

REVOLUTION

THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRITAIN

FEBRUARY 1978 VOLUME 3, NUMBER 1.

PRICE 30p

**Birch No Longer Part of the
Marxist - Leninist Movement!**

**Support for Socialist China
Means Wholehearted Support for
China's Veteran Leaders**

Building the Factory Cell



THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRITAIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY TO BUILD THE REVOLUTION!

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Appendices 2 and 3 to 'Origins and Development....' draw a line of demarcation between the correct and the incorrect ways of handling differences between parties. They have been reprinted in this issue of 'Revolution' as a warning against splittism in the movement.

'Left' opportunists in a number of countries, and the revisionist Birch, have used the overthrow of the 'gang of four' as a pretext for denouncing the CPC as 'revisionist', and particularly attacking veteran comrades of this party. This is why it is important for Marxist-Leninist organisations in Britain to grasp firmly that British communists must defend veteran comrades like Teng Hsiao-ping. We must expose the opportunist line, which is the line of the 'gang of four', in struggling for greater clarity on the question of the gang. The article 'Support for Socialist China Means Wholehearted Support for China's Veteran Leaders' looks at Teng Hsiao-ping's record as a revolutionary, sums up his role in the Cultural Revolution, and his struggle against the 'gang of four'. It shows that, despite his errors, Teng is a great revolutionary and has correctly been restored to a leading position in the CPC.

The work of building Communist bases within the industrial working class is at an early stage in Britain. But we can learn from organisations with more experience, particularly those who have had some successes in this work. This is why we are reprinting the article 'Building the Factory Cell' from 'Class Struggle', the journal of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the USA. The article sums up experience in class struggle in the factories from which comrades in Britain can learn useful lessons.

Editorial Committee.

BIRCH NO LONGER PART OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT!

Due to the splitting activities of those in the international Communist movement who are not seriously interested in preserving unity in the face of the enemy, some differences in the movement have been brought into the open. This was not the wish of the RCLB nor is it the wish of the majority of the movement. Nevertheless we can remain silent no longer, when lies, slanders and vile rumours are being spread about the Communist Party of China - the staunchest supporter and defender of the world revolution - and when a serious 'left' opportunist line is being spread on the international situation; a line which tries to disarm the working class and oppressed peoples and nations in their struggle against superpower hegemonism and imperialism.

The differences in the movement centre around Chairman Mao's great theory of the differentiation of the three worlds. Some people are making disgraceful attacks on Chairman Mao and on Mao Tsetung Thought by saying that this theory ignores "socialism as a system", that it calls "on the world proletariat not to fight, not to rise in socialist revolution" and that its supporters are calling for "unity with one superpower against the other". These people go so far as to refer to those who propagate this theory as "traitors and renegades" and call the theory itself "counter-revolutionary".

We shall leave it to others to endeavour to raise Marxism to a new level in invective. In this article we shall merely point out that those who attack the theory of the three worlds are doing the two superpowers, especially the Soviet Union, a great service, irrespective of their subjective desires, because they are trying to confuse the working class as to who are their enemies and who are their friends on a world scale.

The view of the RCLB is that Chairman Mao's great theory of the the differentiation of the three worlds provides an extremely clear orientation in international class struggle. It is a theory which is fully in conformity with objective reality and it shines a bright light on the extremely complicated road to eventual success in the world-wide proletarian revolution. The theory has been brilliantly propagated in the 'People's Daily' editorial of 1st November 1977 'Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism'. We do not intend to elaborate on the points made in this article. The purpose of this article is two-fold: to criticise the serious errors being made by those pushing the 'left' opportunist line on the international situation; and to continue and deepen exposure and criticism of the revisionist Birch, the Chairman of the CPB(M-L).

BIRCH DRUMS HIMSELF OUT OF THE MOVEMENT

Towards the end of last year the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) published a pamphlet on the international situation entitled 'Britain in the World 1977'. Although not signed, the vague, elusive and inconsequential style of the article bears the unmistakable hallmark of Birch, the revisionist leader of the CPB(M-L). The views of others in the movement pushing the incorrect line, although they contain serious errors, are still nevertheless recognisably based on Marxism-Leninism. This is not the case with Birch. With this pamphlet Birch has finally gone over from the camp of Marxism to the camp of revisionism, from the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. His pamphlet is a grotesque travesty of Marxism which fundamentally revises Marxism on such questions as war, the national question and strategy and tactics. We do not intend anymore to deal leniently with Birch; the contradiction with him is a contradiction with the enemy, not among the people.

THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE 'LEFT' OPPORTUNIST LINE ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Without exception, all those Parties and so-called 'Parties' who are pushing the 'left' opportunist line are practising idealism and metaphysics, not dialectical materialism. All of them proceed, not from the objective world in which we live, but from the world in which they wish to live. A world in which revolutionary purists can indulge their petty-bourgeois revolutionary phrasemongering, and not have to face up to the reality of an extremely complicated world in which there are main enemies, secondary enemies, firm allies, vacillating allies, contradictions among the enemies, in the revolutionary ranks and so on. The class struggle internationally is extremely complicated and it needs careful study to properly analyse the various class forces in the world. This the super-revolutionaries are not prepared to do - as Chairman Mao said "*dogmatists are lazy-bones*".

Many years ago, in the 'Communist Manifesto', Marx and Engels stated a fundamental principle of materialism, that Communists "*...do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement,*" (Peking ed. p 47) and that the theoretical conclusions of Communists "*...merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from an historical movement going on under our very eyes.*" (p 48) These few words are a powerful weapon against idealism and dogmatism and warn us that our theory, line and policies must as closely as possible reflect objective reality if they are to correctly lead our struggle. The history of the international Communist movement is filled with examples of those who refused to recognise this profound truth and who instead proceeded from the fantastic

reflections of reality in their minds, who started from abstractions, not reality, who attempted to impose their subjectively conceived view of the world onto reality and who thereby came to grief. Trotsky clung to his erroneous views on socialism in the Soviet Union and was ignominiously rejected by the Soviet working class. Likewise Wang Ming led the Chinese revolution to disastrous setbacks until he was overthrown. Mao Tsetung summed up much of this experience when he said in 1941:

"Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have taught us that it is necessary to study conditions conscientiously and to proceed from objective reality and not from subjective wishes; but many of our comrades act in direct violation of this truth." ('Reform Our Study'. Selected Readings, p200).

This basic method, of drawing theoretical conclusions from the objectively existing facts, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and not of attempting to impose subjectively conceived views on the world, the Communist Party of China has succinctly characterised as '*seeking truth from facts*'. Let's seek truth from facts in the world today!

A major difference between the Marxist and the dogmatist lines on the international situation is on the two superpowers - are the Soviet Union and the United States equal enemies, or is the Soviet Union the more dangerous superpower and the most dangerous source of war? The dogmatists say the former and in their arguments for this view revise Marxism.

Birch says "*the question of 'which is the weaker USSR or USA?' inevitably leads to alliance with one of the other.*" Leaving aside the astounding idealism that to ask a question inevitably leads to a particular course of action, the implicit view here is that both superpowers are equally strong. Elsewhere Birch refers to "*the pretext that the USSR is the greater danger*".

The 'People's Daily' article of 1st November 1977 has comprehensively shown that the Soviet Union is the more dangerous superpower and the biggest source of war. Here we shall just look at two particular aspects of this question which all the 'left' opportunists and Birch in particular both ignore. We shall also deal with their slanders against the CPC.

LATECOMERS TO IMPERIALISM ARE THE MOST DANGEROUS SOURCE OF WAR

The headquarters of the incorrect line says:

"Any imperialism, from its very nature, is always a savage enemy of the proletarian revolution. Therefore, to divide imperialisms into more or less dangerous, from the strategic point of view of the world revolution is wrong."

This is an astonishing piece of dogmatism and metaphysics - because all imperialism is a savage enemy (undoubtedly true) - we shouldn't decide which is the more dangerous. Presumably a man confronted with two bandits, one armed with a machine gun and another with a revolver, should decide both are equally dangerous: We wonder what would happen to this noble spirit?

Throughout his shambling and incoherent narrative Birch never once looks at concrete facts, but contents himself with sly rhetoric and vague innuendo, hoping that these will pass for concrete analysis. None of those peddling the view that both superpowers are equally dangerous actually does look at any facts, and all content themselves with abstractions and generalisations in the true spirit of dogmatism.

The Soviet Union's conventional armed forces are double those of the United States (e.g. it has 19,000 tanks against the US's 7,000) and it has 400 more strategic nuclear weapon carriers than the United States. It has vastly more armoured cars, field guns and other items of conventional weaponry. It is rapidly approaching the US in nuclear weapons also. Soviet military expenditure has been rising at an annual rate of 4 - 5% and it accounts for 12 - 15% of its GNP, compared to the US's 6%. Soviet military spending in 1976 was \$127 billion compared to the US's \$102.7 billion (24% more).

Which superpower has occupied Angola? Which superpower attempted to invade Zaire? Which superpower is stirring up trouble in the Horn of Africa? Which superpower is illegally occupying part of Norway's Svalbard Islands?

All these facts may be most unpalatable but they are part of the basis in material reality of the line that the Soviet Union is the more dangerous superpower and the most dangerous source of war. Theoretically they confirm Stalin's view that the struggle for a redivision of the world among the imperialist great powers is "...a struggle waged with particular fury by new financial groups and powers seeking a place in the sun against the old groups and powers, which cling tenaciously to what they have seized." ('Foundations of Leninism', Peking ed. p5) and Lenin's that such powers are "...even more rapacious, even more predatory". (quoted in 'People's Daily' editorial, p34).

Such powers are even more predatory because of the uneven development of capitalism. The Soviet Union is a latecomer to imperialism and in consequence found the world already largely divided among the existing great powers, in particular the US superpower. It is therefore impelled to challenge the existing division of the world, and will inevitably use any means it is able, including an aggressive and predatory war, to do so. Those who deny that the

Soviet Union is the more dangerous superpower and the most dangerous source of war are objectively denying Lenin's teachings on imperialism and war.

Of course the United States still seeks world hegemony, no-one is denying this, but the question is one of political and military clout. The US superpower is overstretched and on the decline, its position as head of the imperialist countries is being challenged by the ravenous newcomer, the Soviet Union. The United States is in the position today that Britain was in during the 1930's, when it was being challenged by Germany.

This overall view is distorted by Birch as calling for an "alliance" with the United States against the Soviet Union. Others have said "they claim that the US is allegedly no longer warmonger-ing" and that this line calls "...for unity with one superpower against another". These are vile slanders!

The CPC have clearly said "The two hegemonist powers...are the common enemies of the people of the world" and also "each superpower sets exclusive world hegemony as its goal and to this end makes frantic preparations for a new world war." As for relying on the US, the CPC has also said:

"Undoubtedly the people of each particular region can decide which superpower or imperialist country poses the immediate threat to them according to their own specific conditions". ('People's Daily' editorial of 1st November).

The RCLB too has clearly stated "US imperialism is still a dangerous and vicious power..." and "...we must oppose the continuing alliance of the British imperialist bourgeoisie with US imperialism", and that in the event of an inter-superpower war in Europe "we would be for the defeat of our own bourgeoisie if it took us into such an inter-imperialist war." ('Manifesto of the RCLB'). This is the common position of those Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations who support Chairman Mao's theory of the differentiation of the three worlds.

This style of arguing of the 'left' opportunists, and the new revisionists like Birch, of erecting Aunt Sallies and then knocking them down, has nothing to do with honest polemic between Marxists; it is rather the bourgeois style of throwing enough mud in the hope that some will stick. Well, the people of the world will see through this vulgar phittistine style and see which line and which Parties truly represent their interests.

SOCIALISM IN WORDS, IMPERIALISM IN DEEDS

"The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism obliged its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists". ('Lenin and the Struggle Against Revisionism' FLPH Peking, p1).

A further reason why the Soviet Union is the more dangerous superpower is that it pretends to be socialist. Although the people of the world are gradually seeing through the Soviet Union's mask of socialism, and we can have confidence that it will be fully exposed in the long term, it would be most dangerous to under-rate this feature of the Soviet Union in the short-term.

Although the majority of those peddling the 'left' opportunist line seriously underestimate the importance of this question, they do at least recognise that it exists. Birch though says "we do not use the words 'social-imperialism' to confuse the issue" and goes on to say "furthermore we have never referred to the USSR of the new revisionists as social-imperialism". Here Birch completely parts company with the international Communist movement - but Birch has never been deterred by that! Here Birch revises the theoretical and political line of the movement on a crucial question. It is essential that we grasp that it is those who disguise themselves as Marxists who are the most dangerous enemies of the working class. Lenin firmly pointed out:

"Opportunism is our principal enemy. Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working class movement is bourgeois socialism, not proletarian socialism. It has been shown in practice that working class activists who follow the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie themselves". ('Selected Works', Vol. 3. p462).

The main aspect of the Soviet Union is that it is social-imperialist, but it is also revisionist. Revisionism is the most dangerous form of opportunism; it is opportunism dressed up as Marxism. The Soviet Union is the headquarters of international reaction, it is rampaging round the world extending its empire and influence daily - all under the guise of 'Marxism'. Particularly in national liberation struggles it capitalises on its past and styles itself the 'natural ally' of the oppressed peoples and nations. How does Birch think that the Soviet Union managed to sneak in at the back door in Angola, except by using the false mask of socialism? The Angolan people are now learning the bitter truth the hard way!

