoisie, a party which is further sinking into social-democratic positions and more and more clearly showing its bourgeois character. This "Communist" Party represents a counter-revolutionary force for the preservation of the capitalist and imperialist status quo.

Modern revisionism emerged in Britain at the

time of the second world war. It was born out of the British bourgeoisie's imperialist ambitions abroad and its general political and economic strategy at home and has served the bourgeoisie very well as its agency in the communist and workers' movement.

For more than 20 years the Communist Party, from the time of its founding in 1920, had remained loyal to the cause of communism and the proletariat. The Communist Party was founded in opposition to the main opportunist trends that were predominant at the time in the workers' and communist movement – especially Second International social democracy, as well as anarcho-syndicalism and "left"-wing communism. The Party had fought against trotskyism and defended the great Lenin and Stalin. The Party was built as a national communist party, with its mass organisations amongst the workers, youth and unemployed, etc.; it led many important struggles of the workers, and it spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and communism widely amongst the working class.

At the same time, the Party never became a real Communist Party in the full sense, never being really bolshevised and built strictly in the Leninist style and on the Leninist basis; many social-democratic methods of work and illusions were never eradicated from the Party and its leadership. On many occasions there were very serious vacillations in the leadership in taking up the tasks of fully developing the leading role of the Party in the working-class movement and in the struggles of the people. The Party never fully consolidated its ideological and political positions on the firm foundation of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, and it vacillated on key ideological and political questions.

Thus, after the second world war, under the severe and complicated conditions where the

bourgeoisie was actively inciting the modern revisionists and opportunist elements, where various leaders of the Party had participated in "joint" committees with the bourgeoisie during the war, where a ferocious ideological and political offensive was being directed against communism, where various reforms were being undertaken by the bourgeoisie under the post-war government, and where there was an enormous growth in the labour aristocracy – under these conditions a very favourable climate was created for the consolidation of opportunist views in the Party. The Party and its members were not equipped organisationally, ideologically and politically to meet this offensive against communism. The Party capitulated to the bourgeois-revisionist pressure, degenerated into a revisionist party and finally adopted a strategy and tactics in the service of the bourgeoisie.

It was at the time of the second world war, and especially after it, that the anti-Leninist ideological and political positions which had previously existed in the Party began to be consolidated, to gain dominance, that the Party began to degenerate, to betray the proletariat and the cause of revolution and socialism, eventually becoming a party of modern revisionism, a bourgeois party of reform and of defence of the capitalist order.

Thus, after the second world war and during the period of Labour government at that time, the leadership began shamelessly promoting the theory that what prevailed in Britain was a system intermediate between capitalism and socialism, that the Labour government was "no longer a capitalist government". It openly supported the drive of the bourgeoisie and the Labour government for increased "productivity".

In 1951, the seal was set on this degeneration and

betrayal of the Communist Party, with the adoption of the "British Road to Socialism", the open negation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of the principles of proletarian internationalism, and the betrayal of the revolutionary road – which was termed unsuitable for "British conditions and... British institutions". This capitulation and betrayal was justified on the basis of an anti-Marxist and completely erroneous analysis of the objective conditions existing in Britain and internationally at the time. A social-democratic thesis was presented on the question of the state, according to which it was denied that the state apparatus had long passed into the hands of the financial oligarchy; instead, the state was viewed as being above classes, as an instrument which could be used by either class; the bourgeois parliament was analysed as being "genuinely democratic", capable of serving as a tool in the hands of the working class. An anti-Leninist analysis was presented on imperialism whereby, amongst other things, the division of the world into the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism and capitalism was grossly distorted.

On the basis of this anti-Marxist-Leninist line an entire counter-revolutionary programme was presented. The possibility of, and necessity for, revolution to transform society from capitalism to socialism was denied. The revolutionary road was negated and replaced by the "peaceful and parliamentary road to socialism". The necessity to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and smash the bourgeois state was denied and the capitalist state was accepted as a means to transform society from capitalism to socialism. The necessity of the proletarian socialist revolution was replaced by a programme of "Labour-Communist unity" to elect a "left-wing government"; such a

government would, it was alleged, step by step "change the composition and structure of the state machine by democratising it". The universality of Marxism-Leninism was repudiated and replaced by the theory of "a specific, British road". The principles of proletarian internationalism were abandoned and replaced by social chauvinism and the defence of neo-colonialism. The leading role of the communist party was denied in theory and in practice and replaced by a theory of "the two parties of the working class, the Labour Party and the Communist Party". The necessity and inevitability of the class struggle leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat was denied and replaced by a theory of pure, universal "democracy" and a programme of "extending democracy"; the programme of the party was more and more reduced merely to a democratic minimum programme and a reformist one at that. The class struggle and the path of uncompromising struggle against capital, against social democracy and against the labour aristocracy were replaced by a path of compromise and accommodation with the monopoly bourgeoisie. The leading role of the proletariat in the revolutionary process was denied and opposed in theory and practice, whilst the party was flooded with petty-bourgeois elements and the communist militants were suppressed and expelled. Any bolshevik features which the party had possessed were completely eliminated, and the party was turned more and more into a bourgeois reformist party, a parliamentary party.

On the basis of this programme of betrayal, treachery and counter-revolution – and exploiting the prestige it had gained amongst the workers in its former revolutionary years – the CPGB acted to divert the proletariat from the revolutionary path

and to convert it into a tail of the bourgeoisie, to line up the working class behind the aims and interests of the bourgeoisie. Thus, state monopoly capitalism was glorified as showing the possibilities of reconciling the profit motive with the well-being of the people; capitalist nationalisation was held to be a measure for building socialism; illusions were created as to the "democratic" character of the "British institutions", the bourgeois parliament and electoral system; the class struggle and the workers' movement were reduced to the role of merely exerting "pressure" on the bourgeoisie; and export of finance capital abroad was enthusiastically supported under the guise of giving "aid". Internationally, the modern revisionists enthusiastically supported the ambitions and interests of British imperialism and became standard-bearers for neo-colonialism. Thus they wrote: "The enemies of communism declare that the Communist Party, by underhand subversive means, is aiming at the destruction of Britain and the British Empire. *This is a lie* (our emphasis). On the contrary, it is precisely the Tories and the Labour leaders who are doing this by their policy of armed repression and colonial exploitation". What should be aimed at, in their opinion, was "a new, close, voluntary and fraternal association of the British people and the liberated peoples of the present Empire to promote mutually beneficial economic exchange and cooperation, and to defend their freedom against American imperialist aggression". Thus: replacement of the old colonial empire by a new, neo-colonial system, defence of British imperialism's interests in these countries against American penetration; proletarian internationalism was negated to the extent that the modern revisionists openly sided with the imperialist interests of their "own" bourgeoisie, against its

"subjects" and against its rivals.

The CPGB modern revisionists were one of the first to hail the "victory" of Khrushchev and of Khrushchevite revisionism, and closely linked themselves with it, gaining more confidence and momentum on their counter-revolutionary, anti-Marxist course, which they pursued at an even greater speed and with even more open treachery. Whilst the CPGB modern revisionists were, first and foremost, the product of the conditions in Britain, their community of views, aims and objectives with the modern revisionists of all countries, and with the main international currents of modern revisionism, led them to link up and align with the latter, especially with Khrushchevite revisionism. At the same time, CPGB modern revisionism was itself an international ideological and political trend and exerted a harmful influence in a number of countries, especially those under the colonial and neo-colonial domination of British imperialism.

All the modern revisionist positions which the CPGB presented during and after the second world war have been further developed and consolidated today. The degeneration of modern revisionism into social-democratic positions has become more and more pronounced. In terms of their positions – on the parliamentary road to socialism, the class struggle, nationalisation and state intervention in the economy, on the domestic and foreign policy of the bourgeoisie – both social democracy and CPGB modern revisionism take the same basic stands. The CPGB has, in effect, become a radical appendage of the social-democratic Labour Party, providing advocacy and support for the Labour Party under the doctrine of "working to move the Labour Party to the left". It has become one more band in the spectrum of social democracy and opportunism of all shades for

the maintenance of the hold of the bourgeoisie over the working-class movement. As the CPGB modern revisionists themselves have written, "For real democratic advance, the right-wing Labour leaders must be defeated, the policy of the Labour Party transformed, and a fight waged by a united Labour Movement to elect Labour and Communist representatives to Parliament who will carry through a consistent policy of Peace and Socialism".

The further evolution on the path of social-democratic degeneration, the further exposure in the eyes of the people of its counter-revolutionary positions before the intensifying class struggle and the deepening of the objective crisis of capitalism, has led to a deepening of the crisis within the CPGB. This crisis has given rise to increasing divisions in its ranks, splits, and the emergence of various trends and factions, some of which are openly renouncing Leninism and adopting all the main positions of the Eurocommunists. These various trends are waging vicious factional warfare against one another, as seen in the dispute as to which faction should control the daily newspaper of the revisionist party. There is nothing principled about these fights; they are factional struggles between different variants of modern revisionism, irrespective of what label each adopts.

The CPGB modern revisionists, like the social democrats, are a political reserve of the bourgeoisie, which is set into motion against the proletariat to prevent it from breaking from bourgeois politics and taking the revolutionary road, to divert it away from revolutionary struggle into parliamentarism. As with the social democrats, the bourgeoisie is demanding of the CPGB revisionists that they go into action to divert, split, confuse and disorientate the working-class and people's movement. And they

carry out this activity on every front and in every struggle. Whether it is on the question of the crisis, or of state intervention in the economy, the question of democracy, of the struggle against imperialist war, the national question, or the struggle for socialism, etc. – on all these questions the CPGB revisionists come out as what they are: servants of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, defenders of the imperialist and capitalist order.

Thus, at a time when the workers and broad masses of people are more and more awakening to the realities of the capitalist system and the capitalist order, when the credibility of the policies of the bourgeoisie, of its parliament and political parties, is at a low ebb, the modern revisionists, together with the social democrats, come forward to occupy the positions which the bourgeoisie itself cannot successfully promote; they come forward with "credible" alternatives and "solutions" within the capitalist system.

Thus, in relation to the severe crisis of capitalism, the modern revisionists present a "solution" within the framework of the capitalist system: they say that if the government adopts "correct" policies then the crisis can be ended. The policies they propose, as with the social democrats, are precisely the policies which have been shown not only not to work but also to aggravate and fuel the crisis: in other words, the policies of more state intervention, more state monopoly capitalism, "stimulation" of the economy through state investments and so on. The revisionists try to fool the workers. They admit that the crisis is a crisis of capitalism and then proceed to tell the workers that the crisis can be overcome without the overthrow of the capitalist system. In the same manner, they put forward their demands for full employment under

capitalism and create the illusion that the capitalist system can provide work for all, that the existence of the permanent reserve army of unemployed is not a basic feature of capitalism.

The modern revisionists, like the social democrats, are the champions of the "public" sector, in other words, of the state monopoly sector. They present nationalisation as a "socialist" and progressive measure in the interests of the British working people; they call for its further expansion and try to fool the people that this will overcome the inherent contradictions of capitalism, end the anarchy of production and reconcile the profit motive with the well-being of the people, suggesting that the problem is only the extent to which and the manner in which the policy has been applied. At a time when the whole policy of state intervention is being discredited by the present crisis, which is a crisis of state monopoly capitalism, the revisionists come forward with a refurbished version of state intervention, trying to maintain its credibility and line up the workers in support of it.

The modern revisionists come forward as the great champions of the false bourgeois "democracy" and work to maintain the credibility of and create reformist illusions about the bourgeois parliament, the "democratic" institutions of Britain and so on. Thus, at a time when the bourgeoisie is feverishly preparing for war and fascism, is fascising the state and strengthening its instruments of repression, the revisionists talk about the great possibilities for achieving "far-reaching democratic reforms", for the people to use "parliament as their instrument and their voice" and for reforming the police force, the army and other instruments of repression. The revisionists' stand is complete servility and cowardice in the face of the danger of fascism. It is

to attack and try to liquidate the struggles of the people in defence of and for the extension of their democratic rights. Whether it concerns the struggle against racism, that for the rights of the people, or that for the rights of women, etc., they tell the people that they must look to and rely on the parliament, the state, the laws of the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeois parties to solve the problems of democracy and rights.

