

CH 15 d-00

RED FRONT

FOR WORKING CLASS POWER
FOR A SOCIALIST BRITAIN



ORGAN OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN

May/June 1972

Price 5p

DISTRIBUTED BY:
THE M. L. O. U. S. A.
1550 STEINER ST.
P. O. BOX 15094 STATION A
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94115

VICTORY & COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

THE MINERS' VICTORY

THE MINERS' STRIKE, WHICH BEGAN ON JANUARY 9TH, 1972, ENDED ON FEBRUARY 28TH ON TERMS WHICH REPRESENT A VICTORY FOR THE MINERS AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS AS A WHOLE.

True, the miners did not secure their full claim. But the final settlement was so far in advance of anything the National Coal Board had been prepared to offer, breaking through the government's "anti-inflationary" programme to produce a rise averaging 21%, that the word "victory" is justified.

The nationalisation of the mines in 1947 was greeted with general enthusiasm by the mass of mineworkers, who were induced to see it as their "liberation" from the exploitation of the detested coal-owners, even as a "socialist" measure carried out by a "workers' Labour Government. Only the more politically conscious miners understood that in a capitalist society the state is no more than the apparatus of force of the capitalist class as a whole, and that the mines had been nationalised because the coal-owning capitalists no longer found it profitable to invest in the technical improvements necessary to produce the coal then required by Big Business.

After 25 years of nationalisation, even the most politically backward miner has been forced by bitter experience to realise that nothing has, for him, really changed. He is merely employed by and exploited by "the state" instead of by individual coal-owning capitalists. Under nationalisation, these coal-owners have for the most part retained their managerial positions, as well as "compensation" so "generous" that many of them make a higher annual "profit" - and all of them a more secure "profit" - than before.

Further lessons - as to the essence of the state as the machinery of rule of Big Business and the character of the Labour Party as, not a party representing the interests of the working class but one representing the interests of Big Business -

have so far been drawn only by a politically conscious minority of the miners. It will be a cardinal task of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Britain to lead the day-to-day struggles of the workers in such a way that, as a result of their own experience, this knowledge is gained.

One of the major tasks of British Big Business at the present time is to "restrain" wages. Although all capitalists are agreed "in principle" on the desirability of "wage-restraint", when an individual firm is faced with a wage-claim which is above the "desirable" percentage increase, they sometimes prefer to surrender rather than have their flow of profits interrupted by strike action. For example, at the beginning of February

Cont. page 2

Chrysler car workers, who struck at the same time as the miners, returned to work with

"... an undisclosed improvement on the previous offer of £4.80 plus an extra day's holiday" ("Guardian", February 3rd, 1972).

In the absence of the projected corporate state, under which the whole coercive power of the state can be brought to bear to prevent such "disloyal" wage settlements, the Conservative Government has been adopting the course of imposing wage-restraint on the nationalised industries, where it can control wage-settlements and where no capitalist group directly suffers loss of profits if strike action occurs. It is calculated that if the wage-levels of workers in the state sector can be kept down, this can only have a lowering effect on wage settlements in the private sector.

Where workers in a nationalised industry have shown themselves unwilling to accept the "anti-inflationary" wage offer of a 3-4% increase, the government's strategy has been to permit them to strike and, after a few weeks, to offer an extra 1% or so in the hope that the hardships suffered by the strikers, the pressure of the trade union bureaucrats who function as agents of the management, together with the pressure of "public opinion", will defeat the workers concerned and break their resistance for a considerable time to come. This strategy proved effective in the case of the power and post office workers. IT FAILED IN THE CASE OF THE MINERS.

When, in the middle of February, this class struggle had brought about a situation where the whole of British industry was about to be brought to a halt within a few days, the big industrialists repudiated the government's policy and forced it to capitulate. The Wilberforce inquiry, whose findings the government pledged itself to accept, was a mere face-saving device to enable the government to appear to surrender to an "impartial Tribunal" rather than to the miners.

Even the largely acceptable recommendations of the Wilberforce inquiry were, however, rejected by the National Union of Mineworkers, and had to be supplemented by 11 further concessions negotiated in the middle of the night at Downing Street.

The miners' victory was not brought about because the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers is more militant than that of most other trade unions. It must be remembered that the miners have, prior to the present strike, received high praise in the capitalist press for their efforts in increasing productivity and in permitting themselves to be relegated from near the top of the workers' "league table" to near the bottom, without having taken strike action since 1926. Even the deliberate running down of the coal industry for the benefit of the

private oil companies - and more recently for the benefit of the German coal-owners as part of the price of Britain's entry into the "Common Market" - and the resulting mass redundancies, failed to produce anything more than a pathetic whimper from the N.U.M. leaders. In fact, the "self-sacrifice" of the miners over many years was no more than the treachery of their trade union leaders. Beneath the surface the anger of the miners had been building up to the point where the attempt of the government to apply its "anti-inflationary" wage policy in the coal-fields made this anger uncontrollable. By January 1972 the leaders of the N.U.M. had no alternative but to adopt a militant mask, or cease to be trade union leaders. But the real militancy exhibited in the miners' strike was a militancy from below. There was no more genuine militancy in the leadership of the N.U.M. than in the leaderships of other unions and of the T.U.C. General Council who, while they felt it best not to attack the miners outright, gave them no practical aid.

The victory of the miners in one of the greatest class battles in the history of the British working class movement was due to a number of causes, an analysis of which is important to all who will be engaged in such battles in the future.

The miners won, firstly, because of the solidarity of the miners, their families and the working class as a whole. Television and press reporters searched the mining valleys in vain for miners' wives who would attack the strike as "foolish and unnecessary". When the same birds of prey interviewed Midlands car workers laid off as a result of the strike, they were clearly taken aback by the unanimous sentiments of working class solidarity which those interviewed expressed.