Birch says he doesn't use the term 'social-imperialism' so as "not to confuse the issue". This really is standing things on

their heads - it is precisely not to confuse the issue that we must use the term. It is to educate people about the difference between real Marxism and sham Marxism that we must use it. Birch is just throwing sand in the eyes of the people and trying to stop them perceiving the true nature of their mortal enemy.

Because Birch doesn't grasp this fundamental aspect of the nature of revisionism it leads him to try to reverse the correct verdict of the international Communist movement of 1968 (after the invasion of Czechoslovakia) that the Soviet Union is social-imperialist. In doing this Birch has gone over to the camp of the enemy, joined the side of the Soviet Union (irrespective of his subjective wishes) and is a renegade from Marxism.

The revisionist Birch and those who push the 'left' opportunist line on the international situation, in not recognising that the Soviet Union is the more dangerous superpower and the most dangerous source of war, are playing the Soviet Union's game for it. Instead of leading the people of the world in dealing the primary blow at the most dangerous enemy, they try to get them to dissipate their forces by striking out equally in all directions and thus weaken the blow at the primary target. Brezhnev must be rubbing his hands with glee!

Not only do Birch and the rest want to strike equal blows at the Soviet Union and the United States, they also want to strike equally heavy blows at the second-rate imperialist powers of the second world. This is the height of absurdity and is most reactionary.

THE SECOND WORLD COUNTRIES ARE MIDDLE ELEMENTS IN THE WORLD TODAY

The attitude of Birch to these countries is typical of his refusal to 'seek truth from facts'. Again he proceeds from blind and arrogant idealism and ignores the real world which assails his senses every day. Again Birch outstrips his mentors in idealism and dogmatism by denying that there is such a thing as a superpower. "Are there two superpowers? some circumstantial evidence is very strong" he rhetorically asks. His conclusion is "There is but one superpower, the proletariat, and that is the superlative power above all others". This is mere pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering! Of course the proletariat is the "superlative power" in the sense that its historic destiny is to overthrow imperialism, but in the meantime the proletariat must take its enemies seriously. Birch thinks that the proletariat can defeat imperialism by loudly shouting revolutionary slogans, and like all dogmatists he wants to fight all enemies at once.

What does Birch mean by "circumstantial evidence"? Looking at the

reality of the world (not at its grotesque reflection in Birch's mind) - we can only assume he is referring to facts which do not correspond to his subjectively preconceived ideas. The value of industrial output in both the Soviet Union and the United States outstrips that of West Germany, France and Britain combined. In military expenditure both the Soviet Union and the United States far exceed the whole of western Europe, Japan and Canada combined. While both superpowers have military bases around the world and are trying to extend them, hardly any European country has such bases outside Europe. One of the few exceptions, Britain, is having to close down its bases rapidly. In Britain ten years ago a vigorous debate was carried on about a military presence 'east of Suez' - today no one seriously argues for such a policy. The British imperialists have had to reconcile themselves to being very much a second-rate power. To take one vivid example - in Europe the USSR has 895,000 ground troops, the US 625,000 (under NATO command) and Britain (the largest European military power) only 175,000! No doubt many British imperialists nurse a secret desire to rule the waves again but the simple fact is that they no longer have the military clout to do so.

Which countries are contending for world hegemony? Only the superpowers. In southern Africa for instance, despite the fact that 'Rhodesia' is officially a British colony and that Britain still has substantial economic interests there, it is US imperialism which is calling the shots. In the middle east, formerly the stamping ground of Britain and France, only the superpowers have substantial influence. Throughout the world, the old imperialist powers of Europe and Japan have been muscled out by the superpowers. Today, only the superpowers have the military, political and economic clout to contend for world hegemony.

We are not saying that the second world countries like Britain are not imperialist, we are saying that they are secondary enemies compared to the two superpowers. The second world countries, whilst exploiting and oppressing the third world countries, are themselves subject to superpower exploitation, control and threat - that is why they have a dual nature. This dual nature exists not only in the strict theoretical sense in which everything has a dual nature, but in a real political sense. The second world countries' dual nature can be made use of in international class struggle. Because these countries are subject to superpower exploitation and oppression they can be won over as temporary allies, even if very unstable ones, in the contemporary international class struggle.

We are not saying either that the working class of the second world countries should give up the internal class struggle against

the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie, or that those third world countries and people oppressed by second world countries should cease struggling against them, as the 'left' opportunists slander. On the contrary - the primary aspect of most second world countries is their imperialist nature and therefore the primary aspect of relations with them (at this stage) is struggle. But we can also unite with them against the superpowers, because both the people of the world and the second world countries have it in common that they are, to one degree or another, oppressed and exploited by the superpowers.

Although the headquarters of the incorrect line recognises in theory that the superpowers exist, in practice this recognition breaks down, because it recognises no significant difference between the first and second worlds. This line preaches that the second world countries "have no essential difference... from the two superpowers..." and that "It is anti-Marxist to preach unity with the allegedly weaker imperialism to oppose the stronger ...".

As Chairman Mao said "dogmatists reject middle elements". They do this because they practice metaphysics and "approach Marxism from a metaphysical point of view and regard it as something rigid". ('Speech at CPC National Conference on Propaganda Work', Selected Readings, p497). They therefore cannot see the dual nature of things. In any revolutionary struggle it is essential to make a strict analysis and differentiation of the forces involved. We must decide who are the principal and secondary enemies; who are the main and leading revolutionary forces, what middle elements there are and on what basis they can be united with. In the colonial and neo-colonial countries the workers' movement has fought for decades against the Trotskyite dogmatists who insist that only the proletariat is revolutionary, and that all other strata and classes, including even the peasants, are reactionary. When this line was put into practice by Wang Ming in China it led to a catastrophic defeat in which over 80% of the revolutionary forces were either killed, captured or dispersed. In opposition to this the correct line is to build the broadest possible united front - workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and even some patriotic kings and princes - against the main enemy, foreign imperialism. This is the line which successfully led the revolutions in China, Korea, Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

These principles are entirely in conformity with Lenin's view that:

"The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and without fail, most thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully using every, even the smallest 'rift' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various

groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable and conditional. Those who fail to understand this, fail to understand even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific, modern socialism in general. Those who have not proved by deeds over a fairly considerable period of time, and in fairly varied political situations, their ability to apply this truth in practice have not yet learned to assist the revolutionary class in its struggle to emancipate all toiling humanity from the exploiters." ('Left-Wing "Communism, an Infantile Disorder'. Peking ed, p67)

Today, we must use these principles to build the broadest possible united front against the principal enemies on a world scale, the two superpowers. A brilliant earlier example of the use of these principles is Mao Tsetung's differentiation of imperialism in 1941 in the period of China's war of resistance against Japan. Mao said:

"The Communist Party opposes all imperialism, but we make a distinction between Japanese imperialism which is now committing aggression against China and the imperialist powers which are not doing so now, between German and Italian imperialism which are allies of Japan and have recognised "Manchukuo" and British and US imperialism which are opposed to Japan, and between the Britain and the United States of yesterday which followed a Munich policy in the Far East and undermined China's resistance to Japan, and the Britain and the United States of today which have abandoned this policy and are now in favour of China's resistance." ('On Policy'. Selected Works. Vol 2, p443)

Mao pointed out that the purpose of this policy is "...make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one." If we don't differentiate our enemies, if we insist on treating them all the same, if we don't struggle with secondary enemies to stand up more against the main enemies, then all we will do is to drive them more into the hands of the superpowers, swell the enemy camp, isolate our ranks and condemn the revolution to failure. As a concrete and specific example, when the British and other European governments struggle to build up defence forces independent of the US, should we be opposed or indifferent to this? Or should we support it? The former course helps the superpowers by driving the second world countries into their arms. The latter course drives a wedge between the superpowers and the second world and expands the united front.

Only those intoxicated by their own pseudo-revolutionary claptrap can fail to see that the latter course is correct!

A WAR AGAINST A SUPERPOWER IS A JUST WAR!

"In history there have been numerous wars which, in spite of all the horrors, atrocities, distress and suffering that inevitably accompany all wars, were progressive, i.e., benefitted the development of mankind by helping to destroy the exceptionally harmful and reactionary institutions (for example, autocracy or serfdom), the most barbarous despotisms in Europe (Turkish and Russian)". Lenin - 'Socialism and War'. Reprinted in 'Lenin on War and Peace'. Peking ed, p4/5)

A war waged by a western European country in defence of national independence against the Soviet Union would be the type described by Lenin above: i.e., a just and progressive war. It would be a just war because it would be a war directed against the attempts of the Soviet Union, the headquarters of international reaction, to achieve world hegemony. Stalin pointed out that it is correct to support those national movements which "...tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism..." ('Foundations of Leninism'. Peking ed. p74). Although the countries of western Europe are themselves imperialist, they would, in fighting for national independence against the superpowers, be, willy-nilly and irrespective of their subjective wishes, fighting against the most concentrated form of imperialism, and thereby helping to bring about the final and complete collapse of imperialism.

It is quite dogmatic, in the current international situation, to say that a second world imperialist power cannot fight a just war. By way of analogy, we would point out that Marx and Engels in the 1840s supported the national movement of the Poles and Hungarians, even though that movement was in favour of capitalism. They did this because those movements were directed against the headquarters of reaction, Tsarism.

Today, such is the concentration of imperialism residing in the superpowers, that it is almost entirely the superpowers who are keeping the edifice of imperialism intact. Only the two superpowers are capable of struggling for world hegemony. In these circumstances if Britain were to be invaded by a superpower should we fight for a united front to repel the invader and wage a war of national independence? Or should we try to fight both the superpowers and our 'own' bourgeoisie.

The latter is the viewpoint of the 'left' opportunist line. The headquarters of this line says that it is "anti-Marxist" to unite with a weaker imperialism against a superpower and says of the second world that "...it is true that the countries of this 'world' have definite contradictions with the two superpowers, but they are contradictions of an inter-imperialist character". It is

true that the contradictions between the first and second world countries are of an imperialist nature, but this is missing the whole point. What we must do is establish which are primary and which are secondary enemies, deal the main blow against the main enemy and, if possible, use the contradictions between our enemies in order to effect a temporary alliance with the secondary enemy to defeat the main enemy. Was it anti-Marxist for the proletariat to unite with the bourgeoisie in Britain in the great anti-fascist war of 1941-45? Was it anti-Marxist for the CPC to advocate the temporary setting aside of differences with the United States and Britain to concentrate on the defeat of Japan? Judging from practice it was definitely not anti-Marxist. In this period Hitlerite fascism was defeated and one third of the world became socialist!

Birch says we must turn a war with the Soviet Union into "a civil war". What he is saying is that we must fight both the headquarters of international reaction and a second-rate bourgeoisie which would be opposed to it. Such a line is the grossest kind of dogmatism and metaphysics. It exactly resembles the view of those Trotskyites in Europe in the anti-fascist war who called on the workers and people to fight both the fascists and that section of the bourgeoisie who were prepared to fight the fascists. Small wonder that the French resistance treated these people in the same way that they treated open collaborators and quislings!

This line, if implemented, would lead to disastrous defeat for the working class, to the subjugation of western Europe by the Soviet Union, to the enslavement of many third world countries by the Soviet Union and thereby immeasurably strengthen international reaction. As Engels observed of earlier 'leftism' "*the socialist movement in Europe would be kaput for twenty years*".

REVERSING THE CORRECT VERDICTS ON KHRUSHCHEV AND TROTSKY

We are living today in the epoch of the world-wide transition to socialism and the final collapse of imperialism. This no one will deny. But the actual course of struggle for the world-wide victory of socialism is extremely complex. It is simply not possible for the proletariat to forge straight ahead to the socialist revolution, ignoring other classes and other struggles and contradictions. For example; in the period 1941-45 the working class had first to defeat Hitlerite fascism; in the colonial and neo-colonial countries the working class has to ally with the broad mass of the people to defeat foreign imperialism in the national-democratic revolution before going onto the stage of the socialist revolution.

The headquarters of the incorrect line says though:

"When Marxist-Leninists speak about the world...they judge, first and foremost from the social-economic order existing in various countries..."

This is a grossly dogmatic statement - Marxist-Leninists judge countries and revolutionary movements in the first place according to the objectively existing class struggle and the part that a country or movement is playing in that struggle. To judge in the first place on the "social-economic order" prevailing in a given country gives little concrete guidance to the international proletariat. On this basis we would have to conclude that the contemporary struggle of the Egyptian and Sudanese people against the Soviet Union is not progressive, simply because the bourgeoisie has state power in those countries. Similarly, we would have to assume that only countries like China and Albania, where the working class hold state power, can play a progressive role in the world. What the 'left' opportunists are saying is that only those struggles which have as their objective the attainment or defence of socialism are revolutionary. This line attempts to reverse the correct verdicts of the international Communist movement on Khrushchev and Trotsky.

The 'leftist' line views the contradiction between socialism and imperialism as the principal contradiction in the world today. But in reality where is the focus of contradictions in the contemporary world? The various types of contradiction in the world today are concentrated in Asia, Africa and Latin America - at present particularly in Africa. The centre of world revolution shifted from Europe to the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the years after the first world war with the defeat of proletarian revolution in Europe and the emergence of mass revolutionary movements in the East. It is simply absurd nonsense to say that "*The objective conditions are becoming ever more favourable for the revolution in the developed capitalist countries. There the proletarian revolution is now a problem taken up for solution.*" Today the proletariat in the West is at the stage of accumulating strength. The class struggle in the West is not at a revolutionary stage - undoubtedly one day it will be, and it may well be that the centre of world revolution will shift back to Europe. But as far as today is concerned - where have the great revolutionary movements occurred and where are they occurring still? In China, in Indo-China and today in Africa. Those who oppose this view side with Khrushchev! The CPSU said of an alleged new theory of the CPC in 1963:

"...according to which the chief contradiction of our time is not, we are told, between socialism and imperialism, but between the national liberation movement and imperialism. In the Chinese comrades' opinion, the decisive force in the battle against imperialism is not the world socialist system, and not the international class struggle; but again, we are told, the national liberation movement". ('Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement,' p201).