Similarly, on the question of war, the modern revisionists preach the possibilities of "pressuring" the imperialist warmongers to become "peaceful" and to "disarm"; they advise the people to rely upon the superpowers and their detente fraud; they create dangerous illusions to cover up the warmongering character of the Soviet Union and shamelessly suggest to the people that pacifism is an effective weapon to fight the imperialist war danger. Thus, according to the revisionists, the people should struggle, not against the imperialist war preparations and the two superpowers and their military alliances, but for the success of the negotiations between them. Like the social democrats, they pretend that the danger of war does not come from the system of imperialism but from the policy of this or that government or individual, diverting the struggle of the people into a struggle to "change government policy" or to "change the government". They spread the illusion that the danger of imperialist war can be averted by "nuclear disarmament" and the declaration of "nuclear free zones", so that the people will not actively fight against the imperialist war preparations; they suggest that the only danger to the peoples comes from nuclear armaments, while the proliferation of non-nuclear weapons, of soldiers and bases around the world is quite acceptable.

The modern revisionists talk about "socialism" in order to prevent its realisation. Any talk of the necessity for revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and preparing the subjective conditions for revolution is condemned by the revisionists as "adventurist" and "extremist". They try to scare the workers away from the Party and isolate it by calling it "left-sectarian", "violent" and "dogmatic". They shamelessly preach the counter-revolutionary theory of "The British Road to Socialism", and try to alienate the working class from scientific socialism by promoting all kinds of pseudo-socialist systems as being socialist; they viciously attack and slander the Soviet Union during the time of Lenin and particularly during the time of Stalin – as well as socialist Albania today.

The CPGB revisionists are social chauvinists. Their chauvinism is such that they "oppose" the export of capital by the monopolies, not because it enslaves others, but because, they claim, it exports jobs. They viciously attack the armed national liberation struggles of the people, especially those directed against British imperialism, as seen in the case of Ireland. They advocate "import controls" to protect "British jobs and industry" and thereby work to line up the working class behind the monopolies in their contention over markets and spheres of influence.

The revisionists have abandoned the struggle for national independence and sovereignty. They are apologists for Soviet social imperialism and repeat the lie that it is not an imperialist superpower but a power which stands for "world peace", that it is a "supporter" of the national liberation struggles of the people. They defend, justify and support British and world imperialism's neo-colonial enslavement, saying that the imperialists are providing "aid" and

"support" for the oppressed nations. Similarly, in Britain the CPGB revisionists, notwithstanding some phrases against NATO and the American multi-nationals, do not fight US domination of the country or NATO, and have effectively abandoned the struggle for the sovereignty of the British people.

The essence of the position and role of the modern revisionists is to appeal to the workers not to revolt but instead to rally behind the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system. Thus, in the face of the intensification of the class struggle and the upsurge of the struggles of the people for their rights, the modern revisionists, together with the social democrats and other opportunists, work to disrupt, liquidate and split the working-class and people's movement.

Every attempt is made to attack and isolate the revolutionary and fighting forces of the workers and broad masses of people. Similarly, any struggle which breaks out of the limits dictated by the bourgeoisie, whether in the workers' or people's movement, is termed "extremist" and "adventurist"; and they do everything in their power to limit the struggles of the people to peaceful, reformist and parliamentary methods of struggle, i.e., to the limits set by the bourgeoisie. Every attempt is made to split the unity of the people in struggle on the basis of this or that counter-revolutionary revisionist and opportunist political line and ideology, this or that sectarian demand and position. They take sectarian positions to split the people's movement and prevent it from accomplishing its aims.

In their alliances and fronts, whatever question is taken up, it is the position and political line of the bourgeoisie and in the main of the Labour Party which is presented and asserted to be the "basis of unity"; whether on the question of the political and

economic demands of the workers' movement, or in the fight against racism and the danger of fascism and imperialist war, or in the movement in support of the anti-imperialist struggles of the people, it is bourgeois-reformist slogans and positions which are presented by the revisionists. The modern revisionists unite with the labour aristocrats and class-collaborationist labour traitors to strengthen the hold of the latter on the working-class movement. They unite with the social democrats and other bourgeois politicians to deprive the mass movement of its revolutionary character. They work with the police and other state agencies to attack and split the working-class and people's movement. They work with the bourgeoisie in order to strengthen the parliamentary process and create reformist illusions amongst the people. They work with imperialism to create pacifist illusions concerning the danger of war and fascism.

There is nothing "left", progressive, or anti-imperialist about the CPGB modern revisionists. They represent a counter-revolutionary and reactionary force in the workers' and people's movement, an agency of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, a party of the bourgeoisie. They are not front-rank fighters for the cause and interests of the people; on the contrary, they are diverters and splitters of their struggles. They do not stand for revolution but for counter-revolution. They do not stand for Marxism-Leninism but for modern revisionism. They do not stand for struggle against and defeat of the bourgeois and imperialist order but for compromise with and defence of this order. The struggle against modern revisionism of the CPGB variety, the strongest and most developed modern revisionist

trend in Britain, must be further stepped up.

The Struggle Against the "Anti-Khrushchevite" Variants of Modern Revisionism

Other variants of modern revisionism arose in Britain in the middle and late sixties under the pretence of opposing modern revisionism and the modern revisionist betrayal by the CPGB. These variants of modern revisionism also denied the necessity for proletarian revolution, also denied and tried to liquidate the leading role of the proletariat in the revolutionary process, revised and distorted the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism and attacked the principles of proletarian internationalism. These variants of modern revisionism acted as an important agency for the bourgeoisie in the Marxist-Leninist communist movement in Britain, in its attempts to split and disrupt the movement and especially in its attempts to prevent the rebuilding of the genuine party of the proletariat.

The first of these variants of modern revisionism arose in the mid-sixties when the Marxist-Leninist forces were initiating the work to re-build the party. Under the leadership of Comrade Michael McCreery, the Committee to Defeat Modern Revisionism and for Communist Unity had created a sound basis for the further development and advancement of this work. After McCreery's death in 1965, the first of these variants of modern revisionism arose, ostensibly on the basis of opposing Khrushchevite revisionism, "correcting" the "mistakes" of McCreery and "clarifying" theoretical problems of the revolution".

The feature of this variant of modern revisionism was to work to split the Marxist-Leninist forces, create an atmosphere characterised by the

prevalence of warring factions and of paralysis amongst them. Through its theories of "clarifying" Marxism-Leninism and the "problems" and "programme" of the British revolution by means of "ideological struggle" and public debates, the aim was to attack Marxism-Leninism, deny its universal and scientific character, make Marxist-Leninist principles the subject of doubt and speculation, create maximum ideological and political confusion and serve to split and factionalise the movement. Under the guise of "criticising" McCreery and "correcting" his "mistakes", etc., vicious attacks were launched on the principle of democratic centralism. It was asserted and raised to an absolute that there were "no revolutionary conditions in Britain"; it was asserted that the working class had become bourgeoisified, that non-proletarian sections of the people had no revolutionary capacity and potential and that there were no conditions to build a Marxist-Leninist party in Britain. Thus an atmosphere was created where there was held to be no need for revolutionary actions, no need to make efforts to build the Marxist-Leninist Party and carry out revolutionary work amongst the workers and broad masses of the people, where one could be content with the existing negative situation in the communist and workers' movement. Upon this basis it was asserted that the main task was to build "pre-party collectives", "train cadres", "clarify important theoretical problems" and sit waiting for the objective conditions to change. From time to time "appeals for unity" were issued, with the objective of preventing unity, whilst gross sectarianism and passivity – from time to time switching to the worst kind of bowing to spontaneity and chasing after the mass movement – ensured that the domination of social democracy and modern revisionism over the

working-class and people's movement was not challenged.

This variant of modern revisionism, which principally had its social base in the petty bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, pretended to be Marxist-Leninist but never defended the purity of Marxism-Leninism. Its "anti-revisionism" was a bluff. It increasingly took openly anti-Leninist positions and more and more degenerated, to the extent that today its followers have either virtually disappeared, or degenerated into trotskyism, or have become the most grotesque defenders of Chinese revisionism, "Asian communism", "Mao Zedong thought" and Chinese social imperialism – openly denying the leading role of the working class, and acting as apologists of the British bourgeoisie and the European monopolies, which they call part of the "second world".

In the late sixties a further variant of modern revisionism emerged, led by Reg Birch, a leading trade union chieftain and leading member of the revisionist party, who had failed to support the break from modern revisionism led by McCreery four years earlier. Birch was either expelled from or left the revisionist party, ostensibly for supporting China, a split which reflected only the factional struggle between different variants of modern revisionism.

This variant of modern revisionism arose at a time when the genuine Marxist-Leninist and anti-revisionist forces were uniting under the leadership of the English Internationalists to take up the task of re-building the Party. Under these conditions Birch led a "split" from the revisionist party, to form what was described as a "genuine Marxist-Leninist, Communist Party" in 1968, with the aim of preventing and disrupting the work for the formation

of the genuine proletarian party – a tactic which the bourgeoisie and opportunists have repeatedly used throughout the history of the British working class. The party which was formed in 1968 was a "Marxist-Leninist" party of the labour aristocracy, based on an amalgam of Khrushchevite revisionist, trotskyite, maoist, anarcho-syndicalist and labour-aristocratic views and stands, blended with phrases borrowed from Marxism-Leninism. It was a modern revisionist trend which carried all the illusions, prejudices, methods and style of work of the revisionist party.

This "Marxist-Leninist" party and its leader, Reg Birch, carried out the most perfidious activities against the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces and against the working-class movement. They were a centre of vicious slanders against the Internationalists and other Marxist-Leninist forces in Britain and in other countries, terming them "CIA agents", "existentialists", "adventurists" and so on. When his party was formed in 1968, Reg Birch "forgot" to contact the Internationalists and other Marxist-Leninist forces, whilst within a short time he was saying that anybody outside of his organisation was a "counter-revolutionary", an "anti-Marxist-Leninist element". In the workers' movement, militant workers were accused of being anarchists and trotskyites, whilst Reg Birch, as a trade union leader, became notorious for denouncing striking workers when they came out against the will of the trade union chieftains.

The counter-revolutionary features of this variant of modern revisionism, and the extent of its degeneration and bankruptcy, can be seen today in its ideological and political positions. This "genuine, anti-Khrushchevite party" has degenerated into an open supporter and defender of Soviet social imperialism and of "Mao Zedong thought", an open

supporter and defender of the Labour Party, the class-collaborationist labour traitors and the labour aristocracy. It advocates openly economist positions, and time and time again comes out to oppose those struggles of the workers which break from the limits dictated by the class-collaborationist labour traitors and the bourgeoisie; it slanders Albania from trotskyite positions asserting the "impossibility" of building socialism in one country when the working class is "small"; it replaces proletarian internationalism with social chauvinism.

The "Left"-Revisionist Front

Alongside the reformism of the Labour Party and the CPGB revisionists are the trotskyites and maoists, the "far left" as they are called by the bourgeois propaganda organs.

These trends provide defence and advocacy of opportunism and capitalism, proceeding on the general ground of apparent "sympathy" with and advocacy for "revolution". In content they do not in fact challenge the bourgeois system, but attempt through the employment of "revolutionary" phrases to divert and deceive the workers and broad masses of the people. In words, advocacy of "Marxism" or "Marxism-Leninism"; in practice, the caricaturing, distortion and negation of Marxism, the propagation of anti-communism and opposition to Marxism-Leninism through the peddling of Trotskyism, Maoism, Castroism, etc. They try to pass off these ideologies as "socialism", "Marxism" or "Marxism-Leninism", but they have nothing in common with Marxism, Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism. In particular trotskyism has long formed an essential element in the bourgeoisie's ideological arsenal against genuine socialism and against the

Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin; it is a virulently anti-communist and completely counter-revolutionary variant of social democracy.