The miners won, secondly, because this solidarity was expressed in action, in mass picketing which was not confined to miners nor to the mines (where it was unnecessary), but which effectively prevented the movement of coal - even that not in the ownership of the National Coal Board. Even the mass mobilisation of police was powerless to make picketing "legal", i.e., ineffective, against the mass mobilisation of miners and their sympathising fellow workers.

The miners won, thirdly, because of the struggle of the people of Ireland for their national liberation from British imperialism. Marxist-Leninists have always pointed out that the peoples of the colonial-type countries are, objectively, the allies of the working class in the

developed capitalist countries, that the struggle of one assists the struggle of the other. Faced with the mass hatred and organised armed struggle of the Irish people against the occupying British army, the government took fright at the prospect of extending this situation to the rest of the "United Kingdom". The police proved impotent to force the movement of coal against the will of the working class. And the troops remained, in Britain, in their barracks.

Although the militancy of trade unionists, aroused by the efforts of both Labour and Conservative governments to gag and bind the trade unions, brought a political undertone into the miners' strike, this was an economic struggle and, although it was and will remain a famous victory, it has not solved any of the political questions which gave rise to it.

Had there been a Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class in Britain, and had the miners been led by such a party, then the miners' struggle and its victorious outcome could have raised the whole working class movement to a higher political level and advanced the movement a significant stage on the road to working class power, the road to socialism.

The building of a Marxist-Leninist Party of Britain remains the key question for the British working class movement, and the precondition for all real social advance.

THE ENEMY'S COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

The miners' victory was, however, victory in a battle. It did not destroy the enemy, the class enemy of the working class, and this enemy is now engaged on a large-scale counter-offensive. The instrument of this counter-attack is the machinery set up by the Industrial Relations Act, which has now come into operation.

Before the Industrial Relations Bill became law, we said:

"The primary aim is TO IMPOSE TIGHTER STATE CONTROL OVER THE TRADE UNIONS AND TO ENHANCE THE POWER OF THE REACTIONARY LEADERS OF THE TRADE UNIONS TO 'CONTROL' THEIR MEMBERS IN THE INTERESTS OF BIG BUSINESS". (RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.5).

The order of the Industrial Relations Court to the Transport and General Workers' Union to "instruct" its members to call off their blacking of certain container firms using unregistered labour; the orders of the Court to the three railway unions to "instruct" their members to cease "working to rule" (that is, to cease observing the operating rules laid down by British Railways !); the fines of £55,000

imposed on the T. & G.W.U. for "contempt of court" (who could have anything but contempt for the Industrial Relations Court!) and the threat to seize the union's entire assets if the fines were not paid - these actions are sufficient to prove to any worker that the Industrial Relations Act is THE MOST SAVAGE PIECE OF ANTI-WORKING CLASS LEGISLATION OF THE PAST FIFTY YEARS.

Before the Bill became law, the trade union bureaucrats, the servants of Big Business within the labour movement, many of whom earn as much as the director of a wealthy business corporation, opposed it in words, but did all in their power to damp down the movement of direct action which alone could have prevented the Bill from being passed. The extent of their hypocritical misrepresentation of the Bill is shown by Vic Feather's amazing statement on television after the Court had issued its orders that the General Council of the TUC "had not realised" that the Industrial Relations Court had the powers of a High Court! The policy which these reactionary trade union leaders recommended to the movement - one of boycotting the institutions set up by the Act in all circumstances - has already been clearly exposed as one which helps the enemies of the working class. It was equivalent to a policy of pretending that the Act and the Court did not exist. But the Act and the Court do exist, and they are backed by the entire machinery of force of the capitalist state.

If a worker is brought before a capitalist court for the "crime" of fighting for the interests of his class, he has a duty to defend himself - not, of course, by seeking to apologise for his action and pleading for clemency, but by USING THE COURT AS A FORUM TO EXPOSE THE REACTIONARY FORCES WHICH BROUGHT HIM THERE. For him to sit silent in the dock, on the absurd grounds that to do otherwise would be to "collaborate" with the court, is an attitude that could only assist those reactionary forces.

The policy of the revisionist-led Communist Party, which denounces militant defence by a workers' organisation before the Industrial Relations Court as "betrayal" (MORNING STAR, May 1st, 1972) is merely a policy of oiling the machinery of the Court under the cloak of "left" phrases. This policy enables the Court to bring down its iniquitous decisions without a murmur of protest within the Court itself. In fighting its

class enemies, the working class must use all the weapons at its disposal, and one of these weapons is the use of every means of delaying and obstructing the operation of the Court, and of using it to expose its vicious anti-working class character. Of course, the principal struggle against the Court has to be waged by direct action outside the Court, but subsidiary militant struggle within the Court aids and helps to develop this principal struggle.

That the Act has become law reveals the weakness not only, for the moment, of the British labour movement, but also of British imperialism. As a result of the destruction of their former colonial empire, the British imperialists are no longer able to draw in the super-profits from these territories at their former level. This is the basic factor of decline which is forcing the British imperialists to throw overboard the system of "free collective bargaining" through the trade union bureaucrats which has served them satisfactorily for so many years; their reserves are no longer sufficient to enable them to "grant" the trade union leaders a concession here and a concession there in order that these leaders may stave off militant action from below. Now, under the Industrial Relations Act, these reactionary trade union leaders have been given the pretext that they are only betraying their members because they are "compelled" to do so by the law. But when they cry that the law, even when it is a thoroughly bad law, must be obeyed, workers should remember that this was precisely the excuse of the Nazi war criminals twenty-five years ago and that it was rejected by the international court at Nuremburg.