The identity of views on this question between the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the 'left' opportunists is truly striking. And, just as the views of the CPSU contained in the quote above are a slander on the CPC, so is the line of the 'left' opportunists that the theory of the three worlds "liquidates socialism as a system". Of course the contradiction between socialism and imperialism and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are acute today - they are two of the fundamental contradictions in the world today. But here we are concerned not with fundamental contradictions or with the principal contradiction, but with the focus of contradictions in the contemporary world, which undoubtedly lies in the third world.

Here we must stress that although the struggles of the third world peoples and countries are national in form, they are revolutionary in character; they are a component part of the world-wide socialist revolution. As Mao said "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle". The struggle of the third world is striking mighty blows against imperialism, especially the two superpowers, and is shaking the whole edifice of imperialism - before too long it will come crashing to the ground. These are questions which were settled long ago in the struggles with Trotsky and Khrushchev.

The national question is a class question.

Prior to Lenin the national question was regarded as a question of reforms. It was Lenin who put forward the thesis that the proletariat of the advanced countries must give unswerving support to the struggle for national liberation and that in turn the national question was no longer a mere struggle for national independence but had become part of the struggle for world-wide proletarian revolution. As Stalin put it:

"Leninism has proved, and the imperialist war and the revolution in Russia have confirmed, that the national question can be solved only in connection with and on the basis of the proletarian revolution, and that the road to victory of the revolution in the West lies through the revolutionary alliance with the liberation movement of the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism. The national question is a part of the

general question of the proletarian revolution, a part of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat". ('Foundations of Leninism', Peking ed., p73).

The super-revolutionaries pose the question differently, they say:

"Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the national question must always be seen as subsidiary to the cause of the revolution".

This line simply doesn't grasp that most national struggles in the colonial and neo-colonial countries in the era of imperialism are revolutionary - instead it one-sidedly counterposes "the national question" to the "cause of the revolution". But in fact any national movement directed against imperialism is revolutionary. To quote Stalin again:

"The revolutionary character of a national movement under the conditions of imperialist oppression does not necessarily presuppose the existence of proletarian elements in the movement, the existence of a revolutionary or a republican programme, the existence of a democratic basis of the movement". ('Foundations of Leninism', Peking ed., p75)

We agree with the 'left' opportunists when they say that Marxist-Leninists "support every movement...directed against imperialism...". It is the neo-trotskyites who do not. These people say:

"...to speak in general terms about the so-called 'third world' as the main force of the struggle against imperialism and the revolution as the supporters of the theory of the 'three worlds' are doing, without making any distinction between the genuine anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and the pro-imperialist, reactionary and fascist forces in power in a number of the developing countries, means a flagrant departure from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and to preach typically opportunist views".

It is quite true that distinctions must be made between different third world countries. They are not a homogenous whole and some third world governments and ruling classes are reactionary agents of imperialism. But what all third world countries have in common, irrespective of their internal class character, is that they are exploited and oppressed by imperialism, and are therefore objectively capable of playing a progressive role against imperialism and the superpowers. This is why we must uphold the third world countries and people as, in general, the main force in the world-wide struggle against the superpowers. Even the Shah of Iran then, to the extent that he struggles for a fair price for oil against imperialism, is playing a revolutionary role.

On this question the super-revolutionaries are playing the game of the Soviet Union for it. It is the social-imperialists who try to split the ranks of the third world countries by labelling some as 'progressive' and others as 'reactionary'. Some third world countries are reactionary, but this is determined not by their social system, as the social-imperialists and the 'left' opportunists would have us believe, but by their capitulation to foreign imperialism. As we have said all third world countries are exploited and oppressed by imperialism. To take the subordinate and particular aspect (that some of them are reactionary) and propagate that as the main aspect - which in particular the super-revolutionaries do - is to play into the hands of the Soviet Union, which says that those countries which support it are 'progressive' and that those which do not are 'reactionary'. Here again there is identity of views between the social-imperialists and the 'left' opportunists.

It is true that struggles against imperialism can only be carried out in a consistent and ultimately successful way if they are led by the proletariat, but this must in no way blind us to the fact these struggles are inherently revolutionary. It is also true that internal enemies like the Shah of Iran, who is in the main an agent of imperialism, must be fought against, but again this must in no way blind us to the fact that the main enemy in countries like Iran is the external enemy of imperialism, not domestic reaction.

The question of jumping stages

Lenin and Stalin consistently opposed Trotsky's 'left' opportunist theory of 'Permanent Revolution', which denied that revolution had to go through stages; and proved in revolutionary practice that to try to proceed at once to the socialist stage without passing through the democratic stage could only result in failure. This is again a question of isolating the main enemy - feudal autocracy in Russia, feudal survivals supported by foreign imperialism in China - and uniting all who can be united against the main enemy.

On the question of the revolution in China, Stalin argued:

"...the present revolution in China is a combination of two streams of the revolutionary movement - the movement against feudal survivals and the movement against imperialism. The bourgeois-democratic revolution in China is a combination of the struggle against feudal survivals and the struggle against imperialism". ('On the Opposition', Peking ed., p700).

In opposition Trotsky peddled the view that:

"The formula of the democratic revolution has hopelessly outlived its usefulness...the third Chinese revolution, despite the great backwardness of China...will not have even such a six-month period as the October Revolution had...but will be compelled from the very outset to effect the most decisive shake-up and abolition of bourgeois property in city and village". ('The Third International After Lenin'. p56).

When the Trotskyite Li Li-san was general secretary of the CPC and implemented Trotsky's line, the revolution was led to disastrous defeat. Under the influence of the "three left lines" in China from 1927 to 1935 all but one of more than a dozen revolutionary base areas were lost. In 1940 Mao summed up much of this history by referring to "a few Trotskyites whom, brandishing their pens like lances, are tilting in all directions and creating bedlam". He further summed up the correct line for the Chinese revolution in these words:

"It is correct and in accord with the Marxist theory of revolutionary development to say of the two revolutionary stages that the first provides the conditions for the second and that the two must be consecutive, without allowing any intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship. However, it is a utopian view rejected by true revolutionaries to say that the democratic revolution does not have a specific task and period of its own but can be merged and accomplished simultaneously with another task, i.e., the socialist task."
(*'On New Democracy', Selected Works, Vol 2, p360*).

Until recently this view was universally accepted in the international Communist movement but now the neo-Trotskyites argue that "if you speak of the perspectives of the proletarian revolution in the countries of the so-called 'third world', this is allegedly Blanquism, Trotskyism and the passing over of stages". Well comrades, it is Trotskyism to say that the stage of the revolution in the third world is that of the socialist revolution. The fact that most countries have won formal independence does not in the least mean that the task of the proletariat in these countries is socialist revolution. These countries are still bitterly oppressed by foreign imperialism, especially the two superpowers, and the task of the proletariat in those countries is to lead the broad masses of the people in struggle against imperialism and their local agents. Can the proletariat of Malaya speak of socialist revolution now? Of Chile? Of Tanzania? To raise the slogan now of socialist revolution in these countries is a serious 'left' opportunist error, which, as Mao said "...will drive the millions upon millions of the masses, this mighty army, over to the enemy's side, which will certainly win his acclaim."

THE SOCIAL CHAUVINISM OF THE CPB(M-L)

Birch and the CPB(M-L) have consistently propagated a right opportunist social-chauvinist line on imperialism, particularly on British imperialism. They completely fail to recognise, either in words or deeds, that Britain is an imperialist country. Today, the 'left' opportunist current in the international Communist movement has provided them with a 'left' cloak to cover up the same right opportunism. Despite Birch's revolutionary posturing his bankruptcy on this question remains. Despite Birch's accusations that the theory of the three worlds follows the line of Bernstein and the second international, it is he who shamelessly fails to struggle against imperialism and opportunism, it is Birch who has totally betrayed the struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations and who has sold out to British imperialism and the superpowers.

A few points from the history of the CPB(M-L)

The so-called 'programme' of the CPB(M-L) 'The British Working Class and its Party' said, in its April 1971 edition:

"The different forms and different degrees of exploitation and poverty in the industrialised imperialist countries and the non-industrialised colonies should blind no-one to the fact that in essence they are the same wherever encountered."

This line attempts to conceal the fact that the colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial countries are subject to the imperialist domination of the western monopoly capitalist countries. This is the reason why they are economically backward and underdeveloped. To say that the form of exploitation and oppression in the imperialist countries and in the colonies is *"in essence...the same"* is nothing less than revisionism. It is to deny one of the fundamental features of imperialism - the oppression of the whole world by a handful of great powers. In imperialist countries exploitation takes the form of the appropriation of surplus value from the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. In the colonies it takes the form of exploitation of the whole nation by foreign imperialism through the export of capital, unequal trading, plunder and robbery of natural resources and so on; all carried out through political and military bullying, even to the extent of military invasion and occupation. To say these two forms of exploitation are the same is nothing less than a scandalous and shameful apology for imperialism.

In contrast to the CPB(M-L)'s view, Lenin says:

"Imperialism is the progressing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of Great Powers. It is an epoch of wars among these powers for the extension and consolidation of national oppression; it is the epoch of the deception of the masses of the people by the hypocritical social-patriots, i.e., people who under the pretext of 'freedom of nations' and 'rights of nations to self-determination' and 'defence of the fatherland', justify and defend the oppression of a majority of the world's nations by the Great Powers."
(*'Lenin on Imperialism'* FLPB Peking, p37).

The CPB(M-L) without doubt come under the category of those who *"defend the oppression of a majority of the world's nations."* The CPB(M-L) has no faith in the British working class and thinks it has to lie to the working class to gain its leadership. It is afraid that if it tells the truth about British imperialism - that the British imperialists and a small number of people benefit from imperialist oppression of the third world - it will receive no support. In doing this it serves only the bourgeoisie who deny the existence of imperialist oppression.

In Birch's report to the 4th Congress of the CPB(M-L) he says, referring to the economic crisis in Britain:

"In terms of raw materials there is no overall shortage. Such raw materials as we lack are available in the world in exchange for the products that we are best at producing"

and later:

"We are a manufacturing nation; the working up of raw materials into finished goods, has long been the basis of our cultural identity and material welfare, there is no other course compatible with life in Britain".

These statements could have been uttered by the most shameless and rabid pro-imperialist bourgeois politician. Birch's statements are a monstrous and disgusting attempt to cover up the imperialist relations of exploitation and oppression which exist between Britain and the third world countries. Britain is a developed industrial country which forces third world countries to sell its raw materials cheaply, and which it forces to buy manufactured goods dearly. In the very first place Britain became an industrial nation on the basis of wealth accumulated in the running of a bloody empire built of colonial exploitation, slavery and wars of conquest. All this Birch despicably covers up as *"the basis of our cultural identity and material welfare"*.

In stark contrast to this Lenin refers to the basis of the cultural level of the imperialist countries in the following terms:

"...the advanced countries have been creating their culture by the opportunity they have of living at the expense of billions of oppressed people...the capitalists of these countries obtain a great deal more than they would have been able to in the shape of profits resulting from the robbery of the workers in their own countries." ('Speech to the Second Congress of the Communist International' Selected Works, Vol 3, p449).

The line of the CPB(M-L) on imperialism is the same stinking social chauvinism of the 'CPGB who also gloss over and embellish imperialism because they have the same utter contempt for the working class. A thoroughgoing and consistent struggle to educate the working class on the fundamental features of imperialism and to help the working class see that their only real interest lies in consistent support for the struggles of the third world against imperialism, is necessary to ensure the eventual victory of the socialist revolution in Britain. As Stalin bluntly put it:

"Without such a struggle, the education of the working class of the ruling nations in the spirit of true internationalism, in the spirit of closer relations with the toiling masses of the dependent countries and colonies, in the spirit of real preparation for the proletarian revolution, is inconceivable". ('Foundations of Leninism', Peking ed., p79).

Because the CPB(M-L) have no faith in the revolutionary potential of the British working class they try to fool the working class into thinking that it is possible to have a socialist revolution in Britain without fighting against British imperialism abroad. Their line is no different from that of Callaghan, Orme, Allain, Heffer or McLennan or any other bourgeois working class politician. In Lenin's well-known words:

"They omit, obliterate and distort the revolutionary side of this teaching (Marxism), its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie." ('State and Revolution', Peking ed, p8)

Over the years many organisations have tried to struggle with the CPB(M-L). Six years ago, the Marxist-Leninist Workers Association published an all-round criticism of them entitled 'Economism or Revolution?' which, among many other points, made some of the criticisms above. The CPB(M-L) totally ignored this criticism. They have also failed to reply to the lengthy criticism of them in 'Revolution' vol I, no.3 published a year ago. As far as we know the CPB(M-L) have never replied to a criticism from the movement.

Such is Birch's monumental arrogance that he has a stated policy of never reading the publications of other organisations. This arrogance is such that he leaves himself no way of correcting his mistakes. One of the main reasons why Birch and the CPB(M-L) make such gross subjectivist errors is that they rely only on themselves, not on the masses. As Nieh Jung-chen recently said:

"Objective reality is exceedingly rich in content and very complex; if we want to understand the objective world correctly, we must rely on the practice and wisdom of the masses. The wisdom of any individual is always limited whereas that of the masses is inexhaustible. It is far, far from enough to rely on the experience of a few leaders." ('Peking Review'. 18.II.1977. p7)

Because of Birch's arrogance he has inevitably persisted in his errors, refused to listen to criticism, dug in his heels and thus degenerated to such an extent that he is no longer part of the movement.