The "left"-revisionists stand, in words, for advocacy of the necessity of building a revolutionary party; in practice, for the formation of and promotion of numerous "groups", "leagues", "tendencies", "currents" and "factions" to split up the workers and oppose the genuine party of the proletariat. In words, advocacy of "unity"; in practice, the fomentation of splits, factionalism and sectarianism to divide the working class and people. In words, advocacy of "revolution"; in practice, promotion of social-democratic and reformist slogans combined with ultra-left, anarchist and semi-anarchist slogans to confuse and undermine the work of uniting the class against the enemy. In words, pretence of not only being "revolutionary", but "the most revolutionary"; in practice, betrayal and forming a bloc with the social democrats and CPGB revisionists and the bourgeoisie at critical times to liquidate the workers' and people's struggles. In words, opposition to the bourgeois state; in practice, capitulation to and promotion of reformist illusions about the state, whilst providing a favourable ground for the operation of all kinds of police activity, diversion, infiltration and promotion of provocative terrorist activity.

The "left" opportunists are made use of by the bourgeoisie, as seen for instance in the vital role they play in the propaganda of the bourgeoisie. Using its monopoly of the press, etc., the bourgeoisie does a large amount of propaganda for these agencies – more than they themselves can hope to do – precisely in order to maintain the influence of the bourgeoisie and opportunism in the working-class and people's movement and to blanket out the influence of the

Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat.

These forces are a further dangerous enemy of the unity of the working-class movement in action against the class enemies and of the revolution, and the working class and progressive forces must exercise the greatest vigilance against and oppose all such trends.

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It is an important and central task of the Party to resolutely continue, deepen and broaden the uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades, against both the domestic currents and the main international ones.

The struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades is an integral part of the task of preparing the subjective conditions for revolution. It is a struggle which is a component part of the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction.

Chapter IV

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

1. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The present international situation is marked by increasing turbulence and increasingly grave tensions and dangers. The threat of new local and general wars is continually growing.

The entire capitalist-revisionist world is in an acute crisis, which represents the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. It is an all-sided crisis, an economic, political, ideological, cultural, social, spiritual and military crisis, with the economic crisis as the foundation. The crisis is a global crisis, which has engulfed all the countries in which capitalist relations of production are in force. It is hitting both the developed capitalist countries and the colonial, neo-colonial and dependent countries; it is hitting the revisionist countries, where the capitalist system has been restored, just as it is the countries of "western" capitalism.

The present crisis is sharpening all the

contradictions of the capitalist-revisionist system on a world scale. The contradictions between the exploiters and the exploited are intensifying as the bourgeoisie strives to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working people and to intensify exploitation. The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat is sharpening. In the present crisis, the oppressed peoples who are dominated by imperialism are facing increased oppression and plunder. The struggles of the oppressed peoples against imperialism and social imperialism are intensifying in resistance against this exploitation and oppression, while the imperialists and social imperialists are stepping up their activity against the liberation struggles of the peoples, backing the neo-colonial and fascist regimes. The imperialists and social imperialists are stepping up their contention for markets, for sources of raw materials and profitable outlets for investment around the globe. The present crisis is sharpening all the inter-imperialist contradictions, both those between the blocs headed by the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, and those within these blocs.

All the contradictions are sharpening. The situation may lead to new general and local wars, and it may give rise to new wars of national liberation and to revolution. Revolutionary crises are maturing; the danger of a third world war is very real. Whether the imperialists and social imperialists will succeed in launching a world war, or whether the people will prevent the world war and save mankind from the catastrophe, is not settled: it is the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed masses which will decide whether or not the imperialists will be able to realise their plans. In this situation there is room neither for complacency nor for fatalism and pessimism. The

revolution is the necessity of our time not only to emancipate the proletariat and broad masses of the people from capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination, but also to defeat the warmongering plans of imperialism and social imperialism and prevent the new holocaust they are preparing.

The Two Superpowers, the Most Dangerous Enemies of the Proletariat and Peoples

At the head of the reactionary forces confronting the proletariat and peoples are the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. The two superpowers are to an equal degree the most powerful and ferocious imperialist powers in the world, constituting the most powerful forces against the revolution and socialism, against sovereignty and national independence, against democracy and for imperialist war. In their rivalry lies the threat of a new and more terrible global war.

All the imperialists and social imperialists, in the grip of the grave economic crisis which broke out in 1973, have escalated their struggle to expand their spheres of influence and to seize new markets and sources of raw materials. The drive is towards a new redivision of the world between these powers, a redivision which can only be achieved at the cost of one another and therefore, as Leninism teaches, through forcible means, by war. This is the source of the grave exacerbation of tensions and the frantic armaments race, which has reached enormous proportions and is continually escalating.

The two superpowers, at the head of the rival imperialist blocs, are doing everything in their power to shore up and expand their respective spheres of influence, to further their plunder and domination of the peoples, to launch new interventions to suppress

the people's struggles, to bolster their military capacity. They are striving to force their allies into line and to make them accept a greater share of the burden of the crisis and a greater share in the burden of the arms race; each is making great efforts to penetrate into the other's sphere of influence; each is striving to exploit the cracks in the alliances of the other.

Everywhere in the world hotbeds of tension exist and are being kindled, as in the Middle East, Indochina, Latin America, Europe, the Balkans, southern Africa, and other regions. The source of this tension is the rivalry of the imperialist powers and above all the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The partial equilibrium which existed between the two superpowers is tending to break down, as manifested in the unrestrained expansion of the arms race and the intensifying rivalry in every corner of the globe. The drive to annexations and redivision of spheres of influence is markedly increasing. At the same time, where it is in their interest, the two superpowers reach accommodation against the peoples, to suppress the revolution and socialism.

In the arms race we see the manifestation of these tendencies. The arms race is tending to go beyond all bounds; at the same time, the superpowers continue their efforts, through the never-ending series of "arms reduction" talks, "disarmament" talks and other means, to reach agreements which will be mutually advantageous, to establish more firmly the domination over their respective "allies", to maintain the nuclear monopoly of the superpowers, to divert the popular opposition to the war preparations.

Thus the rivalry of the imperialists and social imperialists, headed by the two superpowers, is

characterised by contention and the drive to new conflicts and war, accompanied at the same time by collusion in the common aim to suppress and subjugate the proletariat and peoples. It is a necessity for the proletariat and peoples to wage the struggle against both superpowers and never to fall into the trap of alliance with one superpower or one imperialist power in the struggle against others. The demagogy of the imperialists and social imperialists that one or the other is the defender of the people, of peace, freedom and national independence, etc., while the other is the sole enemy, must be resolutely rejected and opposed.

The United States, like the Soviet Union, is escalating its warmongering and aggressive course. US imperialism, which consolidated its leadership of the capitalist world at the end of the second world war, intent on realising Hitler's dream of world domination, is continuing and escalating the pursuit of its reactionary course. US imperialism openly trumpets its reactionary doctrine according to which every corner of the globe is a legitimate sphere for its interference and domination. In the last few years for example it has declared the Middle East, with its oil and its strategic importance, to be a sphere of "vital interest" to American imperialism and has given itself the right to intervene with armed force for the defence of these "vital interests"; and likewise with its "own backyard", Latin America. In this, US imperialism is continuing and accelerating the activity for which it has been notorious since the second world war – the savage armed intervention, the non-stop organisation of CIA coups, the proliferation of its bases, armed forces, aggressive pacts and alliances (such as NATO, ANZUS, SEATO, CENTO, etc.) everywhere in the world.

US imperialism is the greatest neo-colonial plunderer of the world's people; it exports its capital to every corner of the globe, east and west, north and south; its multinationals savagely exploit the peoples, and its big banks, and the International Monetary Fund and World Development Bank, etc., load the peoples with an ever more intolerable burden of interest payments and debt.

US imperialism, faced with the deepening of its crisis, the greater and greater opposition from the proletariat and peoples plundered by it, as well as the increased drive of Soviet social imperialism and others to expand at its expense, is pursuing a more and more reactionary, expansionist and aggressive course. At the same time as striving to strengthen its stranglehold on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and its dictate over its European and other "allies", it is escalating the armaments race, openly asserting that it envisages what it calls a "limited nuclear war" between the superpowers over Europe. It is strengthening the aggressive NATO alliance and other military alliances and stepping up the preparation and use of expeditionary intervention forces, as with the Rapid Deployment Force and the "peace-keeping force" in Lebanon. It is increasing the arming and direction of reactionary forces under the command of US "advisers" for intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador, etc. It is tightening the screws on its European allies, to make them bear a greater share of the burden of strengthening NATO and increase their participation in its intervention forces, to turn these countries still more into *places d'armes* for the American nuclear and conventional weapons. It is likewise stepping up its efforts to penetrate the sphere of influence of its main rival, the Soviet Union, as witness events in Poland.

The Soviet Union, like the United States, is stepping up its warmongering and aggression against the peoples. The Soviet Union, in which capitalism was restored by the Khrushchevite revisionists who usurped the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet state after the death of Stalin, is today an aggressive social-imperialist superpower on a par with the United States, and in sharp rivalry with it for world domination. The Soviet Union retains the word "socialist", but the system in force is the state monopoly capitalist system. Corresponding to the capitalist relations internally it pursues a typically imperialist policy abroad; it is a social-imperialist country, "socialist" in words, imperialist in deeds.

Thus the aggressive and interventionist strategy of the United States is matched by the reactionary expansionist and aggressive strategy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, like the United States, is in the grip of profound and growing crisis, the crisis of its revisionist and social-imperialist system which is beset by all the contradictions and evils of the other countries in which the capitalist system prevails. It has the same imperialist strategy for world domination as the United States. Like the United States it is becoming ever more open and bellicose in the application of its policy of subjugation, hegemonism, subversion, expansion and aggression.

The Soviet Union is strengthening its domination over its vassal states through COMECON and through the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Treaty Organisation, like the rival NATO alliance, is a military alliance for aggression, domination and war.

The Soviet Union, which invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Afghanistan in 1979, has carried out a whole series of interventions, as in Angola, Yemen, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and so forth. It has stepped up its

armaments drive, keeping pace with the United States in the escalation which has taken place in the recent period, threatening the peoples of Europe and elsewhere with its nuclear and conventional forces just like the US imperialists. The Soviet Union is expanding its plunder of the neo-colonial and dependent countries through the extension of its "aid" agreements, the extension of its "joint enterprises", etc. The methods of the Soviet Union – the economic and financial enslavement of other peoples, the expansion into and penetration of other countries, the plundering of their resources, the unequal trade, the establishment of enslaving and warlike "treaties of friendship", the aggression and military interventions, the unbridled pursuit of the arms race under the demagogy of "defending peace, security and freedom", etc. – stamp Soviet social imperialism irrefutably as being from the same mould as US imperialism, an aggressive imperialist superpower bent on world domination.

In the Soviet Union today there is not a trace of socialism as it pretends. The character of the present-day Soviet Union, as a social-imperialist power, in which capitalism has been restored in all fields, and which pursues the corresponding capitalist-imperialist policy externally, is the inevitable outcome of the Khrushchevite revisionist betrayal following the death of Stalin, the liquidation of the party of the Bolsheviks, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of socialism. It is essential for the proletariat and peoples to be vigilant against and reject the propaganda of the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, which trades on the socialist past of the Soviet Union, with the cynical adoption of the slogans of "socialism", "peace", "national liberation", their pose as "natural ally of the national liberation movement", etc. The Soviet chieftains act in this

way because they find this the most suitable disguise to penetrate the anti-imperialist and national liberation movements, as well as the democratic, working-class and peace movements of various countries, in order to liquidate their gains in the struggle against US imperialism and its allies and subject them instead to the domination of Soviet social imperialism.