But whatever illusions may persist that these labour lieutenants are acting as they do only under compulsion, the first few weeks of operation of the Act have made it crystal clear to every worker that these gentry are useless to them. They have also revealed more clearly than ever before the flimsy, cardboard character of the big trade unions, with their luxurious office buildings, their rest homes, their millions in the bank; **FOR ALL THIS CAN BE SEIZED OVERNIGHT BY A STROKE OF AN OFFICIAL PEN !**

The Industrial Relations Act marks a significant step in the development of a "corporate state" in Britain, one in which the officially recognised "workers' leaders" are mere servants of the capitalist state. The Spanish working class has lived under a fully developed fascist corporate state for thirty years (see: SPAIN, this issue), and the British working class can learn much from the strategy and tactics of militant struggle which Spanish workers have slowly and painfully built up to defend and advance their class interests under conditions of trade

union repression. The British workers now have the historic task of fashioning - as the Spanish workers have fashioned - new organs of struggle which can take direct action at the lower levels, organs which can organise and lead the struggle no matter what the Court and its obedient servants in the labour movement may "instruct", and which can build up a coordinated network of such organs of struggle throughout the country.

The dockers are already setting an example which shows how solid militant action for a worthwhile cause can successfully defy the intimidation of the Industrial Relations Court and the "instructions" of the yellow trade union leaders. But workers must be warned that the Government is already preparing measures to try to starve out strikers who defy the Court: it already has the legal power to prevent the payment of strike pay from union funds to those involved in "illegal" industrial action and, under the pretext of "enforcing the law", it is now considering measures to cut off Social Security allowances to their dependents. The new organs of struggle which the situation makes necessary must therefore be equipped with their own funds, made secure from seizure, by the diversion to them of a portion of the union dues at present going to head offices.

The repressive measures of the Industrial Relations Act will undoubtedly create difficulties for the working class, as they are intended to do. But at the same time these measures will assist politically conscious workers in driving out many of the illusions which have befogged the minds of workers in the period which is now passing. **OUT OF THIS INCREASED POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS WILL ARISE NEW INSTRUMENTS OF WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE WHICH WILL FORM THE EMBRYOS OF THE ORGANS OF FUTURE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR WORKING CLASS POWER, FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.**

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER- REVOLUTION IN CHINA

A compendium of documents issued by the Central Committee of MLOB analysing the character of the Chinese Revolution and the counter-revolutionary role of Maoism in this development

Available from: MLOB Literature Dept,
18 Camberwell Church Street, London SE5
Price: 25p per copy, 6p extra postage

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

ALBANIA

In November 1971 the Albanian Party of Labour held its Sixth Congress. Among the significant passages in the report of the Central Committee presented to the Congress by First Secretary Enver Hoxha, was the following:

"Facing the peoples stands a great, insatiable and barbarous enemy. For this reason the struggle against U.S. imperialism has become the supreme duty for all the revolutionary forces of our time. ..

The attitude to imperialism, and in the first place to U.S. imperialism, is the 'touch-stone' for all the political forces of the world. This is not just a tactical question, or a temporary question in the existing circumstances. ... It serves as a gauge for assessing practical actions, as a demarcation line which divides into hostile camps those who defend the vital interests of the peoples and the future of mankind from those who trample them underfoot, dividing revolutionaries from reactionaries and traitors."

The Communist Party of China did not send a delegation to the Albanian Congress.

BANGLADESH

With the speedy victory of the Bangladesh forces of national liberation (RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.19-20) following the intervention of Indian armed forces in November 1971, Bangladesh had by March 1971 been recognised as an independent state by most of the powers except the United States and China, which had given their full support to the attempts of the Pakistan military dictatorship to suppress the national liberation movement in the East.

In March 1972 Bangladesh signed a 20-year treaty of "friendship and co-operation" with India. India is holding 90,000 Pakistan prisoners-of-war pending Pakistan's recognition of Bangladesh.

In line with the developing Moscow-New Delhi axis, in March the Soviet Union was awarded the contract for clearing the harbours of Bangladesh, and agreed to supply the new state with fighter and transport planes.

In April 1972 Bangladesh formally joined the British Commonwealth.

CHILE

The government of the Popular Unity Front in Chile, exponent of the revisionists' "peaceful road to socialism" illusions (RED

FRONT, July/August 1971; p.19) was further weakened in January 1972, when the government candidates were decisively defeated by extreme right-wing candidates in two key congressional by elections. The country's foreign exchange reserves are being rapidly depleted by interest on and repayment of the massive foreign debts accumulated by previous governments, which the Popular Unity Front regime, faithful as ever to "the rule of law", insists on honouring.

The strength of the forces ranged against the government was further revealed in March, when American columnist Jack Anderson published confidential documents of the huge International Telephone and Telegraph Company which describe the large-scale financing by the company, in collaboration with the Central Intelligence Agency, of counter-revolutionary movements in Chile. In April John McCone, a former director of the C.I.A. now on the board of I.T.T., confirmed the genuineness of the documents in an interview with "Business Week".

CHINA

In October 1971 the reactionary despot of Ethiopia, Emperor Haile Selassie (RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.20) was welcomed to China on an official state visit.

In the same month China was admitted to the United Nations, to the accompaniment of hypocritical noises of disapproval by the U.S. government, and the name and person of Mao's deputy, Lin Biao, disappeared without explanation from the Chinese scene. The concurrent attacks by the military dictatorship upon "ultra-left elements" suggest that Lin headed a faction of the Chinese capitalist class which was opposed to the dropping so early of the "revolutionary" mask of the "cultural revolution" as manifested in the open Sino-U. S. rapprochement.

In February Nixon paid his official visit to Peking, to the accompaniment of a Chinese band playing "Home on the Range", and spoke of the "Long March" which China and the United States had embarked upon together.

In March Britain and China agreed to raise their diplomatic relations to ambassadorial level, and in April Chou En-lai told a group of visiting American scholars that the US bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam would not affect the development

of relations between China and the United States.

CYPRUS

In September 1971 a campaign was launched by the Greek fascist regime, in collaboration with the US imperialists, for the overthrow of the Cyprus government of the patriotic front headed by Archbishop Makarios and representing the Cypriot national bourgeoisie.