Birch is a fully-consolidated opportunist and social-chauvinist

Although Birch now covers himself with left-sounding phrases such as *"Our duty in Britain, national and international, is the crushing of capitalism here and British Imperialism abroad, especially the ending of the aggressive imperialist occupation of Ireland"*, he still practices social chauvinism on the two fundamental matters of supporting struggles for national liberation and of fighting opportunism.

Birch denies even the existence of the third world, he attacks all third world governments, and not once in his recent pamphlet is there a mention of the struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism, the most acute revolutionary movement of the present. Even in the quote above about the struggle for national independence in Ireland, Birch's line is that British imperialist oppression of Ireland will be ended by the British working class, not by the Irish people.

Birch asks *"Are the countries of Somalia and Ethiopia, countries with stone-age development and twenty first century weapons donated by kind imperialists, engaged in a bloody war with each other in the third world? In both countries there has been drought, starvation and death when their imperialist supporters provided little or no help."* He asks this question in order to pour scorn on the fact that the third world is the main force in contemporary international class struggle. But in so doing he reveals his own contemptible covering up of imperialism.

Why are countries like Ethiopia and Somalia backward? (We'll leave aside the racism and chauvinism implicit in the remark

..."). Because of imperialism! Why do imperial-
[to split the ranks of the third world in
...! Birch passes the question off as one of
...s", as though the local ruling class are the
turning things on their head and implies that
ernments are mainly responsible for "drought,
...th". Birch joins company with all the imperial-
... pious parsons and others who try to pull the
s of the working class on the real cause of all
imperialist oppression of the third world.

... put the same line. The 'Worker' of 18.7.77 said,
... third world governments, "the rulers try to divert
... of the masses from the real cause of their poverty
... to the older capitalist nations and trying to squeeze
... more money out of them". This line actually denies that the "real
cause of their poverty" is imperialism. Here again there is
complete identity of views between the CPB(M-L) and the 'C'PGB.

... in his pamphlet Birch says "The working class allies
... with none other than the working class" and refers to the
proletariat as "the only revolutionary force...". This line
... the line of the worker-peasant alliance (once again lining
... Trotsky), the line of a united front against imperialism
... the question of winning over even the most unstable allies; but
... most glaring and contemptible crime is that it denies that the
struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations is a component part
of the world-wide proletarian revolution. Birch's narrowness of
outlook, which can see only the revolutionary struggle of the
proletariat in the west, and which totally ignores the revolution-
ary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations is identical with
the national chauvinism of the old leaders of the Second Internat-
ional, whose view was described by Stalin as follows:

*"Formerly, the national question was usually confined to a
narrow circle of questions, concerning, primarily, 'civilised'
nationalities. The Irish, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Finns,
the Serbs, and several other European nationalities - that was
the circle of unequal peoples in whose destinies the leaders
of the Second International were interested. The scores and
hundreds of millions of Asiatic and African peoples who are
suffering national oppression in its most savage and cruel
form usually remained outside of their field of vision. They
hesitated to put white and black, 'civilised' and 'uncivil-
ised' on the same plane. Two or three meaningless, lukewarm
resolutions, which carefully evaded the question of
liberating the colonies - that was all the leaders of the
Second International could boast of. Now we can say that
this duplicity and half-heartedness in dealing with the*

*national question has been brought to an end. Leninism laid
bare this crying incongruity, broke down the wall between
whites and blacks, between Europeans and Asiatics, between the
'civilised' and 'uncivilised' slaves of imperialism, and thus
linked the national question with the question of the colonies.
The national question was thereby transformed from a particular
and internal state problem into a general and international
problem, into a world problem of emancipating the oppressed
peoples in the dependent countries and colonies from the yoke
of imperialism".*
('Foundations of Leninism', Peking ed., p70/71).

As on many other questions Birch tries to turn things on their
heads, to turn black into white by ascribing to others his chauv-
inism, his parochialism, his narrowness, his betrayal of proletar-
ian internationalism. He says that those propagating the correct
line of the international situation are inviting the movement to
"...form a second international after the pattern of Millerand and
Bernstein...". But it is in fact Birch who is following the example
of Millerand and Bernstein. To quote Lenin on this question:

*"The weight of emphasis in the internationalist education of the
workers in the oppressing countries must necessarily consist in
their advocating and upholding freedom for secession for
oppressed countries. It is our right and duty to treat every
Social-Democrat of an oppressing nation who fails to conduct
such propaganda as an imperialist and a scoundrel."*
(Quoted in 'Foundations of Leninism', Peking ed., p80).

Opportunism is a product of imperialism

The CPB(M-L) have never had the slightest understanding of the
inseparable connection between imperialism and opportunism. In its
'programme', the only mention of this question is to pose the
question "Why is the oldest and most experienced proletariat so
lacking in political acumen?" It makes however not the slightest
attempt to answer the question. Now they have degenerated so far
that Birch actually denies that the basis of opportunism lies in
imperialism. In his pamphlet he says:

*"The definition of a third world is based on the theory that
the greater the under-development the greater the potential
for revolution, that the man with the ox is more militant, a
greater force for change than the one who has passed that
stage."*

As usual Birch replaces polemic by absurd distortions - no-one
is claiming that revolutionary potential is decided by whether or
not one has an ox. The view of the international Communist movement
has always been that which is concisely summed up in the slogan

'where there is oppression, there is resistance' and, in general, the greater the oppression, the greater the resistance. What is Birch's explanation for the fact that the era of imperialism is the era in which the focus of the revolutionary movement has shifted from the developed capitalist countries to the third world? Why does Birch think revolution occurred in Russia, not in Britain? Why is it that the great revolutionary movements of today are occurring in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and not in Europe, the USA, Canada, or Japan? It is simply because the people of the third world are those most bitterly exploited and oppressed by imperialism and are therefore at present the most revolutionary. On the other hand, the working class of the developed capitalist countries, although they too are exploited and oppressed by imperialism, have a much higher cultural level than those of the East, are ideologically and politically led by the opportunist agents of the bourgeoisie, and are therefore, whilst fighting back against imperialism, not yet in general possessed of revolutionary consciousness.

This is not Birch's view though. He goes on from denying these simple facts to revising the fundamental teachings of Leninism on imperialism and opportunism. Imperialism, by internationalising capital and its consequent receipt of superprofits, has been able to postpone the inevitable socialist revolution in the west for decades. Superprofits and other means of imperialist robbery have prolonged the economic life of capitalism and also enabled the imperialist bourgeoisie to foster opportunism. In Lenin's famous words:

"The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie in a given industry or given nation against all others. The intensification of antagonism between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this striving. And so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism, which revealed itself first and most closely in England..." ('Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism', Peking ed., p152).

Birch's line though is that "It is a false premise that the undeveloped, less privileged, 'more' exploited are more prone to progress, to revolution." This line is entirely consistent with the long-standing practice of the CPB(M-L) which has completely failed to give a lead to the working class on the nature of opportunism and its social and economic roots. It is true, as Birch says, that "all exploited are potentially...revolutionary", but this misses the crucial point - who are actually the most revolutionary at this time, and why are some, who are potentially revolutionary, not so in practice at this stage?

We have already pointed out one reason - the generally higher cultural level of the working class in the west - but another reason is the strength of the opportunists in the working class movement in the west. The working class is led ideologically, politically and organisationally by the opportunists in the Labour Party and 'C'PGB and, to some extent, by the Trotskyites. The Labour Party still gets mass working class support, albeit considerably declining support, at elections. The mass organisations of the working class, the trade unions, are led by opportunists of various hues. Most shop steward committees and trade union branches are led by the opportunists. In these circumstances one of the fundamental questions of Party-building and revolution is an unrelenting campaign to fully expose and discredit these traitors and agents of the bourgeoisie in the eyes of the workers. Yet in issue after issue of 'The Worker' there is scarcely a mention of the opportunists. Even in the 1976 Congress document, opportunism is mentioned only in passing once or twice.

The bourgeoisie themselves recognise clearly enough the importance to them of imperialism (even if they won't admit it publicly). In 'Imperialism' Lenin tells of the words of Cecil Rhodes:

"I was in the East End of London yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread', 'bread'! and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism...The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists". (Peking ed., pp 93/94).

Birch portrays himself as an indomitable fighter against imperialism - in reality he is a revolutionary charlatan. Lenin referred to Rhodes' defence of imperialism as "crude and cynical", but says of him, in comparison to the opportunists that Rhodes was a "somewhat more honest social-chauvinist". Rhodes was certainly more honest than Birch! We have shown how Birch fails to support those fighting against imperialism in the third world and how he fails to struggle against the opportunist agents of imperialism in the working class movement. So crucial is this struggle that Lenin bluntly said "...the fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." ('Imperialism', Peking ed., p153).

It is scarcely surprising that Birch does not struggle against opportunism, since he himself is an integral part of one of the biggest social props of British imperialism - the stratum of union leaders and officials. People like Scanlon, Jones and Bassnett are his cronies and companions-in-crime. Lenin vividly pointed out the role of these people in 'Imperialism':

"Obviously, out of such enormous superprofits...it is possible to bribe the labour leaders and the upper stratum of the labour aristocracy...This stratum of bourgeoisified workers, or the 'labour aristocracy', who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their entire outlook is the...principal social (not military) prop of the bourgeoisie. For they are the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement, the labour lieutenants of capital, real channels of reformism and chauvinism. In the civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie they inevitably, and in no small numbers, take the side of the bourgeoisie..." (Peking ed., pp9/10).

Today, the labour aristocracy as such is not a significant section of the working class, but the labour leaders continue to play their treacherous role. Birch, like the rest of them, has "taken the side of the bourgeoisie", he is a "labour lieutenant of capital". Some three years ago Birch became a member of the TUC general council which has played such an important part in propping up the rotting capitalist system and tying the hands of the working class movement. Birch gained his position, not through being elected by class-conscious workers, but, like the rest of these traitors, on the basis of Buggins' turn. Birch has completely failed to expose the stinking and rotten role of the general council to the working class. Not once has he gone to the working class, taken them into his confidence, never solicited their opinions, never exposed a single one of the general council's rotten schemes. Birch plays a similar role in the executive committee of the AUEW. His recent betrayals in selling out the strikes at Heathrow and the 'Daily Express' need no further comment from us. Some workers in Liverpool recently passed the verdict of the working class on Birch: over his name on a CPB(M-L) poster advertising a public meeting, many of them wrote 'scab'.

Birch is indeed a scab, traitor and renegade to the working class!

'LEFT' OPPORTUNISM AND SPLITTISM

The 'left' opportunists are also practising the most disgraceful splittism by bringing differences into the open and by trying to split the ranks of the international proletariat by spreading lies and scurrilous rumours about the Communist Party of China.

It is perfectly natural that there should be differences in the international Communist movement. These should be resolved through comradely exchanges; where they cannot, differences should be reserved in the spirit of seeking common ground. Over a period of time practice will show who is right and who is wrong. What is quite incorrect is to bring differences into the open in the face

of the enemy and to subjectively elevate the importance of one's own view in such a way as to cause splits. It is essential to concentrate our fire on the main enemies, the Soviet Union, the United States and modern revisionism and not start hitting out wildly in all directions, particularly at those within our own ranks.

From this point of view the open polemic that was launched by some people over a year ago cannot be regarded as a serious style of work; it is rather a sectarian style of work which splits our ranks and aids the enemy. However, now that differences are in the open it would be incorrect for us to ignore the serious opportunism that is being propagated. In the case of Birch we would in any event have made these sharp criticisms, as these are on crucial questions of rebuilding the Party in Britain.

Even more serious are the lies being peddled in some quarters about the CPC and the rumours being spread that China has gone revisionist. The attitude that one takes towards China, the greatest socialist country of our time, is a fundamental line of demarcation with opportunism. In particular the attitude that one takes towards the life or death struggle of the Party, working class and people against the 'gang of four' is crucial.

The time is long since past when it was possible to be still considering the evidence on the 'gang of four'. The evidence is overwhelming that they were a bunch of ultra-rightist, revisionist and reactionary conspirators who tried to usurp Party and State power in order to overthrow socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat; and restore capitalism and establish a fascist dictatorship. Those leaders who are still not taking a clear-cut stand in support of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua are objectively supporters of the 'gang of four' and therefore of the international bourgeoisie. They are aiding and abetting the attacks of imperialism and revisionism on the great socialist Peoples' Republic of China. This is no mere theoretical question: China is the world revolutionary base area of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations, a centre of ideological, political and material support for the world revolution; its very existence denies one third of humanity to the imperialists and therefore immeasurably weakens imperialism.

What is the attitude of the CPB(M-L) on this question? Although they haven't the guts to come out and say so openly, it is clear that they regard Chairman Hua and the rest of the CPC leadership as revisionist. They have published nothing in support of the victory over the 'gang of four' in their paper, they have had only one public meeting on China in London in the past year and they have stopped selling 'Peking Review' in their shop. All this is

clear evidence that they support the 'gang of four'. This is scarcely surprising given the common ideological foundation of idealism and metaphysics of both the 'gang of four' and the proponents of the 'left' opportunist line on the international situation. If those peddling this line don't change their ways, they too, like the 'gang of four', will be struck down by the people.

WHAT MUST BE DONE ABOUT BIRCH?