The Imperialist and Social-Imperialist Powers, Exploiters and Oppressors of the Proletariat and Peoples

All the imperialist and social-imperialist powers threaten the peoples – the EEC powers, Japan, China, and others as well as the two superpowers. All the imperialist and social-imperialist powers have the same aggressive, expansionist, hegemonic and neo-colonial features possessed by the two superpowers. Like the two superpowers, they remain on the imperialist path. While the former "great powers" of Europe, for example, are today compelled to take second place in relation to the giants, as a result of the change of relative strengths brought about by the uneven development of capitalism, they harbour all the old features and tendencies and all the old ambitions.

In the European Economic Community are grouped the old-line imperialist powers of Europe – France, Germany, Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, etc. These powers have set up the EEC as a union of the big European monopolies in order to overcome their crisis, to strengthen their exploitation and subjugation of the European working class and people and head off the revolution, to strengthen their neo-colonial spheres of influence; the EEC also serves them as a bulwark in their

contention with the Soviet revisionist bloc.

The EEC, which was set up by the European big bourgeoisie, supported by the United States, is a weapon in the hands of the western imperialist alliance against the peoples, for subjugation, plunder and reaction, and has nothing of the alleged "internationalism" which the bourgeoisie attributes to it. On the contrary, as a weapon of the European and American big bourgeoisie it is a weapon of reaction and counter-revolution, of cosmopolitan annihilation of national identity and subjugation of the national rights, sovereignty and traditions of the peoples of Europe, as well as of neo-colonial strangulation of the neo-colonial and dependent countries and of inter-imperialist rivalry.

Through the setting up of the EEC the European big bourgeoisie aimed to give a new lease of life to its ailing and crisis-ridden system, while US imperialism found in it a favourable weapon for furthering the export of its capital to Europe. Today American capital is inextricably bound up with European capital in the EEC and through this American imperialism exerts a tight hold on the EEC powers, as it does through the membership of these countries in NATO, the presence of US bases and troops on the soil of these countries, etc. This hold is reflected for example in the insistence of the US that the other NATO powers increase their military spending by three per cent per annum and more in real terms, by the demand that these powers accept the Cruise and Pershing missiles on their territories and the setting up of new war bases and command facilities, etc. US imperialism demands from its "partners" not only collaboration in all fields, but complete submission to its dictate.

In its foreign relations the EEC largely follows the US line, as for example in relation to the Iranian

revolution, the Israeli Zionist invasion of Lebanon, the struggles of the peoples of southern Africa and so on.

At the same time the policy of the US imperialists in forcing the burden of their crisis onto their "partners", in demanding that they bear the cost of the ever-increased pace of militarisation, in insisting that they toe the US line completely in relation to the Soviet Union, the countries of the Middle East, etc. – which sharply conflicts with the drive of these powers to expand their markets and spheres of influence at the cost of their various rivals – is strengthening the desire and striving of the EEC powers to break free from the dictate of the US, in order to pursue their own imperialist ambitions in the economic and other fields without restrictions. Time has proved the correctness of Stalin's prediction: *"Outwardly, everything would seem to be 'going well'; the USA has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to 'go well' for 'all eternity', that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development"* (25).

The US imperialist economy has lost its over-riding superiority in relation to the EEC and the latter seeks to challenge the US economic superiority. The west European imperialists aim to make Europe an economic superpower, then a political and later a military superpower, in rivalry with the other superpowers.

The EEC powers aim to strengthen their positions

in the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere, and to expand trade with and capital exports to the Soviet Union and COMECON. This latter policy especially is giving rise to increased clashes with US imperialism, as over the Siberian gas pipeline, etc. The clash over the US protectionist policies and the EEC "common agricultural policy" is a further source of conflict between the United States and the EEC.

The various imperialist powers of the EEC have their own individual interests and aims, which bring them more and more into collision with one another, as witness the continual and increasing clashes in this organisation, such as over the budget, over the agricultural and fishing policy, the monetary system and so forth. Likewise the attitude of the respective powers to the US and the Soviet Union is a source of increasing contradictions between them. Collisions within the EEC are escalating, to the extent that the threat of armed force makes its appearance, as with the Anglo-Danish "cod war".

The inter-imperialist contradictions are weakening the front of imperialism, as are the struggles of the proletariat and peoples. In the context of this weakening of the general imperialist front, the proletariat and its Party do not side with or tail behind this or that imperialist power but vigorously advance the struggle for the social and national rights of the people, including sovereignty rights, and for the victory of the revolution.

In the East, Japan is increasingly striving to expand its markets and break out of the protectionist restrictions placed on it by the US and the EEC. The United States wants Japan to increase its military capacity, while the Japanese militarism of the past, with its dreams of a revival of the "Greater Far East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" in the Far East, South-

East Asia and the Pacific and Oceania, is making its presence felt more and more.

The Chinese revisionists are pursuing their reactionary policy of "four modernisations" to strengthen China's capitalist economy and her military strength with the aid of western capital, technology and armaments. In pursuit of their social-imperialist aims and ambitions, they are following the counter-revolutionary policy of alliance with US imperialism and of mortgaging the assets and labour of the Chinese people to western imperialist finance capital. They seek to turn China into a new social-imperialist superpower with its own sphere of influence, to expand in rivalry with the other imperialist and social-imperialist powers. They have been forging links with Japan for the same purpose. The aggressive nature of Chinese social imperialism was conclusively proved by its brazen aggression against Vietnam in 1980. The Chinese social imperialists are extending their tentacles to the "third world" in line with their aspiration to be the "leader" of this "world". They have linked themselves with the forces of darkest reaction throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The US and other imperialists seek an outlet in China for their export of capital and seek new sources of raw materials. They supply arms and military technology to China with the aim of building up China's military capacity as far as necessary for it to provide a counterpoise against Soviet social imperialism in the East and a bulwark against the peoples; at the same time the US imperialists do not intend to strengthen China's military capacity to the extent that it can threaten their own hegemony and domination in the area. A Washington-Beijing-Tokyo axis has been forged, which poses a grave threat against the peoples of the Far East, South-East Asia,

the Pacific and Oceania.

Whilst pursuing this strategy, the Chinese social imperialists, in accordance with their unprincipled, pragmatic policy, have lately shown a more favourable attitude to the wooing of Moscow. In this they have not only the aim of putting pressure on the US imperialists so as to secure "a better deal", but also of keeping the possibilities open for yet another diametric about-face like those they have made in the past in pursuit of their social-imperialist ambitions, this time to an alliance with the Soviet Union against the United States. The Soviet social imperialists for their part want to lessen the tensions with their social-imperialist neighbour in the East, just as they want a rapprochement with the EEC powers; among other reasons they aim at weakening the encirclement from east and west.

The venal, cynical and unprincipled policy of the Chinese social imperialists and their warmongering present grave dangers to the world's people, as do the policies of the superpowers and the EEC and Japanese imperialists.

All the imperialist and social-imperialist powers are on the road of expansionism, intervention and aggression. This is creating dangerous hotbeds and threatening catastrophes for the peoples in the various regions and on a global scale.

The Sharpening Class Struggle throughout the Capitalist-Revisionist World

The present crisis, which continues to sweep the entire capitalist-revisionist world, is bringing with it an intensification of the class struggle in all the capitalist and revisionist countries, developed and undeveloped. On the one side the capitalists are

striving to force the entire burden of the crisis onto the working people and are launching ever more vicious attacks on the wages, living conditions, social benefits and rights of the working class and people, striving to crush the people's resistance and crush the revolution. On the other the working class and people are waging more and more determined struggles.

In the advanced capitalist countries of the west the workers are engaging in strikes and demonstrations against the intensified exploitation, the driving down of wages, the worsening of conditions and the attacks on their rights. The workers in the various countries of the EEC, the US and elsewhere have launched powerful struggles, which in many cases, such as, for example, those of the steel workers in various countries, have been marked by great militancy and determination.

In the revisionist countries, in which capitalism has been restored, the struggles of the working masses are likewise increasing against the intolerable exploitation and oppression by the revisionist bourgeoisie, which has imposed a system of exploitation every bit as inhuman as that of the classical western capitalist countries. In these countries the economic and political crisis and the class struggle are sharpening just as in the west, and the struggle of the Polish workers is a vivid reflection of this.

In the dependent and neo-colonial countries too the class struggle of the proletariat is intensifying, as with the heroic textile workers' strike in India, the struggles of the Chilean miners, the Brazilian workers, the Azanian miners and many others. The struggle of the workers against the exploitation by the big bourgeoisie of these countries and the plunder by the foreign imperialists, for whom the local oligarchies form the social base, is increasing as the

yoke of the imperialist and social-imperialist multinationals and big banks on these countries reaches monstrous proportions. The imperialists and social imperialists are striving to force the full weight of the crisis onto these countries and the reactionary regimes are imposing a heavier and heavier burden on the working people; this is leading to intensification of the struggles of the working masses, who are heroically clashing with the capitalists and fighting the barbarous repression by the reactionary regimes.

Throughout the capitalist-revisionist world the people are launching powerful struggles for their rights. Among these struggles the movement against imperialist war preparations is growing in proportions and in breadth, and is posing increasing difficulties for the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers.

The superpowers and the imperialist governments are responding with an escalation of their demagogy aimed at liquidating the anti-war movement and calling on the people to put their faith in the good offices of the superpowers and the warmongers to avert the drive to inter-imperialist war, at making the superpowers the arbiters of the destinies of the peoples, at legalising the arms race and strengthening the nuclear monopoly of the superpowers.

The imperialist war preparations are not carried out to "deter" the other side, as is claimed, but are deadly serious preparations for launching an imperialist world war to serve their aggressive and expansionist aims. The globe is already divided up; but the capitalist economies must expand as a condition of maintaining their profits and their system. Each can only expand at the expense of the other; hence

imperialism is the source of a new world war.

Each of the superpowers justifies the arms race on the basis of the aggressiveness of the other. The escalation of the arms race is accompanied by the increase in the imperialist-pacifist demagogy of the warmongers. Numerous "arms reduction" and "disarmament" talks are conducted under various titles. In these they present the fraud that they are interested in disarming and that the people should not fight against the superpowers but should rely on them to reach "detente". At the same time each uses the talks as a platform for its demagogical propaganda, and these talks become an arena for inter-imperialist rivalry between the superpowers, as well as of collusion in which they conspire and hatch up plots to the detriment of the interests of the peoples. They insist that the arms race, the "balance of forces", has been the reason no general war has broken out since the second world war. But it is evident that the arms race has not diminished the danger of a general war but greatly increased it while local wars have continued without cessation since the second world war. The peoples of Europe and elsewhere have never been so endangered as they are today under the domination of the two superpowers and the threat of nuclear war.

The people must not accept the idea, spread by imperialism and social imperialism, that whether or not there is peace depends on whether or not "detente" succeeds or the arms race "deters" war. They must not accept either the idea that the outbreak of war is an inevitability and a foregone conclusion. The question of whether or not the imperialists and social imperialists succeed in launching world war depends on the struggles of the people. There is no room for defeatism and passivity, just as there is no room for complacency, in relation

to the present situation and the dangers it poses. There is no room for the view that the imperialists will not dare to launch war because of the vast destruction this would entail; nor is there room for the view that it will be time enough to take action when war has actually broken out. The struggle against imperialist war preparations must be advanced with all vigour, to mobilise the masses of people to avert the war and prevent the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers realising their criminal designs.

The anti-war movement is directed against imperialism and is therefore part of the world revolutionary process, the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism and social imperialism, the victory of the socialist and national liberation revolutions. It is directed against the imperialists and social imperialists, headed by the two superpowers, and their military blocs and alliances, against all imperialist war preparations, nuclear, "conventional", or other.

The revolution is the necessity of our time not only to emancipate the proletariat and broad masses of the people from capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination, but also to defeat the warmongering plans of imperialism and social imperialism and prevent the new holocaust which they are preparing.

The peoples are threatened with the grave danger of fascism, the open terroristic form of rule resorted to by the most reactionary sections of finance capital when other means no longer suffice to crush the revolution and the struggles of the proletariat and people. In all the capitalist-revisionist countries the repressive power of the state is being increased in all directions, with reactionary laws, with the

massive expansion of the police and police powers, of the army, of the organs of surveillance, etc. The assault on the rights of the working class and people includes the attack on democratic and trade union rights, racism, the attacks on national and other minorities, the attacks on youth and women. An all-round fascisation of life is taking place in each country, with the more and more open adoption of chauvinist, anti-democratic slogans, the promotion of corruption and degeneration, the regrouping and setting into motion of the forces of open fascism.