In this month Greek General George Grivas was landed secretly and illegally on the island and given sanctuary in the Greek military headquarters, from where he proceeded to issue communiqués denouncing Makarios as a "traitor" for opposing Enosis (the union of Cyprus with Greece).

Faced with the opposition of Turkey to full Greek control of Cyprus, at the end of 1971 a secret meeting of representatives of Greece and Turkey took place in Lisbon under the auspices of NATO, at which plans for partitioning the island between the two NATO states were agreed upon.

In an effort to defend itself, the Cyprus government - which has no armed forces of its own apart from a small Presidential body-guard - imported arms from Czechoslovakia. The Greek government then sent an ultimatum to the Cyprus government demanding the surrender of the arms and the formation of a "government of national unity", which would include pro-Enosis politicians. It was planned that, if this ultimatum was rejected, the Greek-officered "Cypriot National Guard" would overthrow the government.

However, when the Soviet imperialists, anxious to prevent the passing of the strategically important island into the control of the bloc dominated by US imperialism, intervened and declared their full backing for the Makarios government, the US government - anxious to avoid for the time being a direct confrontation with their Soviet rivals in the Mediterranean - forced the Greek fascist regime to hold up its planned coup.

GUINEA

Following the defeat of the invasion launched from neighbouring Portuguese Guinea in November 1970 (RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.20), trials were held in January and June 1971 of a number of Ministers, army officers, businessmen and civil servants who had collaborated with the invaders. Two former ambassadors to the USA, Karim Bengoura and Fadilla Keita, admitted at their trial that they had been working for the CIA. 68 of the accused were sentenced to death, 66 to life imprisonment.

INDIA

The developing Moscow-New Delhi axis

(RED FRONT, March 1970; p.28) underwent a further significant development in August 1971 with the signing of a treaty of "peace, friendship and co-operation" between the Soviet Union and India.

Following the successful Indian military intervention in support of the Bangladesh national liberation movement in November/December 1971 (see: BANGLADESH), the ruling new Congress Party headed by Indira Gandhi, - and to a lesser extent the right-wing Communist Party of India - scored resounding successes in the elections to state assemblies in March 1972; the ruling party won more than 70% of the seats, winning control of all but 3 of the 21 Indian states. The centrist Communist Party of India (Marxist) suffered a resounding defeat at the polls, even in its main stronghold of West Bengal.

IRAQ

Following President Anwar Sadat's coup of May 1971 against the pro-Soviet faction within the Egyptian capitalist class headed by former Vice-President Ali Sabry (RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.20), the Soviet imperialists have increasingly turned their predatory attentions towards another Middle East country - Iraq. Soviet technicians have played a prominent part in opening up the new Rumailah oilfield, a large part of the output of which has been earmarked for the Soviet Union and its semi-colonies in Eastern Europe.

In February 1972 Iraq signed a trade and aid agreement with the German Democratic Republic under which Iraq is to receive an East German loan of \$75 million, a large part of which is to be used for the further development of Iraq's oil resources. The GDR will take Iraqi oil in part payment of the loan.

IRELAND

The abolition of the "parliament" of Northern Ireland in March 1972 marks a further important stage in the plan of British imperialism to convert divided Ireland, in collaboration with the comprador bourgeoisie of North and South, into a united, nominally independent but in fact neo-colonial, Ireland.

This plan meets the needs of the southern comprador bourgeoisie, represented politically by the dominant faction of the Fianna Fail party, headed by Jack Lynch. The Republican government has on several occasions announced its readiness to secularise the Catholic constitution to make it acceptable as a basis for a united Ireland.

This plan also suits the needs of the northern comprador bourgeoisie, whose economic interests can no longer be served by the retention of a separate, fascist,

colonial state in the North. This change of economic interest on the part of the comprador bourgeoisie of the North is reflected in the disintegration of its former political instrument, the Unionist Party. At present the interests of the Northern comprador bourgeoisie are represented politically by such parties as the Social Democratic and Labour Party and the Communist Party, but new political parties corresponding to Fianna Fail in the South are already beginning to emerge from the decay of the Unionist Party.

The Vanguard movement, led by William Craig, boasted of repeating the rebellion of the beginning of the century which led to the establishment of the state of Northern Ireland. But in 1912 Orange "loyalism" represented the ideology which served the interests of British imperialism and of the comprador bourgeoisie of the North; today Vanguard is capable of isolated bombing attacks, of organising rallies and strikes among the politically backward "loyalist" workers who are living ideologically in the past, but because it represents no class it has no power to alter the course of development of Irish history. It is interesting that side by side with the right-wing Vanguard movement stands the trotskyite "British and Irish Communist Organisation" (formerly the "Irish Communist Organisation") which, with its "theory" of "two nations" in Ireland, stands for "the right of self-determination" of the "Protestant nation" of the North!

But a united, neo-colonial Ireland - the extension of the existing "Republic" of the South to the whole country - cannot meet the needs of the Irish national bourgeoisie or of the Irish working people, whose interests require the establishment of a united Ireland which is genuinely independent. The political representatives of this genuine independence movement in the Provisional Irish Republican Army and the left-wing of Fianna Fail understand that such genuine independence can be attained only by armed struggle against British imperialism and its treacherous quislings within the Irish nation. Whatever the success of British imperialism's plans for a united neo-colonial Ireland, therefore, the Irish struggle for national liberation will go on, and will have the support of all progressive people throughout the world. At present the main role of the Social Democratic and Labour Party and of the Communist Party is to serve British imperialism by striving to detach the Irish masses from support for the IRA.

The great deficiency in the Irish movement for national liberation is that, with the perversion of the Communist Party into a revisionist political instrument of the comprador bourgeoisie, the working class of Ireland has at present no political party which

represents its class interests, which can work to transform the Irish national revolution into a socialist revolution. But this is a deficiency which the inexorable forces of history will remedy in the not-too-distant future.