In criticising the opportunist errors of the CPB(M-L) we must narrow the target of attack and strictly differentiate between the majority of the members of the CPB(M-L) who sincerely want the revolution, and Birch himself. We must have firm conviction that the majority of the members of the CPB(M-L) are good, will eventually see through Birch's revisionism and overthrow him.

What of Birch himself? The evidence is overwhelming that Birch is incorrigible. His overweening arrogance, insensitivity and utter contempt for the views and criticisms of others are a byword in the movement. Because over a period of years, Birch has dug in his heels and refused to change, he has degenerated from someone who was merely making serious opportunist errors to a full-blown revisionist, an agent of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class movement.

For all practical considerations we must assume that Birch cannot change. We urge those in the CPB(M-L) who have been criticising his errors to intensify their criticism, to demand that Birch makes a thorough self-criticism and change his ways. Birch will almost certainly refuse to do so, in which case the honest members of the CPB(M-L) must start a struggle to expel him from the CPB(M-L) or, if this is not a serious possibility, to leave the CPB(M-L) and join the growing numbers of comrades who are building the Party on the basis of the correct ideological and political line.

**BIRCH MUST MAKE A SERIOUS SELF-CRITICISM
OR BE EXPELLED FROM THE MOVEMENT!**

THE ESSENCE OF THE ERRORS OF THE 'LEFT' OPPORTUNIST LINE

In summary we must criticise the 'left' opportunist line for the following serious errors:

1. Errors of subjectivism, idealism and dogmatism in not seeking truth from facts.
2. Errors of metaphysics in their analysis of enemies and friends on a world scale.
3. Errors of revisionism and Trotskyism on the national question in the era of imperialism.

4. Errors of splittism in bringing differences into the open and attacking the Communist Party of China and the Peoples' Republic of China.

In addition we must say that Birch and the CPB(M-L) are guilty of the grossest social-chauvinism and revise Lenin's fundamental teachings on imperialism and opportunism.

These are serious errors which, if persisted in and taken up by the masses, will play into the hands of social-imperialism and modern revisionism and lead to disastrous defeat for the international proletariat. We are confident however that the mass of workers and oppressed peoples and nations will see through the revolutionary posturing of the proponents of the 'left' opportunist line, see clearly its ultra-right reactionary essence, and more closely rally round the correct line and leadership to build the broadest possible international united front against superpower hegemonism.

**VICTORY TO THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT
AGAINST SUPERPOWER HEGEMONISM!**

APPENDICES 2 AND 3 TO "THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE C.P.S.U. AND OURSELVES"

(Editorial Note:

The following appendices are taken from 'The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. and Ourselves', which was first published by F.L.P., Peking in 1963. We are republishing them now because of the important guidelines they contain for the correct handling of differences within the international Communist movement.)

APPENDIX II

STATEMENT OF THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AT THE BUCHAREST MEETING OF FRATERNAL PARTIES

June 26, 1960

(1) The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China maintains that at this meeting Comrade Khrushchov of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has completely violated the long-standing principle in the international communist movement that questions of common concern should be settled by consultation among fraternal Parties, and has completely broken the agreement made prior to the meeting to confine it to an exchange of views and not to make any decision; this he has done by his surprise attack of putting forward a draft communique of the meeting without having consulted the fraternal Parties on its contents beforehand and without permitting full and normal discussion in the meeting. This is an abuse of the prestige enjoyed by the CPSU in the international communist movement, a prestige which has been built up over the long years since Lenin's time, and it is, moreover, an extremely crude act of imposing one's own will on other people. This attitude has nothing in common with Lenin's style of work and this way of doing things creates an extremely bad precedent in the international communist movement. The Central Committee of the CPC considers that this attitude and this way of doing things on the part of Comrade Khrushchov will have extraordinarily grave consequences for the international communist movement.

(2) The Communist Party of China has always been faithful to Marxism-Leninism and has always steadfastly adhered to the theoretical positions of Marxism-Leninism. In the past two years and more, it has been completely faithful to the Moscow Declaration

of 1957, and has firmly upheld all the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Declaration. There are differences between us and Comrade Khrushchov on a series of fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. These differences have a vital bearing on the interests of the entire socialist camp, on the interests of the proletariat and the working people of the whole world, on the question of whether the people of all countries will be able to preserve world peace and prevent the imperialists from launching a world war, and on the question of whether socialism will continue to score victories in the capitalist world, which comprises two-thirds of the world's population and three-fourths of its land space. All Marxist-Leninists should adopt a serious attitude towards these differences, give them serious thought and hold comradely discussions, so as to achieve unanimous conclusions. However, the attitude Comrade Khrushchov has adopted is patriarchal, arbitrary and tyrannical. He has in fact treated the relationship between the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our Party not as one between brothers, but as one between patriarchal father and son. At this meeting he has exerted pressure in an attempt to make our Party submit to his non-Marxist-Leninist views. We hereby solemnly declare that our Party believes in and obeys the truth of Marxism-Leninism and Marxism-Leninism alone, and will never submit to erroneous views which run counter to Marxism-Leninism. We consider that certain views expressed by Comrade Khrushchov in his speech at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Party are erroneous and in contravention of the Moscow Declaration. His speech will be welcomed by the imperialists and the Tito clique and has indeed already been welcomed by them. When the occasion arises, we shall be ready to carry on serious discussions with the CPSU and other fraternal Parties on our differences with Comrade Khrushchov. As for the Letter of Information of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Communist Party of China, which Comrade Khrushchov has distributed in Bucharest, the Central Committee of the CPC will reply to it in detail after carefully studying it; the reply will explain the differences of principle between the two Parties, setting forth the relevant facts, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China will hold serious, earnest and comradely discussions with fraternal Parties. We are convinced that in any case the truth of Marxism-Leninism will triumph in the end. Truth does not fear contention. Ultimately, it is impossible to portray truth as error or error as truth. The future of the international communist movement depends on the needs and the struggles of the people of all countries and on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, and will never be decided by the baton of any individual.

(3) We, the Communist Party of China, have always striven to safeguard the unity of all Communist Parties and the unity of

all socialist countries. For the sake of genuine unity in the international communist ranks and for the sake of the common struggle against imperialism and reaction, we hold that it is necessary to unfold normal discussions on the differences and that serious questions of principle should not be settled in a hurry by abnormal methods or simply by vote. Nor should one impose on others arbitrary views which have not been tested in practice or which have already proved to be wrong in such tests. Comrade Khrushchov's way of doing things at this meeting is entirely detrimental to the unity of international communism. But however Comrade Khrushchov may act, the unity of the Chinese and Soviet Parties and the unity of all the Communist and Workers' Parties is bound to be further strengthened and developed. We are deeply convinced that, as the international communist movement and Marxism-Leninism develop, the unity of our ranks will constantly grow stronger.

(4) If the relations between our two Parties are viewed as a whole, the above-mentioned differences between Comrade Khrushchov and ourselves are only of a partial character. We hold that the main thing in the relations between our two Parties is their unity in the struggle for the common cause; this is so because both our countries are socialist countries and both our Parties are built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and are fighting to advance the cause of the whole socialist camp, to oppose imperialist aggression and to win world peace. We believe that Comrade Khrushchov and the Central Committee of the CPSU and we ourselves will be able to find opportunities to hold calm and comradely discussions and resolve our differences, so that the Chinese and Soviet Parties may become more united and their relations further strengthened. This will be highly beneficial to the socialist camp and to the struggle of the people of the world against imperialist aggression and for world peace.

(5) We are glad to see that the Draft Communique of the Meeting put forward here affirms the correctness of the Moscow Declaration. But the presentation of the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Moscow Declaration in this draft is inaccurate and one-sided. And it is wrong that the draft avoids taking a clear stand on the major problems in the current international situation and makes no mention at all of modern revisionism, the main danger in the international working-class movement. Therefore, this draft is unacceptable to us. For the sake of unity in the common struggle against the enemy, we have submitted a revised draft and propose that it be discussed. If it is not possible to reach agreement this time, we propose that a special drafting committee be set up to work out, after full discussions, a document which is acceptable to all.

APPENDIX III

THE FIVE PROPOSALS FOR SETTLEMENT OF THE DIFFERENCES AND ATTAINMENT OF UNITY CONTAINED IN THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA IN REPLY TO THE LETTER OF INFORMATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

September 10, 1960

Striving to settle the differences successfully and to attain unity, we put forward the following proposals in all sincerity:

(1) The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the Declaration and the Manifesto of the 1957 Moscow Meeting are the ideological foundation for the unity between our two Parties and among all fraternal Parties. All our statements and actions must be absolutely loyal to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the Moscow Declaration, which we should use as the criteria for judging between truth and falsehood.

(2) The relations among the socialist countries and among the fraternal Parties must strictly conform to the principles of equality, comradeship and internationalism as stipulated by the Moscow Declaration.

(3) All disputes among the socialist countries and among the fraternal Parties must be settled in accordance with the stipulations of the Moscow Declaration, through comradely and unhurried discussion. Both the Soviet Union and China, and both the Soviet and Chinese Parties, bear great responsibilities regarding the international situation and towards the international communist movement. They should have full consultations and unhurried discussions on all important questions of common concern in order to have unity of action. If the disputes between the Chinese and Soviet Parties cannot be settled for the time being in consultations between the two Parties, then unhurried discussions should be continued. When necessary, the views of both sides should be presented completely objectively to the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries so that these Parties may make correct judgements after serious deliberation and in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the Moscow Declaration.

(4) It is of the utmost importance for Communists to draw a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, between truth and falsehood. Our two Parties should treasure and value our friendship and join hands to oppose the enemy, and should not make statements or take actions liable to undermine the unity between the two Parties and the two countries and thus give the enemy the opportunity of driving a wedge between us.

(5) On the basis of the above principles, our two Parties, together with other Communist and Workers' Parties, should strive through full preparation and consultation to make a success of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to be held in Moscow in November this year, and, at this meeting, should work out a document conforming to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration to serve as a programme to which we should all adhere, a programme for our united struggle against the enemy.

SUPPORT FOR SOCIALIST CHINA MEANS WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT FOR CHINA'S VETERAN LEADERS

It is altogether necessary for communists in Britain to defend China's veteran communist leaders, including Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. Part of the counter-revolutionary rightist nature of the 'gang of four' was expressed in their standpoint: "*Veteran cadres are democrats and democrats are capitalist roaders*". Therefore to reach the truth and achieve clarity on the question of the 'gang of four' we must certainly expose this line and defend veteran cadres of the CPC.

Comrade Teng made outstanding contributions to the workers' struggle and the Chinese revolution. Revisionists in the Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain and throughout the West are slandering the Communist Party of China and are distorting the truth about the 'gang of four'. There are new revisionists who dress up their treachery in 'left' words. This is the way they hide their true intentions. Their cheap invective very often is directed against Comrade Teng but it is Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and the Communist Party of China who they are really attacking. So it is timely for us to deepen the struggle against revisionism, especially this new form which places an ideological barrier in the way of building the revolutionary party of the working class in Britain. The truth about Comrade Teng should be placed before British Communists.

SOME IDEOLOGICAL POINTS

We have to admit that the influence of the 'gang of four' has caused confusion throughout the movement in Britain. The RCLB naturally has not been immune from this. More precisely it is true to say that the founding organisations of the RCLB shared the movement's confusion on this question during 1976 and the years before. It is wrong however for us to make a self-criticism for any incorrect statement made by the RCLB's founding organisations on the question of Comrade Teng. These mistakes could not be avoided without committing a more fundamental error of confusing the working class by raising uninformed doubts about the Communist Party of China. Comrade Teng's dismissal from office in April 1976 was supported by us as a matter of proletarian internationalist duty. It is the duty of all communists in Britain to support the socialist People's Republic of China, publicise its achievements in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment in order to demonstrate the superiority of socialism over capitalism, and strengthen revolutionary awareness and unity

in Britain. Because class struggle is complex and arduous (not a matter of merely repeating slogans and formulas) mistakes are inevitable. Although it is wrong for us to make a specific self-criticism in this case, for the reason given, we do however have a self-critical attitude. We are determined not to persist with incorrect views.

Mistakes should be corrected, not defended. A self-critical attitude is necessary if mistakes are to be overcome. Self-criticism is the materialist method of discarding the baggage that mistakes and incorrect ideas lumber us with. All communists in Britain must make a determined effort to discard the baggage left by the influence of the 'gang of four'. For most comrades this is possible. For the majority it is not a difficult task. For a few it will be hard. Such comrades should persist. Study hard the facts presented in the Chinese publications. Seek truth from facts. Most necessary - take the stand of the working class. Our attitude to the question of the 'gang of four' is a class one. Proletarian class struggle demands the overall view and persistent all-sided struggle. No class enemy can be finished off at a single blow.

The 'gang of four' preached metaphysics and idealism. Their view was that history is determined by the actions of a few heroes. They presented themselves as heroes with a self-proclaimed historic role. Lin Piao, who they collaborated with, emphasised heroes and the validity of coups d'etat carried out by so-called heroes. The truth is that history is made by the masses and the masses alone.

The power of leaders lies with the class they represent. The power of a proletarian leader, can be immeasurable because the strength of the working class and the oppressed classes that the working class rallies, is immeasurable. If so-called proletarian leaders like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the 'gang of four' all of whom served the bourgeoisie within the Party step forward, the working class, with correct leadership, will sweep them away like a handful of dried leaves. This is what happened with these renegades. Those comrades who find it hard to shake off the influence of the 'gang of four' should have this fact uppermost in their minds.