In many countries throughout the world fascism is in power and the working class and people are heroically fighting the barbarous torture and inhuman exploitation to which they are being subjected by the fascist and martial law regimes, which are installed by the reactionary oligarchies, imperialism and finance capital to secure their superprofits and stave off the revolution.

In other countries, the threat of fascism is ever growing, as the racist murders in Britain, the atrocities of Paris, Bologna and Munich, and so on, show. Increasingly, fascist elements are becoming prominent in the ruling parties, and all the most reactionary sections of finance capital and reaction are involved in this effort as witness for example the exposure of the implication of the Vatican in the fascist organisations in Italy. The organisation and promotion of terrorism (right and "left") is being carried out with the aim of creating situations for fascism to seize power, and to create the pretexts for escalating the fascisation of the state and committing unbridled assaults on the communists and progressive forces generally, as was done with the Reichstag fire 50 years ago.

The danger of fascism is part and parcel of the crisis. It is the policy of the most reactionary

sections of the monopoly bourgeoisie. It is directed at the maximum exploitation of the workers and the enslavement of the people. It is connected also with the danger of imperialist war. To launch imperialist war the imperialists must first secure their rear; for this purpose they propagate the most rabid chauvinism to line up the people behind them and prepare for fascism.

Where fascism is in power, as in Chile, Argentina, South Africa, the Philippines, Turkey and many other countries, the people are fighting tenaciously for the overthrow of the fascist regimes. In the countries where the bourgeoisie is unleashing the fascist gangs, the people come out onto the streets to oppose these gangs, fighting the police forces who protect them; the people are fighting a resolute struggle to prevent the fascists raising their heads. In Britain too this struggle, waged under the leadership of the Party, has been carried out by the people with vigour, and important gains have been achieved in the struggle to prevent the nazis organising. The bourgeoisie does not promote the fascist gangs and protect them out of idle whim, but with the very serious aim of furthering the fascisation of all aspects of life. The defeat and disbanding of the fascist gangs, by the masses of the people, is an essential part of the struggle to prevent the danger of fascism as well as to block the plans of the imperialists to launch war. In fighting the fascists the people also fight against the bourgeois state, which, by its protection of these forces and its own reactionary and racist policies, is exposed as the instrument of the dictatorship over the people. The people must fight against the fascisation of the state and the fascisation of all aspects of life; they must fight every encroachment on and negation of their democratic rights and wage mass struggles to continually expand these rights and

to utilise them to the full in order to advance the revolutionary struggles of the working class and oppressed masses.

The Anti-Imperialist National Liberation Struggle of the Peoples, a Component Part of the World Proletarian Revolution

The peoples are rising up against the exploitation and oppression by foreign imperialism, against the aggression and dictate of the imperialists and social imperialists, and the rule of the local oligarchies and the reactionary classes who savagely exploit and suppress the labouring masses and are the vehicle and social base of the foreign imperialist domination. New victories have been achieved in the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. Recent years have seen the victories of the Iranian people, the Nicaraguan people, the Zimbabwean people, and others, in their revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles. Recent years have seen too the further progress of the struggles of the people of Namibia and Azania, of the Afghan people, of the people of El Salvador, Guatemala, etc., of the Irish people against the British colonial rule, and of the Argentinian people against British imperialism's occupation of the Malvinas. They have seen the continuation of the struggle of the heroic Palestinian people against US imperialism and Israeli Zionism.

These struggles have created grave difficulties for the imperialists and social imperialists, difficulties to which they have responded with savage efforts to put down the struggles and overthrow the revolutions, or, when the people's struggle is directed against their rivals, to profit from the struggles and victories of the peoples to advance their interests at the

expense of these rivals and of the peoples.

In the Middle East the Iranian people's anti-imperialist revolution of February 1979 victoriously overthrew the barbaric fascist regime of the Shah, depriving the US imperialists both of this important strategic position and source of oil and of their gendarme in the Gulf region. The US imperialists were unable to overthrow the anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people. Hence they have intensified their efforts to undermine the revolution by inciting divisions and conflict with the aim of splitting the Iranian people and preparing to launch a full-scale military intervention at a suitable moment by means of their Rapid Deployment Force. The Soviet Union too, taking advantage of the "vacuum" left by the American debacle, has stepped up its efforts to penetrate and subvert Iran, proving once again the fake and cynical character of its protestations of "friendship with and support for the national liberation struggles". The two superpowers between them fomented the war between Iraq and Iran with the aim of weakening Iran and undermining the unity between the fraternal Iranian and Arab peoples. These plans of the superpowers, imperialism and reaction have not been successful and the Iranian people continue their heroic struggle to consolidate the gains of the revolution. The British imperialists, who lost a great deal in Iran, especially oil, are part of the US-imperialist-led plots to reverse the situation in Iran. In this, in common with the other EEC powers, they pursue, as elsewhere in the Middle East, a policy aimed at realising their own expansionist ambitions and securing their own interests in collusion with and in rivalry with other imperialist and social-imperialist powers. The whole of western imperialism has launched an unprecedented

campaign of vilification against the Iranian people to designate their anti-imperialist struggle as "religious fanaticism" and to incite civil war in that country. This false, denigrating propaganda, which conceals the aim to re-enslave the Iranian people, wants to deny that the latter rose and overthrew the Shah, not because of religion, but because of their irrepressible desire for freedom and national and social emancipation. The Iranian people and no one else will decide what system they will live under, and it is certain that they share with all oppressed peoples the desire to consolidate the anti-imperialist national revolution and carry their struggle forward to complete national and social emancipation. Our Party has fulfilled and will fulfil in the future its internationalist duty to support the heroic struggle of the Iranian people against the common enemies, imperialism and social imperialism headed by the two superpowers, and for national and social emancipation.

In the colonial, neo-colonial and dependent countries the peoples are waging the democratic, anti-imperialist national liberation struggle. This struggle is a component part of the world proletarian revolution. Different countries have different levels of economic, social and political development; they face specific tasks which must be carried out in order to realise social progress. The task of putting an end to imperialist and social-imperialist oppression and domination, of ending the rule of reactionary regimes and revolutionising the relations of production draws different social forces into struggle. The proletariat as the most revolutionary class is not indifferent to the realisation of the national and democratic tasks, since these are essential to pave the way for the more far-reaching transformations of the proletarian revolution. The proletariat in all the capitalist countries must

support the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle of the peoples as a vital component of the world proletarian revolution.

Following the failure of its attempts to reverse the Iranian revolution, US imperialism, as part of its unchanging policy to dominate the Middle East and subjugate the Arab peoples, plotted the diabolical operation for the invasion and occupation of Lebanon. For this purpose it employed its instrument, Israeli Zionism, whose objective is the liquidation of the Palestinian nation and the establishment of the "greater Israel" through the successive swallowing up of ever more extensive Arab territories. The US imperialists and Israeli Zionism are the ones responsible for the savage crimes against the martyred Palestinian and Lebanese people, while the Soviet social imperialists and the Arab reactionaries served their own aims in standing with arms folded and tacitly sanctioning the invasion and occupation of Lebanon and the massacre of Palestinians in Sabra and Chatila. The enemies were not able to liquidate the resistance of the Palestinian people, who continue their heroic struggle in difficult conditions. All the imperialist powers remained silent apart from some hypocritical words of "condemnation" which cost them nothing and did not even distinguish them from Reagan and Begin themselves.

The crimes committed in Lebanon have opened the eyes of the peoples still further (including the Israeli people who launched powerful demonstrations and protests against the crimes committed allegedly in their name) as to the criminal features of Israeli Zionism, US imperialism and all the imperialist and social-imperialist powers as well as Arab reaction. British imperialism is a major

accomplice in these crimes and in particular supports and participates (alongside French and Italian imperialism) in the Americans' "peace-keeping force" in Lebanon, which is a weapon of intervention to crush the Palestinian people's resistance and to serve as a bridgehead for further aggressions against the peoples of the Middle East. While US imperialism pursues the policy described, Soviet social imperialism pursues the policy of penetrating various Arab countries and national liberation movements under the hoax of "friendship and support for the Arab and Palestinian peoples", in order to consolidate positions of strength in the Middle East from which to expand its military, political and economic rivalry with the US at the expense of the Arab peoples.

Our Party resolutely supports the heroic Palestinian people in their struggle for their national rights in their homeland. It resolutely supports the struggle of the Arab peoples for the return of their lands occupied by Israeli Zionism and the demand that Israel return to its lair.

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in the wake of the US defeat in Iran. It began thereby its push southward to the Indian Ocean where it seeks warm water ports, aiming to capture strategic positions in the region at the expense of the Americans. However the Afghan people have submerged the Russians in another Vietnam, in the face of an equally barbarous war waged by the occupiers. In the south-Asian subcontinent, a revolutionary crisis exists and the region forms a nodal point of the expansionist interests and rivalry of the two superpowers and the other imperialist and social-imperialist powers.

In South-East Asia too the contention of the

superpowers is creating grave situations for the peoples. The Americans are continuing their efforts to maintain their sphere of influence despite their defeats. The Soviet Union and China are in rivalry with the US and each other to expand at the expense of the peoples of these countries. The source of the conflicts and the difficulties facing the peoples lies with the superpowers and imperialism and social imperialism. The peoples can achieve their freedom, national and social emancipation only through ending the domination and interference of imperialism and social imperialism, and on the basis of respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Our Party opposes without exception all the aggression, interference, incursions and military interventions which are taking place in the region on whatever pretext.

In Latin America the flames of revolution are rising higher and higher, especially in Central America, and the US is expanding its efforts to crush the revolution through its arming of the reactionary regimes and its ever more open intervention. The people of Nicaragua are fighting to defend their revolution; the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries are developing their anti-imperialist, liberation struggles against US imperialism and the reactionary, US-backed regimes. All the western imperialist powers actively support the American aggression in this region, while the Soviet superpower strives where possible to increase its influence and domination of the countries breaking free from the hold of the US and the reactionary oligarchies. The British imperialists finance the fascist regimes in El Salvador and elsewhere and their troops are stationed in Belize.

In southern Africa the Azanian and Namibian peoples are striving to throw off the fascist

apartheid system of enslavement and colonial subjugation. The imperialist powers and the Pretoria fascists are doing their utmost to crush these struggles in order to maintain the colossal profits reaped by the South African monopolists and the American, British and other multinationals from the labour and resources of the people. The American and British imperialists are doing everything possible to maintain in being the reactionary South African regime, providing it with arms and using every means, including sport, to attempt to prettify the inhuman racist system of apartheid in the eyes of world public opinion. The South African fascists, in league with the imperialist powers are striving to the maximum to destabilise the situation in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and elsewhere.

In the situation where the positions of the US, British and other imperialists are being shaken more and more, the Soviet social imperialists and other revisionist powers are stepping up their efforts to bring the countries which have thrown out the old colonialists into their own grip and to subvert and bend to their aims the national liberation struggles of the peoples.

The Soviet social imperialists are experiencing more and more difficulties and suffering setbacks in their attempts to subjugate the countries of Eastern Europe to their economic and military aims. The events in Poland manifested the revolt against the Soviet social-imperialist domination and against the revisionist bourgeoisie which has restored capitalism and sold the country to the Soviet Union and to the big western imperialist banks. The revisionist generals imposed a savage martial law regime to suppress the workers. For their part, Polish reaction, the Catholic Church and western imperialism have striven to manipulate the Polish workers' revolt and

maintain it under the wing of their organisation, "Solidarity", in the attempt to convert it into a weapon to penetrate the Soviet bloc and wrest Poland out of the Soviet orbit and into their own. The struggle of the Polish working class and people continues to burn and is bound to break out anew. The same contradictions are brewing in other countries of the Soviet "fold".