JAPAN

In January 1961 Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato visited the United States and had talks with President Nixon.

In an effort to win some concession from the Japanese imperialists in relation to the high trade barriers they have imposed against American goods, the US government agreed to bring forward the date for the return of US-occupied Okinawa to May 15th. The hoped-for concessions from Japan were not, however, forthcoming, and the final communique made it clear that Japan would pursue an independent foreign policy.

JORDAN

In March 1972, after secret agreement with Israel, the imperialist puppet King Hussein of Jordan launched a plan for the "peaceful solution" of the Palestine problem under which the Israeli-occupied East Bank of the Jordan and Gaza Strip would be incorporated in an enlarged Jordanian kingdom to be called the "United Arab Kingdom".

The Israeli rejection of the plan on its publication was designed to make the plan more acceptable to politically backward Arab opinion.

THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

In July/August 1971 we said that the ruling national bourgeoisie of North Korea saw in the developing Sino-US rapprochement

"... the possibility of securing the peaceful reunification of their country within this bloc with the approval of United States imperialism" (RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.13).

During the past six months, North and South Korea have reached agreement for the first time on the reunification of a number of communications facilities and on a number of joint projects. In March 1972 the North Korean government, headed by revisionist Kim Il Sung, announced that the withdrawal of US forces from Korea need not precede the development of friendly relations with the United States.

LIBYA

When the Libyan government nationalised the holdings of British Petroleum in

December 1971, the company withdrew all its technicians from the country, and Libya's oil production fell by 225,000 barrels a day.

In these circumstances, the Soviet imperialists magnanimously agreed to forget the Libyan government's savage anti-Communist bloodbath of a few months before, and in March 1972 an agreement was signed between Libya and the Soviet Union under which the two states would "co-operate" in prospecting for, extracting and refining oil, as well as in power generation and other branches of Libya's economy, in prospecting for minerals and in training Libyan technicians.

MALTA

In March 1972 the long negotiations between the British imperialists and the government of the Mediterranean island of Malta, headed by Dom Mintoff, on the "rent" to be paid for the retention of British bases on the island, ended with the signing of an agreement under which this was fixed at £14 million a year; of this Britain will pay £5 million, the balance coming from NATC countries interested in preventing the bases from being leased to the Soviet imperialists.

PAKISTAN

Following the catastrophic defeat of the Pakistan armed forces in the East in November/December 1971 and the secession of the eastern province of Pakistan as the independent state of Bangladesh (see: BANGLADESH), Yahya Khan was ousted as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator and replaced in these posts by Zulfiqar Bhutto, leader of the Pakistan People's Party, the political instrument of the national bourgeoisie of the southern provinces of the remains of Pakistan.

The new administration took steps to reduce the wealth and power of the large landowners and the wealthiest of the comprador bourgeoisie and to nationalise key industries. In April it abolished martial law and introduced a new Constitution which, while retaining the despotic presidential powers of the 1962 Constitution and the power of imprisonment without trial, accorded a certain measure of autonomy to Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province in an effort to appease the national bourgeoisies of these regions, who have the support of the Soviet imperialists.

POLAND

In March 1972 Jozef Cyrankiewicz - the last member of the Gomułka clique imposed on the Polish United Workers' Party in 1956 by the Khrushchovites (RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.14) to hold important office - was removed from the position as President and replaced by Henryk Jablinski.

Soon after its installation in December

1970, the new government headed by Edward Gierek began a policy of seeking a rapprochement with the reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic Church by granting to the Church the title to the lands it held in the western territories of Poland acquired from Germany in 1945. In March 1972 the government carried forward this policy by relieving the Church of its obligation to pay income tax on its agricultural land.

ROMANIA

As the Romanian ultra-revisionist leaders continued their independent capitalist policy in opposition to the pressure of Soviet imperialism (RED FRONT March 1970; p.32), in March 1972 President Nicolae Ceausescu paid a state visit to Zambia. A communiqué issued at the end of the visit revealed that Romania had offered to Zambia a £50 million credit for developing joint Romanian-Zambian economic enterprises, particularly in the field of mining. The Romanian state enterprise GEOMIN already holds three concessions to prospect for copper in Zambia.

SOUTH AFRICA

The 350,000 Ovambo tribesmen who provide the bulk of the labour force in Namibia (formerly South West Africa) have long been presented to the world by the white racist regime in South Africa as "models" of the way black people should behave. In 1971 (following the United Nations decision of June 1968 that South African occupation of Namibia was illegal) Prime Minister John Vorster still felt so confident of the "loyalty" of the Ovambos that he offered to hold a plebiscite in the territory to determine its relations with South Africa.

The plebiscite was never held, for in December 1971 13,000 Ovambo workers went on strike and returned to their homes in Ovamboland, crippling Namibia's gold, diamond and copper mines and virtually halting all services in the major towns of the country.

The strike was principally directed against the so-called "contract labour system" in operation in Namibia. Under this system a black worker seeking work had to apply to a government agency, the South West Africa Native Labour Administration, which might allot him a job provided he signed a contract of employment for 18 months at a fixed wage. The worker was denied the right to choose his employer or type of work, or even to bring his family with him into the area of his employment. Incitement to break a contract of employment, i.e. to strike, was an offence punishable by six months' imprisonment.

In March 1972 13 "ringleaders" of the

strike stood trial in the capital Windhoek, identified by numbers pinned to their clothing, on charges of such "incitement". The evidence at the trial revealed that the workers involved received under the system an average wage of \$2.12 a week.

As a result of the strike, and of the publicity resulting from the trial, Namibian employers agreed to raise the minimum wage to 10 cents an hour - just one-third of the minimum wage for unskilled labour in South Africa itself - and workers were granted the "right" to change employers on notice. However, no more than 1,000 of the striking workers had returned to work by April following these concessions.