But there is a tiny handful of revisionists in our movement who may never reform. The revisionist Birch is the prime example. We cannot expect any sense from men like him. For him, ideological confusion serves the purpose of maintaining, for a little while longer, his dwindling prestige. His "ever so militant words" are a thin cover for his real sabotage of party building in Britain. These same "ever so militant words" are also a cover for outright betrayal of the working class on the economic front. The exposure of revisionism of all kinds will leave the revisionist Birch with no place to hide.

In contrast to swindlers like the 'gang of four' and our own Birch we see in the Communist Party of China a great many tempered cadres who for decades have devoted all their efforts and talents to the cause of the working class and the proletarian revolution. Comrade Mao Tsetung was such a veteran. He stands in the ranks of the great Marxist thinkers. To the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin can be added that of Mao Tsetung. Like Marx and Lenin themselves he has boldly solved major problems of the revolution. Most particularly he has advanced the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Is it any wonder that he has achieved such prestige in the eyes of the Chinese people and the world proletariat! Also among the great veteran Chinese leaders were Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Chu Teh. Chou was the Premier of the People's Republic of China and Chu, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. All three leaders passed away in 1976 causing great sadness and mourning throughout China.

Many more veteran Marxist cadres stand in high regard by the Chinese people. Their prestige also depends on their devotion to the revolution. They have been tempered in the democratic revolution and after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, they have been tempered in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Finally they have been tempered in the Cultural Revolution and the struggles against Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the 'gang of four'. Always they have practised the mass line and where they have made mistakes they have made self-criticisms and upheld the verdict of the people. So the people have reason to trust them. They are an essential part of the proletarian leadership which guides the masses in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is common sense that the people cannot do without such wise and tempered leaders.

The sickness and death of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai created not only sadness but anxiety in the minds of the Chinese people. Many feared for the safety of the revolution when these wise leaders grew close to the end of their lives. At that time (1974-76) the 'gang of four' were very influential and seemed poised to take power. By 1974 struggle had emerged between the 'gang of four's' counter-revolutionary and essentially rightist line and the correct line of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai. Teng Hsiao-ping was firmly in the camp of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai.

SOME POINTS ON THE HISTORY OF TENG, HSIAO-PING

Teng Hsiao-ping is a veteran cadre who has led a life of plain living and hard struggle. His membership of the Communist Party began in his early twenties when he was on a work-study course in France. He was one of the founding members of the Communist Party of China overseas. He was involved on his return to China in the

first civil war period of 1925-27. He was in the Long March in 1934. He became a leading cadre in the people's army during the war against Japan. He continued as a political leader in the military field until liberation. An important part of his job was to ensure that the party commanded the gun. Important victories were achieved by the armies that he played a part in leading:

After liberation, in 1952 he became Vice-Premier. In 1954 he became Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Later he became General Secretary of the Central Committee and was elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. This is the body where the most authoritative Party members fulfill their leadership role.

With the Cultural Revolution beginning in earnest in 1966, Comrade Teng was criticised for taking the capitalist road. On August 8th 1966 the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was thoroughly underway with the 16 point decision of the Communist Party of China on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Comrade Teng was criticised at the same time as the "Number One Party person in authority taking the capitalist road," Liu Shao-chi. Their names are associated in this way, so our self-styled "super-revolutionaries" will have it that if Liu Shao-chi was a renegade so is Teng Hsiao-ping. Our revisionist friends need no more "proof" than that:

But the fact that Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping were criticised and removed at the same time does not prove that they are guilty of exactly the same errors. Nor does it prove that Comrade Teng is an unrepentant capitalist-roader. Still less does it show that Comrade Teng is not firmly on the socialist road at the present time. We must have recourse to facts. Mao Tsetung often said "Seek truth from facts". Lenin said, "Facts are stubborn things". There are some stubborn facts about Comrade Teng that will not lie down despite the formidable verbal artillery of the 'gang of four' and their ideological brothers in the West.

Not every comrade in the movement is conversant with the early days of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Young comrades are entering the movement and are forming a valuable and indeed indispensable part of the strengthening vanguard of the working class. They are eager to build the leading centre in the struggle to rebuild the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class in Britain. To them maybe the issue of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist bid for supreme power in the party and state of China is irrelevant history. Perhaps some of the cut and dried slogans of the "super-revolutionaries" who are at present attacking China may confuse some comrades into believing that the downfall of the 'gang of four' is a repudiation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and an adoption of the line of the renegade Liu Shao-chi.

The restoration to all his posts of Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping at the Third Plenum of the 10th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1977 may be seen as "proof" of such an absurd view.

So it is necessary to examine the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and to study what the line of Liu Shao-chi was up to and including the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. In the course of this we can compare the line of Comrade Teng.

WHAT WAS THE ESSENCE OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION?

Mao Tsetung said:

"With the overthrow of the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in China; therefore the national bourgeoisie should no longer be defined as an intermediate class."
(Selected Works, vol V, p77 June 6th 1952)

This clear analysis of the principal contradiction (that is the main contradiction - the contradiction which plays the leading and decisive role) as that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was made quite soon after liberation. Liu Shao-chi did not agree with this. Mao's view firmly held that the period after liberation was not essentially a stage of the democratic revolution requiring among other things a strategic alliance with the national bourgeoisie. The new period was one of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The post-liberation period was one of unfolding the struggle to eliminate capitalism.

Liu Shao-chi's view was different. He said in 1959:

"to use capitalism conditionally to serve socialism, so as to facilitate the progress of socialist construction."
(The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China, FLP, 1959 p16)

This article by Liu Shao-chi was published in "World Marxist Review" to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. It contains other gems such as:

"we accomplished in the main the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and basically solved the question of "who will win" in the ownership of the means of production". (page 17)

Apart from the bourgeois complacency of this particular statement, there is the most incorrect use of the phrase "who will win". This question was posed by Mao and Chou in relation to the class struggle as a whole and both are on record as saying that the question of "who will win" in a number of fields will be resolved only after a considerable period of time. "Who will win" is a matter of whether the revolution in all fields will be continued

under the dictatorship of the proletariat or whether the revolution will be halted and the bourgeoisie restored to power.

In contrast to Liu Shao-chi's line a recent edition of Peking Review (published in conditions where the 'gang of four' have been repudiated and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is leading the Party in new struggles against the influence of the 'gang of four' and also in conditions where Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping is restored to all his posts) said about these questions:-

"just before and after the founding of New China, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and the capitalist road was extremely sharp. Some people used to cite China as a case of peaceful transition, and the political economy textbooks published in the Soviet Union in particular held that the transition from capitalism to socialism in China was a peaceful one and that the bourgeoisie willingly and without any struggle complied with the transformation of ownership. This was far from the truth. The struggle between the two classes and the two roads in our country has always been extremely fierce.

('Peking Review' 49., Dec.2.1977, p4-5)

This most recent quote is, among other things, a direct refutation of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. So where is the restoration of capitalism in the line of the Communist Party of China?

There is no reference material to hand to show any differences between Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping on these matters. But before the Cultural Revolution it is well known that Comrade Teng struggled defiantly against the Soviet revisionists whereas Liu Shao-chi was not so distinguished.

Han Suyin in the useful book "Wind in the Tower" published in 1975, says in relation to the struggle against Soviet revisionism,

"Yet we find Liu Shao-chi asserting at the First Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee (September 1956) that 'The Twentieth Congress... is a political event of world significance... It has condemned the personality cult' while Teng Hsiao-ping defended Mao." ("Wind in the Tower", p116).

There is reason to believe that Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping were not as close politically and ideologically as the 'left' revisionist gossips would suggest.

The most important contrast we can make between these two men in their political and ideological views is regarding the Cultural Revolution itself. Statements by leaders of the Chinese Communist Party on international events seldom leave out a crisp and concentrated stand on matters relating to China itself. If space allows,

Chinese leaders will never treat an international subject in isolation from the class struggle in China itself. This is especially true of the question of revisionism. Revisionism is not something that cropped up as a matter of chance in the Soviet Union. It is an international phenomenon. Britain has suffered setbacks as a result of revisionism. China too had its revisionists, and doubtless will in the future. The Cultural Revolution in China was all about preventing a capitalist restoration by beating back the revisionist bid for supreme power in the Party and the State.

In the struggle against the Soviet revisionists therefore Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai not only made ready to give tit for tat in the international dialogue between the two parties but were ever mindful of the fact that what happened in the Soviet Union might also happen in China. In their statements against the Soviet revisionists this was always borne in mind. It was Mao Tsetung himself who stressed the need to *"integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with Chinese conditions"*. So the struggle against modern revisionism is no academic matter for the Chinese communists. It matters because it determines whether the Chinese revolution will go forward or be reversed as it has been in the Soviet Union.

On the eve of the full scale launching of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, an Albanian delegation visited China to cement the fraternal link between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania in their common struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at its head. They stayed from April 26th 1966 to May 11th 1966 and were received by three very authoritative leaders of the Communist Party of China. One was Comrade Chou En-lai, the others were Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and Liu Shao-chi. They all made speeches which were published by the Foreign Languages Press in 1966 under the title "Struggle Against Imperialism and Revisionism to the Very End". The speeches by the three Chinese leaders are worth quoting from where they deal with the subject of fighting revisionism in China. Most particularly these political speeches need examining from the viewpoint of how they approach the then unfolding Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution - the great movement of the masses to counter revisionism in China itself.

Firstly, we take the words of Chou En-lai. On the very question of "who will win" in the ownership of the means of production, a subject on which Liu Shao-chi's views are already exposed, - Chou says this:

"In regard to ownership of the means of production, it will take a long historical period, of one hundred or several hundred years, to settle the question of 'who will win' - socialism or capitalism". (page 46)

On the Cultural Revolution he said:

"Taking class struggle as the key link, we have in recent years unfolded the socialist education movement in the villages and cities by stages and by groups and have achieved enormous success,"

and,

"A socialist cultural revolution of great historic significance is being launched in our country. This is a fierce and protracted struggle of "who will win", the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, in the ideological field." (pages 48-49).

Secondly, we take the words of Teng Hsiao-ping at that time. He said:

"The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people are vigorously pushing ahead the three great revolutionary movements - class struggle, struggle for production, and scientific experiment. All our cadres and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have started an enthusiastic campaign to study Mao Tsetung's works; they regard Mao Tsetung Thought as the supreme guidance for all work. In order to consolidate and further develop the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system and to prevent the restoration of capitalism, we are carrying on the socialist revolution in depth on the political front, and particularly on the ideological and cultural fronts, while continuing it on the economic front."

Thirdly, we cannot quote anything that Liu Shao-chi said in this regard on that important occasion. There is nothing to quote. There is not one word in his speech which relates to the class struggle in China. Can we be surprised? Not at all! But these quotations help to show a) How Chou En-lai at the earliest time carried out the correct aims of the Cultural Revolution, b) How the bourgeois Liu Shao-chi opposed the Cultural Revolution but how Teng Hsiao-ping grasped some of the Cultural Revolution's objectives and was ready to propagate them. If this latter difference is not important to the revisionist 'leftists' in Britain, it is important to the people of China and it is clear that it was important to Mao Tsetung.

CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG RESTORES COMRADE TENG IN 1973

At the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China in August 1973, Comrade Teng was elected to the Central Committee. Within two years he was in charge of the day to day work of the Central

Committee. His restoration was made on the recommendation and with full support of the great leader and teacher Mao Tsetung. The 'gang of four' and their ideological colleagues in the West cannot deny that stubborn fact. This did not happen with Liu Shao-chi as we all know. Mao clearly distinguished between the errors of Comrade Teng in the Cultural Revolution and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi. Repudiation of this line was the entire object of the Cultural Revolution in its earliest phase.

Although the great achievements of the Cultural Revolution at the beginning (1966-69) are well known by communists in Britain and the rest of the West, the shortcomings are not so well known. Much of the bad style of work, the dogmatism, sectarianism and subjectivism we have seen in the Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain have resulted from the same metaphysical (that is one-sided) views that were held by Lin Piao and the 'gang of four'. The 'gang of four's' control over the mass media in China had for years suppressed Comrade Mao Tsetung's dialectical materialist estimate of the Cultural Revolution. Mao said that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had 70% achievements and 30% shortcomings. For the shortcomings we now know that the factionalism, violent struggle and the total negation of veteran cadres can be traced to the sabotage of Lin Piao and the 'gang of four'. It was Lin Piao who said that the Cultural Revolution was a revolution against those who had made revolution. It was Chang Chun Chiao who said that the Cultural Revolution was a change of dynasty. These were outright distortions of the aims of the Cultural Revolution as laid down by Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China. These views were not accidental ones. The 'gang of four' put forward the counter-revolutionary rightist programme "*veteran cadres are democrats, and democrats are capitalist roaders*". This absurd pseudo-Marxist "analysis" is counter-revolutionary because it is the signboard of revolt against the core of the proletarian leadership. It is rightist because it is deliberately intended by the 'gang of four' to establish "a new dynasty" in the place of the Bolshevik leadership of the great, correct Communist Party of China.

Both Lin Piao and the 'gang of four' sought to create chaos and confusion, not in the ranks of the bourgeois class enemy but among the revolutionary people. They were against working class unity and stability. They were against unleashing the Cultural Revolution along correct proletarian lines. For example, the decisions on the Cultural Revolution emphasised struggle through reasoned argument. Also, the slogan "Unite to win still greater victories" was put to the fore.

However, Chiang Ching, one of the prime movers of the 'gang' urged Red Guard factions to fight each other saying in perversion of the line of Mao and the Party, "Attack by reason, defend by force".