The Polish events prove the inevitability of the revolt of the working class against the revisionist rule. They confirm also the importance of the subjective factor in the preparation for revolution. They confirm that, just as is the case for the workers in the western capitalist countries, it is only on the path of revolution led by their Marxist-Leninist party, in opposition to all imperialism, social imperialism and reaction that the people of Poland can win victory; it is only on the path of proletarian revolution led by genuine Marxist-Leninist parties that the people of the former people's democracies can secure their national and social emancipation. Our Party firmly supports the struggle of the Polish working class and people against the reactionary revisionist rule and the domination of Soviet social imperialism, and resolutely opposes the attempts of the western imperialists, Polish reaction and the Catholic Church, "Solidarity", etc., to convert this struggle into a weapon for carrying out their own enslaving aims at the expense of the Polish people.

In the Balkans the rivalry and plots of the two superpowers are being further stepped up for command of this strategic region on the south-eastern flank of Europe. All the capitalist and revisionist countries in this area are in grave crisis and the imperialist and social-imperialist powers with the superpowers at the head are using these difficulties to increase their domination and

strengthen their influence in rivalry with each other. This rivalry and the reactionary policy of the Titoite revisionists and great-Serb chauvinists are behind the stepping up of provocations against and threats to socialist Albania, as well as the barbarous suppression of the Albanian population of Kosova. By their pressure and provocations the imperialists and social imperialists and the Titoites threaten socialist Albania and seek in vain to make it deviate from the socialist path and from its firm and resolute path in defence of good relations between the countries of the Balkans and in opposition to both superpowers and all imperialism and social imperialism.

Our Party firmly supports the struggle of the people of Kosova, who are fighting for their just demand for the status of a republic within the Yugoslav federation. The Party opposes the barbaric persecution of the Albanian population by the Yugoslav revisionists, and condemns the provocations of the latter against socialist Albania. Socialist Albania has always exercised its just right to expose the reactionary features of Yugoslav revisionism, its attempts to annex Albania, and its persecution of the Albanian population in Kosova. It has never raised any territorial claims against Yugoslavia and has never interfered in the affairs of Yugoslavia; on the contrary, the Albanian people have in the past stood and will in the future stand with the Yugoslav people as they did when, in the anti-fascist liberation war, they fought and shed their blood to assist the Yugoslav people in freeing themselves from fascist enslavement.

The struggle of the neo-colonial countries, waged to this or that extent, against the unequal trade, the plunder of their natural and other resources, etc., is causing serious difficulties for the imperialists and social imperialists. The imperialists are responding

to the just demand for new international economic relations by floating the "North-South dialogue" demagogy, a device to thwart the just demands of these countries through reducing them to mere talk, as well as to pave the way for a further expansion of the neo-colonial stranglehold through enslaving neo-colonial "aid". Our Party is firmly opposed to all such neo-colonial schemes, holding that it is only the struggles of the peoples for the end of imperialist and social-imperialist domination, presence and interference which can solve the problem of imperialist plunder. In addition to this imperialist "dialogue", the so-called "non-aligned" movement continues to serve as an instrument of imperialism and social imperialism for the diversion of the struggle against imperialist and social-imperialist domination, through describing as "non-alignment" the relations of dependence of various countries on one or the other of the blocs headed by the superpowers (or both). The Chinese revisionists' "three worlds" theory has similar aims to those of the theory of the "non-aligned movement".

The national question exists also in the western European capitalist countries and other advanced capitalist countries, in the form of the problem of US imperialist domination. This domination is economic, political, military, social and cultural. The bourgeoisie in those countries always follows its class interests and sacrifices the national interests. This problem is acute and the struggle of the people on this front is increasing.

British Imperialism's Colonial War in the Malvinas

Last year saw the launching by British imperialism of the barbaric colonial war in the South Atlantic. This was one of the most brazen exhibitions

of the reactionary, warmongering character of British imperialism since the second world war. As soon as Argentina successfully established its sovereignty on the Malvinas, after 150 years of British occupation, the British government dispatched its "task force" to retake the islands by armed force. This was a colonial war for the maintenance of British imperialism's colonial possessions, as well as to underline British imperialism's determination to crush by armed force the liberation struggles of the peoples. It was the classical British "gunboat diplomacy", on an expanded scale. In the course of this war the British government and war chiefs slaughtered many hundreds of Argentinian soldiers and several hundreds of British servicemen were killed too.

The Malvinas belong to Argentina and not to Britain. This is clear from geography and is proved by history too. The British colonialists seized the Malvinas from Argentina by force at the time when the latter gained its independence from Spain; they have retained it ever since against the repeated demands by Argentina for its return. Argentina's claim is supported by United Nations resolutions, while British government papers have long admitted that the British "claim" is untenable in international law and that the Argentinian claim would eventually have to be recognised. Hence successive British governments proceeded on the basis of maintaining the occupation and dragging out the negotiations as long as possible. Prior to Argentina's successful taking of the islands, the British government was negotiating terms for the eventual reversion of the Malvinas to Argentina.

The British government fraudulently attempted to justify its aggression against Argentina on the basis of the "right of the Falkland Islanders to self-

determination", their "right to remain British". But the right of self-determination does not mean the right of imperialism to annex, it means the right to oppose and end annexations. The right of self-determination is the right of a nation not to have portions or the whole of its territory annexed by foreign imperialist powers, the right to establish full sovereignty over its entire territory. The issue of self-determination at stake is whether the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Argentina is to continue to be violated as it has been for 150 years, or whether it is to be restored. The Falkland Islanders do not constitute a nation, but a colony of 1,800 British and other settlers and working people planted on Argentinian territory. The working people of the Malvinas are treated by the British government as a pawn to be manipulated in the interests of British imperialism's colonial policy and in the interests of the British monopolies such as British Coalite who exploit them. As to whether the Falkland Islanders should "remain British", no one could take away their British nationality even if they wanted to; the issue is not their nationality, but the sovereignty of the islands they inhabit. If it is a question of British citizenship, then the British government's own "British Nationality" Act explicitly took away the British citizenship of the Falkland Islanders a matter of two years ago (a provision only reversed after the Malvinas war to bolster British imperialism's territorial claims). Presented as a general principle the British government's argument implies that any country may seize part of another country on the ground that some of its nationals live there. Considerably more than 1,800 Germans lived in the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia but that did not justify Germany's claim that this territory should become part of

Germany. Still less can the Malvinas in the South Atlantic be part of Britain 8,000 miles away.

This fraud was matched in brazenness by the British government's attempt to justify its aggression against Argentina on the basis of the fact (which, it would appear, it had only just noticed) that Argentina was ruled by a fascist junta. On this account, it was suggested, this was a war for democracy against fascism and the British people should support it on this basis. This is as absurd in logic as it is reactionary in aim. The right of countries to sovereignty is not a right which passes in and out of existence according to the character of the government, according to the character of the social system in force. The right of sovereignty does not cease to exist because the people are struggling for other rights. Lack of social rights of a given people cannot serve as a pretext for denying them their national rights too. The Argentinian people are fighting for social and national rights. The Argentinian people will decide what social system prevails in Argentina; it is not the business of Britain to decide. No one can fail to notice that the Argentinian people, who have been waging vigorous struggles for their rights both before and since the Malvinas war, fully supported the struggle against the British aggression, while their sons heroically fought and shed their blood for the integrity of their homeland. It is no doubt ironic that the Thatcher government should seek to cast itself in the role of "exporter of progress", but, raised to a general principle, its argument implies that any country can wage a war against another if it disagrees with the government there. The Soviet social imperialists disagreed with the government of Czechoslovakia, so they invaded that country, an act which was rightly condemned by the world as brazen aggression. The

name of the US and its CIA have become synonymous with such activity all over the world ever since the second world war. It is the same principle the British government is advocating here. For that matter not a few people throughout the world disagree with Mrs Thatcher's domestic policies, but this does not give anyone the right to wage a war to seize part of Britain. The principle advocated by the government implies that imperialism has the right to wage war against or intervene in any country in pursuit of its aims. This is the principle the British and other imperialists actually follow. Under the reactionary doctrine of "defence of the free and democratic world", promulgated by Churchill and Truman, the British and US imperialists have given themselves the right to intervene anywhere on the globe, to trample the sovereignty of any country underfoot. The Brezhnev doctrine of "limited sovereignty", which was used to justify the invasion of Czechoslovakia, has exactly the same meaning.

The opportunists of various shades in Britain presented the issue as one of two reactionary powers waging a war to divert the respective peoples from the problems at home. By this doctrine of "equal guilt" they sought to say that the war was unjust on both sides, with the effect of diverting and blunting the sharpness of the opposition to British imperialism's aggression. The attitude taken to imperialism is the decisive question. There are in the world a handful of powerful imperialist states, who, through the power of their finance capital supported by armed force, dominate the colonial, neo-colonial and dependent countries, which are at various stages of economic development, in some cases with relatively developed industry, as is the case with Argentina. Wars waged by the imperialist powers against colonial, neo-colonial and dependent

countries are unjust wars; they are pursued for enslaving, annexationist and exploiting aims. Wars waged by colonial, neo-colonial and dependent countries against annexations, for sovereignty and territorial integrity, or for national liberation and independence, are just wars. On the side of Britain the war was an unjust war pursued against its former dependency to deny its territorial integrity and sovereignty. On the side of Argentina the war was a just war; it was a war directed against and weakening imperialism.

It was argued too that though Argentina's claim may have been just it should not have taken to arms but should have negotiated; to add credence to this it was added, for the sake of "balance", that Britain too should have negotiated. However, in a war it is not the relevant issue who took to arms first, or who is willing to negotiate; the issue is which side, if either, is pursuing just aims. The aims of Argentina were just; those of Britain unjust. In any case the argument goes against Britain, which resorted to arms 150 years ago, which refused to negotiate in the middle of the war and instead made sure the war would continue by sinking the General Belgrano, and which refuses to negotiate up to the present under the pretext that "Argentina has refused to declare hostilities at an end". As to the question of Britain negotiating, the only thing it should negotiate is the immediate transfer of the Malvinas to Argentina and the immediate withdrawal of all British troops.

The reactionary war adventure embarked on by British imperialism was supported to this or that extent by all the imperialist and social-imperialist powers, and first of all by US imperialism, by whose permission and with whose connivance the British imperialists were enabled to prosecute the war to a conclusion. The EEC powers too supported the

British imperialists despite their contradictions with Britain in Latin America. The Soviet social imperialists tried to exploit the situation for their own aims. This unity proved again that whatever their conflict of interests the imperialists and social imperialists are all united in the aim of suppressing the national aspirations of the oppressed nations and peoples. The British and US imperialists have now established the Malvinas as a British and NATO base in the strategic South Atlantic region, against the peoples of Latin America and to command the sea lanes. However, the Malvinas war has had the effect of further isolating the US and British imperialists in Latin America.

The war in the Malvinas dispelled illusions that British imperialism had "reformed" and become "democratic"; it brought out once again that British imperialism is a ferocious aggressive imperialist power bent on maintaining and expanding its sphere of influence by all means including the recourse to naked military aggression. The open support of the "peacemonger" Foot and his party brought out once more that the Labour Party is an imperialist party, a social-chauvinist party, in full agreement with the expansionist aims and ambitions expressed by Thatcher. The chauvinist and jingoistic climate created by the British imperialists, the passing over of the cabinet in favour of a war cabinet together with the general staff, the censorship, the call for further acceleration of the war preparations, etc., underlined how the drive to war is inseparably accompanied by the fascisation of the state and of life at home.

The Malvinas war was launched by the British imperialists to secure their interests, while it was the Argentinian people and the British people who

paid for it in blood and are paying for it in hard cash today.

It is the duty of the proletariat to fight against all annexations including those carried out by its "own" bourgeoisie. Our Party vigorously opposed the aggressive colonial war in the Malvinas, and will always fight against the reactionary colonial and neo-colonial features of British imperialism.

British Imperialism's Colonial Occupation of the North of Ireland

The period since the founding of the Party has seen the further intensification of the national liberation struggle of the Irish people and the further deepening of the crisis of British imperialism's colonial rule in the north of Ireland.