By January 1972 the general strike had, despite repressive emergency regulations, developed into a political struggle, out of which a national liberation movement will undoubtedly develop.

SOVIET UNION

In February 1972 West Germany's state-owned Salzgitter AG signed a contract with Soviet Technopromimport and Sojus Chemical to construct a \$38 million polyethylene plant at Kazan on the Volga.

In March the West German company Badische Anilin- und Soda-Fabrik AG signed a contract with Soviet Techmashimport for the construction in the USSR of a plant to produce hydroxylamine, used in the production of synthetic fibres.

In March Lord Erroll, who headed a mission to Moscow from the London Chamber of Commerce, said that negotiations were proceeding for joint British-Soviet exploitation of Soviet iron ore recently discovered in the region of Murmansk. He said that the Soviet government was "extremely interested" in joint industrial enterprises with "Western" countries "on a very large scale".

SPAIN

In the thirty years since the establishment in Spain of the fascist "corporate state", under which trade unions and strike action are illegal and the workers are enrolled in state-controlled "syndicates" along with their employers, the Spanish workers have evolved new methods of class struggle from which, as the British imperialists move step by step to impose a "corporate state" in Britain, the British workers can learn much of value.

In 1970 Spain had more strikes (all illegal) than any other European country except Italy. These struggles have been led by shop stewards' committees known in Spain as "workers' commissions", a coordinated network of which has been built up throughout the country.

During the winter of 1971-72, 20,000 miners in Asturias waged one of the longest industrial battles in Spanish working class history. In October 1971 all miners in state-owned pits, and many of those in privately-owned pits, went on

strike, and shopkeepers closed their doors in sympathy until compelled to reopen by the police. The miners held out for seven weeks, when they were forced back to work - after 2,800 miners had been arrested - by a combination of hunger and the assistance to the fascist regime rendered by the Polish revisionist government, which sent coal to Spain to help break the strike. As a reward for their services, Polish government "experts" were called in to advise on the "nationalisation" of the Hunosa mines: one of the main recommendations of their report is that 4,000 miners should be made redundant.

In March 1972 an event unique under the fascist regime took place. Following police action to clear the state-owned Bazan shipyards (in north-west Spain) of striking workers, workers in the neighbouring town of El Ferrol del Caudillo (Franco's birthplace) went on protest strike and staged a mass demonstration which drove the armed police back into their barracks and took over the town for several hours, until the authorities "restored order" with army reinforcements sent to the town.

TANZANIA

In recent years the ruling class in Tanzania (formed in April 1964 by the union of Tanganyika with the island of Zanzibar) has begun to move into ever greater dependence upon the Sino-US power bloc.

This policy of the mainland federal government, headed by Julius Nyerere, has met with growing opposition from the Zanzibar bourgeoisie, which favours dependence upon British imperialism. In the first months of 1972 economic relations between the island and the mainland have been virtually severed, and a number of pro-Chinese politicians, including Abdulrahman Babu, have been dismissed from the Zanzibar state government. In April the account of the Zanzibar state government in the London branch of the Moscow Narodny Bank (representing more than £25 million of Zanzibar's foreign exchange earnings from its only export, cloves) was transferred to the personal name of the head of Zanzibar state government, Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume, to prevent the money from falling into the hands of the federal government.

In April 1972 Sheikh Karume was assassinated by army officers associated with the maoist Umma (Masses) Party, headed by Abdulrahman Babu.

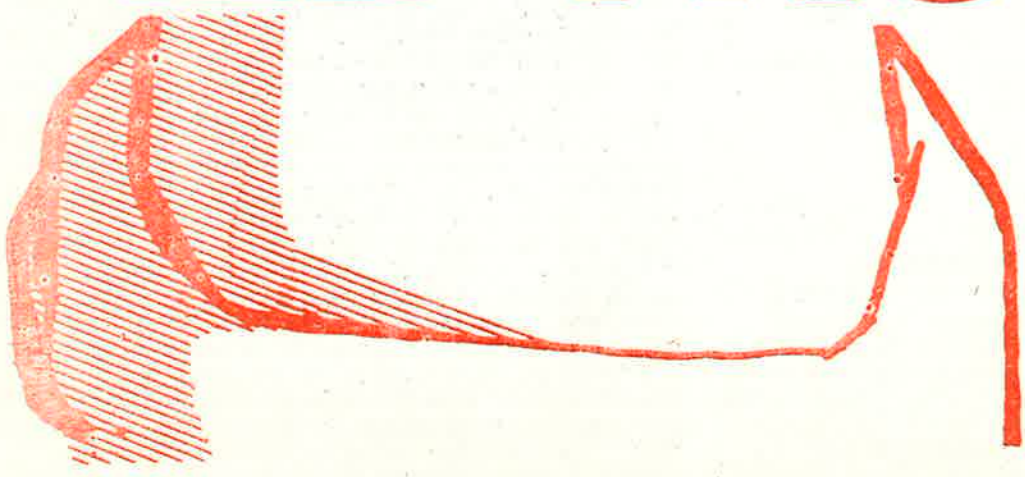
JOIN THE
BATTLE FRONT
AGAINST THE
CORPORATE

SPAT





RED FRONT



UNITED STATES

In December 1971 the twenty-five-year period of world history in which United States imperialism was the dominant economic power in the world came formally to an end with the decision of the Washington conference of the "Group of Ten" countries that the US dollar should be devalued.

The action has left foreign central banks holding some \$52,000 million of US dollar notes - once "as good as gold" but now no longer. European imperialists, led by those of France, are now discussing the possibility of buying out US owners of industrial enterprises in their countries with these paper dollars - in effect expropriating them to pay America's bad debts.