So it is Lin Piao and the 'gang of four' who can be held responsible for the shortcomings in the Cultural Revolution. It is Mao, Chou, the Communist Party of China and the masses of the Chinese people who achieved the great successes. It is Hua Kuo-feng, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese masses who are protecting and consolidating those gains.

The truth is that the restoration of Teng in 1973 was perfectly consistent with the continuation of the Cultural Revolution. His opposition to the 'gang of four' and his determined efforts to uphold the correct line of the Party and correct the shortcomings of the Cultural Revolution were by no means rightist in class content.

Mao and the Party went a step further however than just restoring him to the Central Committee. At the Second Plenum of the Tenth Central Committee on January 1975, Teng was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the State Council and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission. In the situation where Chairman Mao was in failing health and Premier Chou was in the final stages of his illness, Mao said that Comrade Teng should take charge of the day to day work of the Central Committee. Thus Teng in 1975 was chosen for posts and given work which the 'gang of four' coveted. Teng became a barrier to the ambitions of the 'gang of four'.

"THE THREE DIRECTIVES" AND THE "RIGHT DEVIATIONIST ATTEMPTS TO REVERSE CORRECT VERDICTS"

In 1975 Teng set to work with a will to carry out the decisions of the 10th Central Committee. He boldly tackled long outstanding problems relating to socialist construction and the well-being of the masses. The objective of building socialist China into "a great, powerful and modern socialist country by the end of the century" was tackled resolutely. This objective was not something invented by Comrade Teng. For example Mao said:

"You have a big population, such a vast territory and such rich resources, and what is more, you are said to be building socialism, which is supposed to be superior; if after working at it for fifty or sixty years you are still unable to overtake the United States, what a sorry figure you will cut! You should be read off the face of the earth. Therefore, to overtake the United States is not only possible, but absolutely necessary and obligatory". (Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward Party Traditions, Vol. V. p 315, August 30th 1956).

Teng laid emphasis on implementing Mao's three directives which are: study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on stability and unity, and on pushing the national economy forward. Mao put these directives forward in 1974. It is clear that implementation of these three directives was entirely necessary to the future of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is clear also that the 'gang of four' opposed these important directives and were ready to distort and slander the work Comrade Teng did in trying to solve the most important problem of correctly relating the three directives to the key link of class struggle. In the first draft of "On the General Programme for all work of the Party and the country" drawn up in 1975, Teng scientifically and militantly upheld the general line of the Communist Party of China and seriously began the work of relating the problems of economic development with the key link of class struggle. This first draft polemicises firmly with the fallacies of the 'gang of four'. Like all documents of the CPC, it is deeply political. It is a product of sharp class struggle which firmly takes the stand of the working class.

For example Teng says in the document:

"The study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and thereby combating and preventing revisionism, occupies the foremost position among the three important directives". (taken from a translation in "The Case of the Gang of Four" by Chi Hsin).

He also refers to the key link of class struggle but he concludes by saying that the three directives should be taken as the key link. That is an error. But two points should be borne in mind here, a) It was a first draft which like all important documents required thorough examination, criticism and adjustment. b) It was an important beginning to correctly solving the problem of relating the three directives to the key link of class struggle. It was not a "poisonous weed" as the 'gang of four' asserted. It was not a "right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts" or a repudiation of the Cultural Revolution. It was a determined effort to solve the burning problems of the Chinese Revolution. Many of these problems were created by the 'gang of four' themselves who represented the negative 30% aspect of the Cultural Revolution.

Another document drafted under Comrade Teng's leadership was "Some Problems in Accelerating Industrial Development" which is more widely known as "The Twenty Points". Together with the 'General Programme' and another document on scientific work entitled "Outline Report on the Work of the Academy of Sciences", these documents showed that the Party was squaring up firmly to burning problems of revolution and production. All these documents

were branded by the 'gang of four' as the "3 Poisonous Weeds".

An article in 'Peking Review' recently said the following in defence of the "Twenty Points":

"Class struggle as the key link runs through the contents of the "Twenty Points". Having assembled numerous facts about the existence of class struggle and analysed the situation in class struggle, it pointed out that 'the struggle on the industrial front between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines is extremely fierce' adding that it was necessary to grasp 'this principal contradiction...to uphold the Party's basic line, criticise the revisionist line, capitalist tendencies and bourgeois factionalism and resolutely deal blows at the class enemy's sabotaging activities'." ('Peking Review' 42, pp7-8).

This excellent article exposes the 'gang of four's' motives in attacking "The Twenty Points". It states further that:

"From the very outset the 'gang of four' considered the criticism of the "The Twenty Points" a bombshell in their attack against the comrades in the central authorities. They branded the document "a programme for restoring capitalism," slanderously called Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping an "unrepentant capitalist-roader," and contrived pretexts for striking down other central leading comrades".

The 'gang of four' started a "mass campaign" against Teng in late 1975 to early 1976, branding him as "unrepentant capitalist-roader". The masses, who were fully aware of the problems that Comrade Teng was earnestly tackling, shunned the campaign and would have nothing to do with it. It angered the people that the real object of the campaign was the repudiation of Comrade Chou En-lai and by inference Mao himself. The anxiety created by that campaign clearly added to the masses justified anger when in early April 1976 they demonstrated their militant support for Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai in Tien An Men Square in Peking. By various devices including the removal of wreaths in honour of Chou En-lai, the 'gang of four' succeeded in antagonising the masses in Tien An Men Square and branded the whole affair as "a counter-revolutionary incident" created by Teng. Thus Teng was dismissed again but retained his precious party membership.

CHAIRMAN HUA RESTORES COMRADE TENG TO ALL HIS POSTS

At the Third Plenum of the 10th Central Committee in 1977, Comrade Teng was again restored to his posts. This was a wise decision made on the recommendation of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. Hua has distinguished himself by solving the problem of the 'gang of

four' promptly and without a drop of blood being spilt. He has also solved the problem of relating the struggle for socialist construction and other matters of the "three directives" to the key link of class struggle. He has put forward the correct formula "grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land".

The decision to restore Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping to all his posts is a correct decision. It is in line with a dialectical approach to selection of Party cadres at the highest level. It is a decision which sharply contrasts with the bad bourgeois style of the 'gang of four' who demanded absolutely correct leaders. In reality those who talk of absolute correctness are the furthest from the truth. When they promote cadres they do so on the principle of granting favours to those who express total agreement.

The strength of the Communist Party of China is in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and in the masses of the people. The only true "absolute" is the absolute truth of materialist dialectics. The struggle against the 'gang of four' in China is a repudiation of one-sidedness and metaphysics. Comrade Teng is a tempered Marxist who would never concede defeat at the hands of the the bourgeois 'gang of four'.

The lesson for us is to grasp more firmly dialectical materialism and seek truth from facts.

In finality we quote from the great proletarian leader and teacher Mao Tsetung:

"In a word, we must act in accordance with dialectics. So said Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. In my opinion, the whole Party should study dialectics and advocate acting in accordance with dialectics".

(Selected Works, Vol V., p382 Jan., 1957).

BUILDING THE FACTORY CELL

A PARTY UNIT'S WORK SUM-UP

Editorial Note: This article is reprinted from 'Class Struggle', the theoretical journal of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the United States of America. It contains valuable lessons for the present stage of our industrial work.)

With the recent founding of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), it is important to clarify and deepen our understanding of building factory cells. The constitution of the CP(M-L) states clearly that the Party "*bases itself primarily at the point of production, through the factory cell,*"⁽¹⁾ and later, "*The Party cells, and principally the factory cells, are the foundation of the Party organization.*"⁽²⁾ However, an ongoing struggle must be waged to make the new Party's factory cells grow in number and strength.

The October League (Marxist-Leninist), which recently united with other organisations to form the CP(M-L), was primarily based in the factories. The experience of one of its factory cells, formed two years ago in a medium-sized plant in heavy industry, can show by concrete practice the struggles involved in building the Party in this way.

When this cell was formed, it was first necessary for the cadre to understand why they were there and what their tasks were in the present period. Basing the Party in the factories is a Marxist-Leninist principle. The proletariat is the only thoroughly revolutionary class in history. It is the only class capable of overthrowing the brutal, decaying rule of the bourgeoisie and reconstructing society along socialist lines. It is destined to do this because its place at the point of socialized production enables it to grasp most clearly the fundamental contradiction within the capitalist system. It is in the factories, mills, and mines that the social production of the proletariat rises in sharp contradiction to the private ownership of the tiny capitalist class. It is here that the organisational base for the proletariat's armed insurrection can and must be situated.

Today, however, the basic organisations of the workers in the factory, the trade unions, are controlled by revisionist and reformist misleaders who work as agents for the capitalists. The Party must lead the struggle to drive out these misleaders and win the broad masses of workers in the trade unions to the struggle for socialism.

The cell is the Party's link to the masses. In this period, we are still building our Party, placing it firmly on its feet, and rooting it among the masses. This means we are mainly in a period of revolutionary education of the masses. We combine this education with mass action against the system in order to prepare for the upcoming period of mass revolutionary upheaval. The present task of each cell can be summed up by the slogans, "Win the advanced to communism and the Party" and "Build the Party in the heat of class struggle."

From this basic understanding of the Party's tasks, our factory cell began to centre its work around 'The Call/EI Clarin', using it as a collective organiser, agitator and propagandist. The cell began to build a secret distribution network in the factory, selling the newspapers secretly to contacts. Within the cell, consistent study of Marxism-Leninism was carried out to guide our practice. At the same time, the cell began to put forward a mass program for struggle in the union. But, as Mao Tsetung pointed out, correct ideas do not fall from the sky. Our experience is no different - a correct line is only developed through two-line struggle and learning from our successes and mistakes in the actual class struggle.

Some of the first agitational work this cell did was around an upcoming contract negotiation. We put out some leaflets, signed by the October League, popularising several contract demands. These also exposed the bureaucrats for opposing the mass demands of the workers and keeping the negotiations secret. We put forward wage, pension and cost-of-living demands, as well as demands around health and safety, against forced overtime, against segregation in departments by nationality and sex, and for translations of the contract and job postings into the various languages that the workers speak.

COMMUNISTS AND MASSES CLOSELY LINKED

Through the use of these agitational leaflets and 'The Call/EI Clarin', we got to know many workers who were interested in changing the union, a core of whom were advanced workers interested in making revolution. We held meetings with active workers. In these meetings leaflets were written and then distributed throughout the factory. The leaflets were mainly focused on the contract struggle. During this period, an OL member was elected to the contract negotiating committee.

As the negotiations developed, the company and the union misleaders kicked the OL member off the negotiating committee to prevent him from exposing their sellout deals. The workers were furious. The company and the union brought the police into the factory to prevent the workers from having meetings and to arrest

two communists. The workers shut down their machines and staged a four-hour wildcat. Communist agitation united the workers while bosses and union officials tried to split the workers and send them back to work.

During the wildcat, communists did broad agitation exposing the role of the state and the police. They also showed concretely the role of the union leadership as these traitors openly worked with the bosses and the police to attack the workers. Communists exposed the system and put forth the need for revolution. By continuing the struggle and relying on the masses, the workers won the best contract in the company's history. After a prolonged struggle, one of the communists who had been arrested and fired won his job back with full pay. The other won his back pay, but was not rehired.

GARY TYLER CAMPAIGN LINKED TO LOCAL CONDITIONS

After the contract struggle, the cell combined ongoing work around the demands that were raised during the contract period with a campaign in the union to support the struggle to free Gary Tyler. We put out leaflets, used 'The Call' widely, circulated a petition, and built for a union meeting to demand that the union support the Gary Tyler struggle. During this campaign we did a great deal of education on the national question, Afro-American self-determination, and the role of the state as an instrument of class oppression. We also linked the Tyler case to the struggle against discrimination in the factory and exposed the chauvinism of the union leaders locally and nationally. We brought out the necessity of building the alliance between the workers' movement and the national movements in order to overthrow imperialism.

In summing up this work, we saw that our use of 'The Call' and our development of secret 'Call' networks had given us the ability to mobilise the workers, to lead the wildcat and to carry out broad revolutionary education. On the other hand, our main weakness was in not consolidating the gains of the wildcat, the contract struggle, and the Gary Tyler campaign by actually recruiting the advanced workers into the OL cell. We didn't grasp the decisive role of propaganda, when correctly combined with agitation, in winning the advanced to communism and the Party. We had thought that communist agitation was sufficient and at times had confused mass agitation with propaganda work. The result was that some of the advanced workers fell away from us, while others stayed close due to their determination to make revolution.

This weakness was reflected in the unevenness of our 'Call' sales. In general, between 10% and 20% of the workers in the

plant read the paper weekly. But sometimes this would drop to 5%.

In order to push our work forward and to rectify our mistakes, we needed to bring out two-line struggle in our cell - to criticize incorrect lines and move ahead with the correct line. During that time, the struggle against Martin Nicolaus' revisionist line was developing within the OL. Although Nicolaus was unable to win any significant number of cadre consciously to follow him, errors reflecting his revisionist line were being exposed through mass criticism throughout the organization. This struggle, especially around the questions of agitation and propaganda and the trade unions, were crucial in clarifying our work. We saw that we had mainly been separating communist agitation from propaganda and downplaying propaganda with the advanced.

We set out to rectify our errors and began organizing Marxist-Leninist study with several workers. At first, however, in trying to correct our practice of "agitation only", we fell into the practice of doing "propaganda only" for a short period of time. The result of this line was that we drew back from our widespread use of 'The Call' and mass agitation. The bankruptcy of this "propaganda only" line became clear to the cell in practice. The cell became temporarily isolated from the mass struggles of the workers. We were drawing the advanced out of the struggle and trying to do propaganda work detached from class struggle. During that period we bowed to spontaneity in our trade union work - only putting out leaflets in response to some attack by the company, such as a firing or speedup. We were separating party-building from the class struggle. Only by continuing and deepening the struggle against the Nicolaus line inside the cell could we grasp how to correct these errors.