The Irish people have been waging struggle for as long as 800 years for freedom from subjugation by Britain. History tells of the bloody crimes of the English rulers against the Irish people and of the heroic struggles launched from the time of William II by the Irish people against the attempts by the English colonisers to eliminate the Irish people as an independent people and settle the lands of Ireland on the English aristocracy, and colonise the land with English and Scottish settlers in the "divide and rule" policy which persists to this day. It tells of the atrocities committed by the British bourgeoisie when at the time of Cromwell Britain first established its rule over the whole of Ireland; it tells of the deliberate smashing of Irish industry by the British bourgeoisie; it tells of the barbaric suppression of the 1798 rebellion and of the incorporation of Ireland into the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" in 1800. It tells of the depopulation of Ireland by one-third brought about by the British

bourgeoisie at the time of the great famine, through starvation and forced emigration. It tells of the way in which British imperialism partitioned Ireland when the British army was on the brink of defeat in 1921, of how it established the savage colonial Stormont regime in 1921 which ruled under a permanent state of emergency until 1973. History tells too of the glorious struggle waged by the Irish people for freedom throughout this entire period, of the glorious 1798 uprising, of the Fenian movement in the 19th century, of the 1916 Dublin Easter Uprising, of the 1918-21 national liberation war, of the sacrifices made by the Irish patriots and the Irish people, of the indomitable spirit with which the Irish people have waged the struggle for freedom and nationhood against unequal odds, of the immortal deeds of valour and of the victories achieved in this struggle.

No proposition can be better validated by history than the fact that the Irish people are one people, the Irish nation one nation, that the ills of Ireland stem from the enslaving policy of the British ruling classes, from the misfortune of being the first victim of the British bourgeoisie's colonial policy. History and contemporary facts prove that the Irish people's struggle for freedom, independence and national unification can never be suppressed but will go on until the Irish people win complete national emancipation.

In 1969 the then British Labour government sent British troops to maintain the colonial rule in the north of Ireland and to prop up the Stormont regime which was tottering before the powerful uprising of the Irish people for civil rights. According to Harold Wilson and James Callaghan, the troops were going to "keep the peace" between the "warring factions". In reality they went to maintain the "peaceful

enjoyment" of the plunder of the land and labour of the Irish people by British imperialism through ruthlessly suppressing the struggle of the people for an end to partition and British colonial rule. Towards this end British imperialism interned the Irish patriots in the Long Kesh concentration camp, and shot down in cold blood the demonstrators who came out on the streets in protest in Derry on Bloody Sunday, January 30, 1972. When the internment policy became completely discredited the British government introduced the "special courts" with no jury and in which the "evidence" was provided by the systematic practice of torture at Castlereagh and Gough "interrogation" centres; now, when this policy has been exposed to the world, the equally arbitrary and police-state method of "supergrasses" is being used.

This alone exposes the "democratic", "peace-keeping" pretences of the British governments, Labour and Conservative. Add to this the fact that whole areas of the cities of northern Ireland are turned into armed enclaves patrolled by British soldiers with submachine guns, that the homes of the people are broken up by armed soldiers, that the women and children are shot to death with plastic bullets, that the army, RUC and SAS undercover squads carry out secret and open assassinations of the patriots under the "shoot on sight" policy, etc., and the exposure is complete. What we have to do with is the ruthless enforcement of the colonial occupation of part of an independent country by the savage application of armed force, by systematic terror. The British imperialist terrorists accuse the Irish patriots of being "terrorists" and say their "presence" is necessary to "re-establish the rule of law". The reality of the present situation as well as the entire history shows that the armed struggle

waged by the Irish patriots is not only just but a necessity to combat and defeat the armed occupation of their country by foreign invaders, as is the case with any occupied country. As to the "rule of law", it means the savage colonial rule under the draconian laws in force in the north of Ireland; moreover the occupiers do not even abide by their own draconian laws but carry out the shoot on sight policy, and up to the present not a single serving soldier has been sentenced and punished for the murder of Irish civilians throughout the 14 years of the direct occupation.

Following the collapse of the Stormont regime and the introduction of direct rule from Westminster in 1972 the British imperialists have made several attempts to effect a "political solution" to give a semblance of democratic validity to the occupation, such as the "power-sharing executive", which suffered demise in 1974, up to the latest exercise, the ill-fated "assembly". The aim of this is not any sort of democracy for the Irish people: what is involved is the attempt to put together a viable coalition of traitors to the Irish nation to form a puppet administration which will enjoy spoils of office in return for undersigning the foreign occupation as "the will of the majority".

The British imperialists say that they are remaining in Ireland because the "will of the majority" in the north demands it. This argument carries no force at all since the partition itself is a flouting of the will of the Irish people as a whole; the whole basis of the partition was to achieve a majority for the Unionist politicians and create a pretext for continuing colonial rule; the last time the Irish people as a whole were consulted on this question, in 1918, Sinn Fein won 80 per cent of the vote for the independence of Ireland. The British logic here is no

more convincing than Hitler's logic in the Sudetenland, by which means one can justify any annexation. The real attitude to democracy for the Irish people was shown when the Thatcher government (with Foot's support) starved to death the elected MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone, Bobby Sands.

The direct military occupation of the north of Ireland has not solved the crisis of the British colonial rule but on the contrary deepened it. The armed struggle of the Irish patriots has long since advanced to the stage where the British troops cannot move in South Armagh except by helicopter and where the general staff admits that "a military solution is not in sight in the short term". The powerful struggle of the prisoners in H-blocks, culminating in the heroic hunger strike in which 10 brave sons of the Irish people gave their lives for Irish freedom, defeated the "criminalisation" policy of the successive British governments, and still further isolated the British imperialists in Ireland, in Britain and in progressive opinion throughout the world. The mobilisation of the Irish people behind the just demand for an end to the colonial rule and the end of partition is increasing all the time.

With the growing struggle of the people and the increasing isolation of the British imperialists, the latter have been preparing for a neo-colonial "solution" with the collusion of the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie. They have mooted proposals for a "north-south condominium", for a "Dublin-Belfast-London axis"; equally there have been proposals from various sides about the Irish Republic's joining an "EEC defence force", with the aim of bringing it de facto into NATO against the will of the Irish people. The aim of these proposals is to prepare for the time when the direct colonial rule becomes untenable, so

that the neo-colonial plunder of the Irish people at the hands of foreign imperialism can continue and so that the British and NATO military presence in Ireland, which is an important factor in NATO's strategy in the north-east Atlantic, can continue. The American imperialists and the EEC powers are taking a hand in this too. Our Party vigorously opposes these plans, which are aimed at keeping the Irish people subjugated to British and other imperialism.

The British imperialists claim that they must stay in Ireland to solve the problems of "terrorism", of "religion", the "two communities", etc. But the problem in Ireland is not "inability of the Irish people to agree". The problem is that the country is partitioned and colonised. The problem is not "religion" but that the Irish people do not have their freedom; they are not permitted to solve the problems brought about by centuries of foreign domination because that domination is continuing. Ireland belongs to the Irish people and Britain has no business there at all. The Irish people have the right to determine their own affairs free from all outside interference; this is an inalienable right of every people. While the British rule continues the sons of the British working class will continue to serve as cannon fodder in the reactionary cause of slaying and maiming the Irish people who are the close ally of the British working class in its own struggle for emancipation against the common enemy, the British bourgeoisie. The British colonial rule must be ended forthwith, the troops withdrawn immediately. This is the wish of the majority of British people and is the only course of justice. Our Party is firmly opposed to the delaying tactics of the revisionists and the Labour Party, who speak of "withdrawal of troops to barracks pending a withdrawal", of "setting a date

for Irish reunification", of sending a "UN peace-keeping force" (like the US-British-French-Italian "peacekeeping" force in Lebanon). These only aid the British imperialists in their efforts to concoct some neo-colonial solution and to frustrate the demand of the Irish people for freedom and independence.

The discrimination against and persecution of the Irish people resident in Britain must be ended and the "Prevention of Terrorism" Act must be repealed.

Our Party has always fought resolutely against the British colonial rule and for Irish freedom, as well as against the savage persecution of the Irish patriots and people in Britain. We will always stand shoulder to shoulder with the brave people of Ireland.

Albania, the Only Genuinely Socialist Country in the World

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is the only genuinely socialist country in the world. The Albanian people, led by the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, defeated the fascist occupiers and liberated the country in the glorious anti-fascist national liberation war. They established the people's state power, carried forward the revolution, established the dictatorship of the proletariat, have built socialism and are carrying forward socialist construction at a rapid rate. Albania has fought heroically against all internal and external enemies, heroically combatted the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and provided a brilliant example and model of the new society, the most advanced social system in the world.

The Albanian economy is advancing with big strides at a time when all the countries in which capitalism prevails, including the pseudo-socialist

countries, in which socialism and people's democracy have been overthrown and capitalist relations of production restored, are caught in the deepest crisis since the 1930s.

The existence and example of socialist Albania are of inestimable importance to the struggle of the proletariat and peoples. Albania proves the possibility and inevitability of building socialism, contrary to the combined anti-communist, anti-socialist propaganda of the revisionists and the bourgeoisie, that genuine socialism is impossible or reactionary, that the working class cannot do without the bourgeoisie to run society. In Albania the socialist revolution has eliminated the bourgeoisie as a class and brought an end to the exploitation of man by man. There is a working class and other working people in Albania, but no bourgeoisie. The people participate fully in governing the country, running the economy and carrying out all the functions of society, building for themselves a full, secure and happy life without the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is a superfluous class; the progress of society demands that it be eliminated as a class.

In Albania there is no crisis, none of the ills of the capitalist-revisionist world. The working people enjoy real freedom and rights. The youth have bright prospects; the women have achieved emancipation; in Albania there is proletarian democracy. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat there is democracy for the working people, while there are no rights for the former exploiters and for the foreign imperialists and social imperialists who want to subjugate Albania.

Albania demonstrates to the world's people the correct path of self-reliance to achieve and maintain independence and national sovereignty. Though

Albania was the most backward country in Europe and has more limited natural resources and a smaller population than many other countries, the economy flourishes and the material and cultural needs of the people are met because there is no capitalist exploitation, no foreign capital, and self-reliance is a basic principle of the economy. This self-reliance is not a temporary tactic but a principle which guarantees the sovereignty of the country and the all-round development of the economy, eliminating the possibility of enslavement by the economic, financial, political and other chains of imperialist domination. The resolute stand in opposition to the superpowers and all imperialists and social imperialists, the exposure and condemnation of their warmongering, enslaving activities and their demagoguery, the path of exposing and fighting the warmongers, shows the people the correct road for the defence of sovereignty and of peace and the prevention of new global conflicts.

Albania today is the defender of the traditions and experience of the Paris Commune and the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is our proletarian internationalist duty, as well as our honour, to defend the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as the socialist homeland of the international proletariat. Albania is building socialism not for Albania alone, but for the international proletariat and to serve the cause of the revolution and socialism on a world scale.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania genuine socialism exists and is steadily being strengthened to make it into an impregnable fortress of the peoples. The contradiction between the socialist and capitalist systems on the world scale has by no means been eliminated. On the contrary, this contradiction is all the time becoming sharper as

the issue of the revolution is more and more firmly on the order of the day.

For this reason the imperialists and revisionists are strengthening not only their conspiracy of silence as to the reality of socialist Albania, their campaign of denigration and slander, but also their concrete attacks and attempts to subvert and even invade Albania. Our Party and all progressive people denounce this criminal activity as they denounce also the hostile refusal of successive British governments to return the Albanian gold seized at the end of the second world war. The Albanian gold must be returned with all outstanding interest; this is the demand of all progressive people. This hostile stand of the British bourgeoisie to Albania is the continuation of the reactionary, enslaving policy which British imperialism has always taken towards the Albanian people, their rights and independence. At the time of the anti-fascist national liberation war, the British imperialists vainly tried to bring under their wing the heroic struggle of the Albanian people against the German and Italian fascist occupiers, to replace the enslavement by the latter with the imperialist domination by Britain and the US, and to stamp out the national liberation war. British imperialism has never ceased carrying out all kinds of attacks, subversion and counter-revolutionary activity against Albania, against its independence and sovereignty and against the socialist system. Our Party resolutely combats this hostile activity against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and works for correct, principled and just relations between our two countries and peoples, which is the aspiration of all progressive and democratic people.