In March 1972 the "Soledad Brothers", Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette, were acquitted in San Francisco on trumped-up charges of murder - despite intensive security "precautions" in the court designed to convince the all-white jury of the "desperate character" of the defendants.

In April 1972 International Telephone and Telegraph (see: CHILE) was involved in a Senate investigation into the fact that the Justice Department dropped an anti-trust case against the company following its offer to underwrite \$400,000 of the expenses of the Republican National Convention to be held this August in San Diego. "Pure coincidence" said Acting Attorney-General Richard Kliendienst !

VIETNAM

The present large-scale offensive of the Vietnamese forces of national liberation is directed in the first place not so much at the liberation of territory as at the demoralisation and destruction of the American-armed and American-trained forces of the puppet regime of South Vietnam. The just national cause of the liberation forces, the military skill of their generals, the bravery of their soldiers, the substantial equipment they have received in recent years from the Soviet Union - all these factors combine to make it virtually certain that they will succeed in their aim.

However, the changed international situation resulting from the developing Sino-US alliance necessarily gives a changed significance to the war in Vietnam, for in this new situation the puppet regime in South Vietnam has become - like the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Taiwan - a liability to the US imperialists, a liability of which they are anxious to rid themselves as soon as possible. The withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam is often attributed to "public opinion"

at home; but although the movement of opposition to the war was commenced by progressive elements, it must be remembered that in recent years it has been encouraged and made "respectable" by imperialist circles, by the capitalist press, by members of Congress: this has been because withdrawal from Vietnam has come to be in the interests of US imperialism. To try not to add too much to their reputation of betraying their "loyal allies" when it suits them, the US imperialists have resorted once more to the indiscriminate bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, but it is admitted that this bloody gesture cannot change the course of the fighting. A significant pointer to US aims lies in the fact that the US military "advisers" to the puppet forces are flown out to safety as soon as the liberation forces come anywhere near their bases.

The new aim of the US imperialists in relation to Vietnam, with which they are now in full agreement with the Chinese revisionists, is that when the puppet army of South Vietnam has been destroyed as an effective fighting force, the recalcitrant puppets in Saigon will be overthrown and replaced by new elements which will agree to the peaceful reunification of the country within the framework of the Sino-US power bloc.

YUGOSLAVIA

In December 1971 the Tito regime in Yugoslavia struck at the leaders of the Croatian Communist Party, representatives of the Croatian neo-capitalist class who have been organising a movement for autonomy for Croatia, in alliance with the Soviet imperialists and exiled Croatian fascists (RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.14)

After Tito had attacked them publicly for "rotten liberalism", the Croatian leaders - including the Prime Minister Dragutin Haramija, the Party President Savka Dabcevik-Kucar, and the Party Secretary Pero Pirker - were forced to resign.

In February 1972 the French Citroen company signed a contract with two Yugoslav companies to form a new joint company for the production of almost the full range of Citroen cars at Nova Gorica.

In March 1972 the West German Volkswagen company signed an agreement for the construction of a factory in Yugoslavia for the production of the complete range of Volkswagen vehicles.

Also in March, a consortium of 20 US banks granted a loan of \$100 million to the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA)

In November 1971 the terms of settlement agreed between the British imperial-

INTERNATIONAL NEWS /Continued

ists and the Smith regime in Rhodesia were published as a White Paper. They provided for "progress towards majority rule", the rate of progress to be determined by the white racist regime (which has many times declared its complete opposition to the principle of majority rule) subject to the settlement being acceptable, in the opinion of a Commission to be headed by Lord Pearce, to the Rhodesian people as a whole.

The last provision, included as a sop to democratic world opinion, was based on the belief that the government's oppressive measures, together with the pressure of the reactionary black chiefs dependent for their privileged positions on the regime, would result in meek acceptance of the settlement by the black majority of the population. This proved a serious miscalculation, since the arrival of the Commission provided the first opportunity for many years for the development of a legal protest movement against the regime, so that the Pearce Commission was faced with a loud and unmistakable declaration of "no" from the black majority.

As the Pearce Commission is preparing its report (May 1972), Smith is now calling for the setting up of an African "Common Market" type of body embracing the white racist regimes of Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

"LAW REFORM"

In face of the recent difficulties experienced by the police in securing convictions in "frame-ups" - as in the case of the phoney Carr bomb plot engineered by the Special Branch (RED FRONT, July/August 1971, p.6) in which both defendants were acquitted of the main charge, although Prescott was given the savage sentence of 15 years' imprisonment on the vague charge of "conspiracy" - the Criminal Law Revision Committee will recommend (its report has not yet been published) the removal of traditional safeguards for accused persons: the abolition of the police caution; the admissibility in evidence of previous convictions; the power to compel the accused to enter the witness box.

THE "COMMON MARKET"

In October 1971 Parliament voted by 356 to 244 for Britain's entry into the new West European imperialist bloc represented by the European Economic Community.

In April 1972 a Parliamentary motion that a referendum should be held to deter-

mine the British people's view on entry was defeated, after Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, Roy Jenkins, and several other leading Labour Party members had resigned from the Shadow Cabinet to join Heath in defeating the anti-marketeers within the Conservative Party.

THE BATTLE AGAINST LITERACY!

In March 1972 the National Foundation for Educational Research reported results of research which showed that reading and comprehension among junior school children had significantly declined between 1964 and 1971.

STUDENT FRONT

As the government's campaign to control Student Union funds gathers momentum, in April 1972 the Vice-Chancellor of Lancaster University, Charles Carter, endeavoured to make the payment of grants to students conditional on their signing a pledge of "good behaviour". Against strong student opposition, backed by the National Union of Students, the university authorities withdrew their demand as students assembled for the new term.

"THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY"

In December 1971 Parliament approved the raising of the Queen's civil list allowances from £475,000 to £980,000 a year, the raising of the Prime Minister's remuneration from £15,250 to £23,000 a year and the raising of the remuneration of MPs from £3,750 to £5,500 a year.