LABOR BUREAUCRATS AS AGENTS

Throughout the organization, the Nicolaus line on the labor aristocracy was also being criticized. Our cell carefully studied and criticized his view that we should unite with the so-called liberal wing of the Labor bureaucrats. We saw that the bourgeoisie is promoting a certain brand of their agents in the workers' movement. They are pushing such misleaders as Miller of the United Mine Workers, Sadlowski of the United Steel Workers, and Fraser in the United Auto Workers in order to stem the rising tide of rank-and-file anger. In words, these traitors use militant rhetoric; in deeds, they attack the workers. For example, Miller rode to power on the issue of the right to strike over health and safety, but since he has been in office he has viciously attacked all such wildcats. For his part, Sadlowski never even opposed the bureaucrats' so-called Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which took away the steel-workers' right to strike over

the national contract. He only called for a vote on it. This brand of misleader especially has to be exposed in order to win the workers away from the influence of reformism.

At this time the OL labor campaign was initiated. This campaign of revolutionary education was aimed at winning workers away from the influence of the reformist and revisionist trade union leaders and providing communist leadership to spontaneous struggles of the masses. It was also aimed at consolidating and putting into practice the theoretical gains we had made in our struggle against the Nicolaus line. Through the campaign we sought to deepen our roots in the factories, build the Party, and expand our influence in the workers' movement.

The campaign was organized around two slogans: "Build Class Struggle Unions!" and "Drive Out the Bureaucrats!" Nationally, the campaign focused on a boycott of the national steelworkers' election and a demonstration of autoworkers at the UAW convention in Los Angeles. This campaign moved our cell forward in its mass work, organizational work and ideological work.

Our cell took the national campaigns into the factory, explained them and built support for them. Within the union our campaigns against speedup, forced overtime and discrimination exposed the labor leaders as agents of the imperialists. In our leaflets we began to give an overall view of what a class struggle union would be, as opposed to a union led by class collaborationists. We put forward concrete demands for democracy in the union by proposing changes in the union constitution and by advocating measures that would strengthen the right to strike. We drew out the line of the misleaders, showing how they serve the capitalists on every issue. We brought many political issues into the shop, i.e., the fight against the segregationist movement, the struggle against deportations, International Women's Day, May Day, the independence struggle in Puerto Rico, the struggle against superpower war preparations, support for the third world, etc.

We explained how our stand on these questions reflected the interests of the working class in contrast to the chauvinism and class collaboration of the bureaucrats. We exposed the bureaucrats' complete support for the capitalists' attack on the workers in the face of the economic crisis, as well as their open support for war preparations. Through this exposure of the bosses and the bureaucrats, we showed the necessity for revolution and the need for a Marxist-Leninist party.

At the same time we took up more study of Marxism-Leninism with the advanced workers, linking the study with practice in the shop. We also expanded our 'Call' networks, and internally the unit took up extensive study on the trade union question.

LINE TESTED AND STRENGTHENED THROUGH PRACTICE

The campaign was a way that the cell tested the OL's line on the trade unions in practice and developed it. Through it, we strengthened our understanding of the period we are in, how to combine agitation and propaganda, and the decisive role of propaganda in winning the advanced. We raised the woman question to unite men and women and to draw the women into the struggle. We fought against all forms of national oppression to unite the class, as well as to build the merger of the workers' movement and the national movements. We saw in our practice that our firm line on the national question clearly differentiated us from the bosses and the bureaucrats, and also from every opportunist trend within the communist movement.

An important aspect of the campaign was developing a deeper understanding of tactics. Through the campaign we gained experience in applying a wide range of tactics in our trade union work. In other cases, we made tactical errors that did not help us move closer to our strategic goals. Correct tactics in the campaign flowed from applying our Marxist-Leninist line to the concrete conditions we face. They flowed from correctly understanding the mass line. Only the masses of workers can carry out the slogans to drive out the bureaucrats and build class struggle unions. We cannot substitute the vanguard for the masses. We have to have a protracted view of learning from the workers, of summing up their correct ideas in a class struggle program, and winning the workers themselves to carry out this program as their own. We also must build the independence and initiative of the Party while constructing a secret apparatus to withstand all the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

The work of our cell advanced when we grasped the mass line, united with the majority of the workers, and brought forward Marxism-Leninism. However, certain tactical errors tended to isolate us and set the struggle back. For example, some of our leaflets made it seem as if only communists could participate in and lead the struggle to revolutionize the unions. This is incorrect since the great majority of the workers can be won to fight the bosses and the bureaucrats and many class fighters who are not yet communists will play a leading role.

As we continue to carry out our task of building class struggle unions, the Party's influence is growing and many workers are being won to the cause of socialism. The battle we are waging to build strong factory cells is a struggle we must continue and deepen.

In doing so, we can look to present-day opportunist

organizations as teachers by negative example. Also, we can look to the history of our movement, drawing both positive and negative lessons from the past.

REVISIONISTS ATTACK MARXIST-LENINIST LINE ON THE FACTORY CELL

The practice being developed by the CP(M-L) clearly shows the link between a revolutionary political line and revolutionary organization. In sharp contrast to a Marxist-Leninist view on the role of the factory cell is the line and practice of the revisionist Communist Party, (CPUSA). In a pamphlet by Daniel Rubin entitled 'How a Communist Club Functions,' the CPUSA completely negates revolution as a strategic goal, Marxism-Leninism as a guiding science, and the industrial proletariat as the leading force. Rubin is the CPUSA's organizational secretary, one of the party's top officials.

First, Rubin stresses that the club's focus of work among the masses is election campaign work: "*The club should know the various election districts, the election calendar, the particular character of the political parties and the electoral formations in the area.*" (3) Furthermore: "*Every club should have a strategic aim and line for its area of responsibility. If the club territory embraces a councilmanic, assembly or congressional district, achievement of the strategic aim might be registered in an election of that (anti-monopoly) coalition.*" (4) In the factory, which is not seen as any more important than a community club, Rubin says, "*the strategic aim is to change the balance of forces in the shop between the bosses and the workers.*" (5) He goes on to describe this as building a "left current" in the shop, meaning uniting with the reformist trade union leaders. Nowhere in the pamphlet does he refer to independent communist work, revolutionizing the unions, or overthrowing the capitalist system. Instead, he advocates uniting with the labor bureaucrats.

In discussing the tasks of the club education director, Rubin states that study should simply be aimed at solving problems in mass work, and that it is impossible to study Marxism-Leninism within the club because of lack of time. He thus completely eliminates Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution and as a guide to action.

The revisionists also attack internal struggle and the communist principle of criticism and self-criticism. Says Rubin: "*Longer meetings indicate either rigid, mechanical approaches, trying to predetermine every detail of mass activity or an unhealthy situation of inner struggle...*" (Emphasis added) (6)

The CPUSA's downplaying of the factory "club" and opposition to Marxist-Leninist training clearly shows that this organization is no longer the leader of the industrial proletariat. In fact, its main focus is to live within the rotten system of imperialism, not to overthrow it. As Rubin puts it: "*In every activity all clubs should constantly seek to increase the acceptance of the policies of the party as a legitimate and progressive organization on the US political scene.*" (7) But legitimate in whose eyes? It could only be in the eyes of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

HISTORY OF THE TWO LINE STRUGGLE IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

These two lines - one represented by the CP(M-L), the other by the CPUSA - represent the historical struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism on the question of the factory cell. This struggle has been waged since the development of the Russian Bolshevik Party and clearly draws out the link between political line and organization.

In Lenin's day, the Bolsheviks took up the struggle against the Menshevik line. Described in Lenin's classic work, 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Back', these opportunists called for a loose organizational structure where every striker could join and every professor could declare himself a member of the party. This view of organization was a direct result of their revisionist line. The Mensheviks did not require a mainly secret party with strict membership requirements. Their party organization would never be capable of leading the masses in waging armed struggle against the bourgeoisie, smashing its state apparatus, and seizing the means of production. In fact, they had no intention of carrying out such a proletarian revolution.

Throughout Europe a similar incorrect line was upheld by most parties of the Second International. These revisionist parties based themselves electorally in the communities. Within the factories they held the leading posts in the trade union bureaucracy and were tied to the labor aristocracy, not to the rank-and-file workers. These parties also eventually showed that they opposed proletarian revolution. They sided with their own bourgeoisie during World War I and abandoned the working-class struggle.

The victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 clearly showed the correctness of Lenin's line on organization and its link to revolutionary politics. The Bolsheviks practiced democratic-centralism and their cells were based in the factories. Groups of Marxists who supported and united with Bolshevism in power split from the Second International to form new parties and a new international, the Third or Communist International. (It was at this time, 1919-21, that Marxists in the U.S. split from the Second

International affiliate, the Socialist Party, to form the Communist Party, U.S.A.) Although these communist parties had broken with the political line of the Second International, an automatic move toward basing their organizations in the factory did not occur. Struggle continued intensely throughout the history of the Communist International.

Many of these new parties were still based primarily in the communities. Organizationally, this reflected a revisionist line on the state. It meant mainly relying on elections as the chief means of achieving power.

STRUGGLE AGAINST BROWDER'S TRAITOROUS LINE

In the U.S., an intense struggle went on to base the CPUSA in the shops. The Central Committee put forth the slogan "Into the Shops" from the years 1925 to 1929. Nonetheless, The Central Committee stated in 1930 that "*less than 10% of the Party membership is organized into factory nuclei*"(8) While the Party had a revolutionary line on the factory nuclei, there were real problems putting it into practice. The Central Committee said in 1930: "*While there is no open opposition to work inside the factories and the building of factory nuclei, there exists a considerable unclarity and no less passivity in the ranks of the Party.*"(9) During this period much of the struggle was aimed at getting the leading bodies to pay more attention to the work of the factory cells and to combine the work among the employed and unemployed.

The most important struggle, however, was waged against the traitorous, revisionist line of Browder, who would eventually use this "unclarity and passivity" to totally liquidate the factory nuclei. Under his leadership, the CPUSA was actually dissolved for a short period in the 1940s. In the late 1930s, factory concentrations were attacked and shop papers and trade union fractions were liquidated.

Browder's line advocated alliance with the bourgeoisie and a total liquidation of all communist independence and initiative. When the genuine Marxist-Leninists were able to force the reestablishment of the Party, it was still constructed mainly along electoral district lines, where it remains today. Even after Browder was thrown out of the Party, his line remained strong, though the Marxist-Leninists struggled hard against it.

Finally in the late 1950s, after the traitor and revisionist Krushchev made his slanderous attack on Joseph Stalin and restored capitalism in the world's first socialist state, the Dennis-Hall clique of American revisionists were able to oust the Marxist-Leninist forces from the CPUSA. With full control of the Party now, and with support from the revisionists in power in the

USSR, the Dennis-Hall clique completely turned the remnants of this once-revolutionary party into the revisionist swamp it is today. It now acts as a fifth column of the Soviet social-imperialists.

For twenty years, due to the revisionist betrayal, the U.S. working class and oppressed nationalities have had to struggle against imperialism without their general staff, a genuine communist party. But now with the founding of the CP(M-L), true revolutionary leadership is being again established in the U.S. But we must continue to build this young Party and put it firmly on its feet. In doing this, the building and strengthening of the factory cells is very significant. The factory cells must remain the basic strongholds of the CP(M-L). The cells are where workers are recruited and systematically trained in Marxism-Leninism. The cells must be able to carry out agitation and propaganda during this period, correctly combining this revolutionary education with mass action. This is what it means to build the party in the heat of class struggle, preparing the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

1. 'Documents from the Founding Congress of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)', (Chicago:CP(M-L), 1977), p.160.
2. Ibid.,p.163.
3. Daniel Rubin, 'How a Communist Club Functions', (New York City: New Outlook Publishers, 1971),p.7.
4. Ibid.,p.8.
5. Ibid.,p.8.
6. Ibid.,p.19.
7. Ibid.,p.12.
8. 'Theses and Resolutions for the Seventh National Convention of the CPUSA', (Asia Books and Periodicals Reprint), p.64.
9. Ibid - 66.

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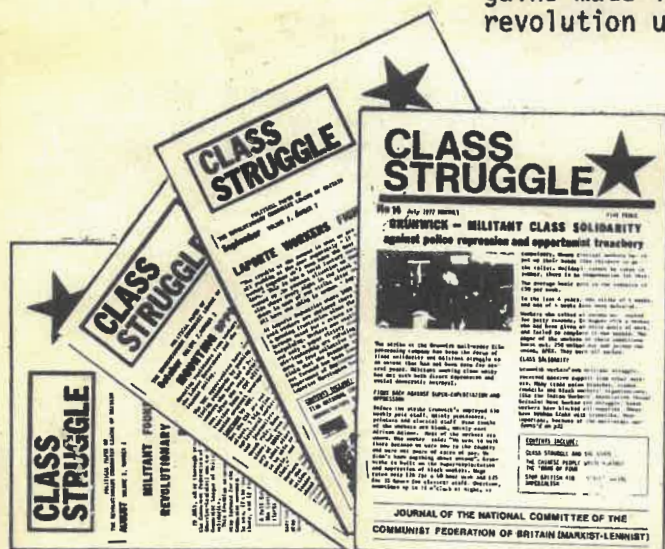
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