* * * *

In the world today, two great forces are confronting one another in ever mounting struggles. On the one hand there is the world of imperialism, social imperialism, reaction and fascism. On the other, there is the genuine socialist camp, socialist Albania, the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties; the oppressed nations fighting for independence and freedom; the democratic and peace-loving forces. Through the determined struggle of the progressive forces with the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties in the forefront, fighting in unity and on the basis of their own strength, lapsing neither into false optimism nor passive fatalism, the people are bound to triumph against their enemies. This is the historic truth of our times.

2. THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries consider the defence and application of the principles of proletarian internationalism to be an integral part of their strategy, programme and revolutionary activity. This work of the Marxist-Leninist parties is guided by and developed according to the principle set forth by Marx and Engels in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party": "*Workers of all countries, unite!*" (26); it is guided by and developed according to the principle expressed by Lenin: "*working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception*" (27).

The unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement is indispensable in order to co-ordinate the struggle of the international proletariat and oppressed people against the coordinated attacks of imperialism and revisionism. This unity is the condition for the victory of the struggle against the common enemies. And the Party, along with all the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties, resolutely defends this unity.

The great struggle to build and strengthen the International Communist Movement was initiated by Marx and Engels with the founding of the First International and it continued and made extremely important advances during the time of Lenin and Stalin and the work of the Comintern. In line with their counter-revolutionary, anti-Marxist aims and objectives, the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Chinese revisionists, the Titoite revisionists and all the other modern revisionist currents have tried their utmost to prevent this forward march of the movement, to split and disrupt it. But from the time modern revisionism first raised its ugly head, the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement has defended its unity and defended the Marxist-Leninist basis of this unity. The International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement was not and could not be destroyed or defeated; on the contrary it has grown stronger in the course of the heroic struggles which have been waged by the genuine Marxist-Leninists against imperialism, modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades.

The Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head has made immense and indispensable contributions to the defence and strengthening of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. Since the death of Stalin, the

Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have led the struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the revolution and socialism, waging the struggle with heroism and wisdom, under extremely difficult conditions. They have heroically carried forward the revolution in Albania, led the Albanian working class and people in socialist construction and in the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat against the vicious attacks, intrigues and conspiracies of imperialism and revisionism. They have waged an unwavering struggle in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and heroically fought against and repudiated Titoism, Khrushchevism, Maoism and Eurocommunism and all currents of modern revisionism. They have consistently supported and assisted the Marxist-Leninist forces and revolutionary forces throughout the world, vigorously supporting and assisting the struggles of the peoples for national and social liberation and defending and working to strengthen the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement.

Through this resolute and ceaseless struggle which the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have waged, their resolute struggle for the cause of socialism, the revolution and the proletariat and peoples, against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction and against all variants of modern revisionism, they have not only defended but greatly enriched Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice.

The timely exposure by the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha of Chinese revisionism, of "Mao Zedong thought" and the "three worlds" theory, was of great assistance to our Party in carrying through its struggle against Chinese revisionism, for the

exposure of the character and basis of this variant of modern revisionism. The Party considers that the profound works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, such as those published since the time of the 7th Congress of the PLA, including "Imperialism and the Revolution", "Reflections on China", "With Stalin", "Yugoslav 'Self-Administration' - a Capitalist Theory and Practice", "Eurocommunism is Anti-Communism", "The Khrushchevites", "The Anglo-American Threat to Albania" and "The Titoites", as well as the Reports to the 7th and 8th Congresses of the PLA, have made an immense contribution to the whole movement; they have defended and further enriched the Marxist-Leninist teachings. These works have been of great assistance to our Party for the deepening of its mastery of Marxism-Leninism, deepening its criticism of modern revisionism and deepening its grasp of the strategy and tactics of imperialism and of the theory and tactics of the revolution.

The courageous and determined struggle waged by all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of revolution and socialism, and to expose and repudiate all the brands of modern revisionism, has greatly strengthened the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. Thus for example in the course of the struggle against and repudiation of "Mao Zedong thought" and Chinese revisionism, the Marxist-Leninist parties have further strengthened and tempered themselves on the basis of Marxism-Leninism; they have gained greater experience in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism and the tactics and methods employed by the latter against the revolutionary forces. The quality of the movement has been further improved and the path has been opened up for its further expansion with the birth of

new Marxist-Leninist parties in many countries. The obstacles by which the Chinese revisionists tried to obstruct the holding of meetings and discussion amongst the Marxist-Leninist parties have been overcome and the unity between the Marxist-Leninist parties has been further strengthened through the development of their bilateral relations, as well as through a number of multilateral meetings and initiatives. The participation of many fraternal parties and organisations in the conferences and congresses of various parties, the organising of Internationalist Rallies and other such initiatives have all greatly increased.

The Party considers that a very positive situation exists, with good conditions for the further advance of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. At the same time there can be no slackening of vigilance against modern revisionism, which never ceases its attempts to subvert and split the movement.

As the Leninist principles on proletarian internationalism teach, the first priority in the building and strengthening of the unity of the communist movement is the continuous strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist parties themselves and their work to advance the revolutionary struggle in their own countries; without this being the foundation of the movement, proletarian internationalism would be turned into an empty phrase.

The Party considers that an extremely important element in the work to further strengthen the unity of the movement is the continual strengthening of its bilateral relations, discussions, exchanges and collaboration with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, the work to deepen its understanding of the situation and struggle in different countries, to exchange opinions and experience on various

questions. The Party considers that the improvement of working relations between parties and the increase in the scope of these relations are very important factors for the further development of the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement.

The Party also considers that, where the conditions exist, well-prepared multilateral meetings for the purpose of exchanging opinions and experiences on various specific questions are also an important factor in strengthening the unity between the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, contributing to strengthening the unity of the whole movement.

The Party considers that the participation in and organisation of different kinds of international initiatives and collaborations between the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary mass organisations – Internationalist Rallies, Festivals, Youth Camps and common actions – are also a further important factor for the strengthening of the unity of the movement and the unity between the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary forces.

All these meetings, exchanges and initiatives are organised from the angle of and according to the principle of strengthening the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. This unity is a most precious thing and it is precisely against this unity that the imperialists and revisionists, especially as the crisis facing them deepens and broadens, direct their fire. Thus the efforts for the continual strengthening of the unity, solidarity and mutual support between the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, and the efforts to benefit from one another's experience and struggle, to arrive at common assessments of problems and situations, and step by step to build and strengthen unity in

thought and action, remain in the fore. The Party defends the principles of equality between Marxist-Leninist parties, and defends the right of each party to give its considered Marxist-Leninist opinions on questions. It does not consider it correct for polemics to be waged against fraternal parties, polemics being reserved only for the enemy, for the purpose of defeating the enemy and defending Marxism-Leninism.

It is the strengthening of the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement which is and remains the objective. This unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement, and the unity between the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, is not a sentimental, abstract or formal question. It is based upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, upon the common revolutionary struggle being waged, organised and led by the Marxist-Leninist parties against the common enemies and for the victory of revolution and socialism. It is loyalty to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; the constant and uninterrupted struggle to defend the purity of these principles and to apply them; the rich experience gained in the struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades and the efforts being made to deepen and broaden this struggle; the great historical experience of the entire movement; and the common desire, efforts and experience to realise the victory of revolution and socialism and the defeat of the mortal enemies of the proletariat and people; it is these which make the communist movement strong and invincible, and ensure its forward march and further strengthening. Whilst the attacks and disruptions of the imperialists and revisionists can cause serious damage to the

movement, they cannot dictate historical development; they cannot prevent the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the founding of new Marxist-Leninist parties and they can never make the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties give up their struggle for the great cause of the proletariat, socialism and communism. The Marxist-Leninist ideology is invincible. The proletarian revolution is an objective inevitability and necessity; the class struggle can never be extinguished. The genuine Marxist-Leninists and the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement are being further tempered and strengthened in the struggle for the great cause of socialism and communism.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are all working under difficult conditions. Many parties are working under conditions of complete illegality and daily face the terror and suppression of the fascist regimes. Other Marxist-Leninist parties, like our own Party, are working under the conditions prevailing in the imperialist heartlands. The glorious Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the only genuine Marxist-Leninist party in power, is working under extremely difficult conditions to lead the Albanian people in constructing and further strengthening socialism in the face of the intrigues, attacks and vicious encirclement and blockade by imperialism and revisionism. Other Marxist-Leninist forces are faced with the central task of constructing their Party. All these Marxist-Leninist parties and forces – big or small, new or old, in power or out of power – are equal detachments of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. They have gained invaluable experience and lessons in their struggles, and are carrying out great and important work to realise the victory of the revolution and socialism in their own countries and to

support and contribute to this struggle in each and every country. The combined experience of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement makes the movement invincible, and provides great assistance and encouragement to each and every Party. As Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his Report to the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania: *"The experience of one party cannot replace the experience of many parties. On the contrary, it is the experience of all the Marxist-Leninist parties which makes the movement invincible"* (28).

The Party has always striven to defend and apply the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is the contingent in Britain of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. It considers it an honour to stand and fight shoulder-to-shoulder with all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties in advancing and fighting for the great cause of the revolution and socialism. It receives great support and encouragement in its work from the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties; it hails the revolutionary work being organised by them in their respective countries and it cherishes the militant unity and friendship which has been built with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties. The Party declares that in the future, too, it will uphold and perform its proletarian internationalist duties to the maximum. It will carry forward the work to organise and prepare for the revolution in Britain. It will support, assist and stand by the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries organising for the victory of revolution and socialism. And it will continue to work to strengthen its unity, friendship, exchanges and cooperation and its working relations with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, to strengthen the

unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement.

The Marxist-Leninists of every country are the courageous vanguard fighters for the cause of the working class and oppressed people and for their emancipation. They stand in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. They make every sacrifice to advance the great cause of revolution, socialism and communism. The Party pays tribute to all the heroic martyrs of the fraternal parties who have given their lives in the common struggle of the proletariat of all lands. It salutes all the comrades who are defying with unbroken revolutionary spirit the jails, torture and savage repression of reaction. The Party pays tribute to the working class and oppressed people of all lands who are fighting for their emancipation and freedom. It pays tribute to the heroic Albanian working class and people and to the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head and to their glorious socialist homeland, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Comrades, the revolution is the necessity of our time; imperialism, social imperialism and reaction headed by the two superpowers are threatening mankind with great catastrophes. Great responsibilities rest on the Marxist-Leninist parties to lead the proletariat and all the exploited and oppressed in the revolutionary struggle to avert the great dangers, to overthrow imperialism and all reaction, to transform society from capitalism to socialism, to achieve genuine peace, independence and freedom and to create the material conditions for the victory of socialism and communism on the world scale.

Comrades, it was for this purpose that the Party was founded just over four years ago, and the

situation and the tasks before us demand that our Party, its cadres and militants march further ahead on the Marxist-Leninist road on which we have embarked. The Party faces many complicated and difficult problems; it is fully conscious of the great and difficult tasks which lie ahead. But the Party, together with the fraternal parties in every country, face these problems and tasks with confidence and resolve.

Comrades, we will organise and lead the British working class to overthrow one of the most hated and brutal enemies mankind has seen. We will carry out our task and our duty to organise the proletarian socialist revolution in Britain and make our contribution to the victory of socialism and communism on a world scale. So let us turn the decisions of our historic First Congress into life and step up our preparations for the accomplishment of our great task!

HAIL THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF
BRITAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST)!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST
PARTY OF BRITAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST)!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE INTER-
NATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST
MOVEMENT!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

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