In the first three months of 1972 official unemployment figures exceeded one million.

In March 1972 John Davies, Secretary for Trade and Industry, told Parliament that the government intended to establish an Industrial Development Executive, headed by a Minister for Industrial Development, the aim of which would be to assist in the reorganisation and modernisation of private industry. He said that "hundreds of millions" of pounds of taxpayers' money would be poured into industry for this purpose in the form of subsidies.

RED FRONT

The Editorial Address of RED FRONT is now: MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN, 18 Camberwell Church Street, London SE5. TEL: 703 0561





SHOP FRONT

In March 1972 the Constructional Engineering Union negotiated with the Engineering Employers' Federation increases of up to 21% in the minimum rates for 50,000 workers. The increases will operate in two stages, the first having commenced on April 17th.

By April 1972 a sit-in strike was in operation in 23 engineering factories in support of a claim by the Amalgamated Engineering Union for higher pay and shorter hours.

The "work-in" operating for several months of 1971-72 in the yards of bankrupt Upper Clyde Shipbuilders is in marked contrast to such sit-in strikes, which are a tried and tested method of industrial struggle that may be, in certain circumstances, more effective than a walk-out strike. Here the management and the government wished to cease paying wages to a considerable number of workers by declaring them "redundant", while at the same time keeping this skilled labour force together until three of the yards could be reorganised (in February 1972) under the name of Govan Shipbuilders Ltd. (with government aid of £35 millions) and negotiations could be concluded (April 1972) with the US firm of Marathon Manufacturing to operate the fourth. The shop stewards, under the leadership of the revisionist Communist Party, obliged by organising a "work-in", under which the wages of the "redundant" workers were paid by contributions from other workers, while work continued normally under the control of the existing management. Not unnaturally, this operation was highly praised as a model of "militant industrial action" by the management, the government and the capitalist press, and in May 1972 leading Communist shop steward James Reid was rewarded for his services to Big Business by being made Rector of Glasgow University.

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND

Three leading members of the Maoist/ "Scottish nationalist" Workers' Party of Scotland - Matt Lygate, Colin Lawson and William McPherson - together with a hired gunman, Ian Doran, were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment at Glasgow in March 1972 on charges of having robbed four banks and a shop for funds for the party. The plans were alleged to have been betrayed to Chief Superintendent Ronald Clancy of Edinburgh CID by a member of the party's Central Committee, Stephen Niven. McPherson was sentenced to 26 years' imprisonment, the longest sentence

ever given in Scotland.

The Workers' Party of Scotland is led by Tom Murray.

"THE WELFARE STATE"

In January a team of researchers from Bristol University found that toxic metal pollution of the Bristol Channel had reached a dangerous level, principally as a result of cadmium believed to come from the Imperial Smelting Company's plant at Avonmouth.

In February this plant - the world's largest lead and zinc smelting plant, built only three years ago at a cost of £14 million - was closed for two months as a result of serious lead poisoning among the workers.

"Condemned", a joint report by Shelter and the Child Poverty Action Group, revealed in February that 2 million homes in Britain were "unfit for human habitation", and a further 4.7 million "unsatisfactory".

Sir George Godber, Chief Medical Officer of the Department of Health and Social Security, told the annual clinical conference of the British Medical Association in April that hospital beds in Britain ought to be reduced by one-third.

THE SUPERSONIC WHITE ELEPHANT

The British government has now admitted that the development costs of the "Concorde" supersonic aircraft, estimated by a "committee of experts" in 1959 at £90 million, will exceed £1,000 million. This loss is, of course, being borne by the British and French working people out of the taxes they pay. The proposed selling price of "Concorde" - £13 million per plane - will cover only the actual production cost (i.e., without the development costs) and even then only on a hopelessly optimistic sales figure of 100 aircraft.

As forecast in RED FRONT (May/June 1969; p.24) it is still in doubt whether the governments of a number of countries (in particular, that of the United States) will grant landing facilities to "Concorde" - on the pretext of the excessive noise levels and doubts about its airworthiness ("Concorde" is constructed of aluminium, whereas the US aircraft industry has opted for the more expensive titanium for its supersonic aircraft). But even if these obstacles can be overcome, it is now clear that "Concorde" will not be able to fly from Paris to New York non-stop with the full pay-load of passengers and luggage planned, so that each transatlantic flight will result in a minimum loss of £1,000 even at the higher fare proposed. Naturally, this makes it an unattractive commercial proposition for any air line, and the state-controlled air lines of BOAC and Air France are being pressured by the British and French governments to order eight aircraft between them, on the promise

that the operating losses will be met out of further taxation on the working people.

Even the capitalist press now describes "Concorde" in such terms as "THE FASTEST FLOP ON EARTH" ("Sunday Times", April 23rd, 1972; p.13).

LETTERS

RIGHT AND "LEFT" REVISIONISM

"While events have borne out the MLOB's analysis of the present leaders of the Chinese Communist Party as revisionists, it seems confusing to me to refer to them as "'left' revisionists' and to the Soviet revisionists as 'right revisionists'. If they are revisionists (and I agree that they are), then both sets of revisionists serve the interests of capital and are therefore right-wing."

Could not the MLOB simplify its terms in this respect in the interests of clarity?"

A.K.,
London NW1

Editorial Comment

We agree that revisionists of all trends serve the interests of capital and so are fundamentally right-wing in character: that is why we speak of "'left' revisionism" (with "left" in inverted commas) to show that its "leftism" is spurious.

Nevertheless, there is a significant difference between the content of Soviet revisionism and Chinese revisionism. This difference can be analysed in relation to a number of points of policy, but the essence is that the Soviet right revisionists claim that the armed revolutionary struggle of the working class for political power is no longer necessary, while the Chinese "left" revisionists claim, at least in words, that it is necessary.

On this fundamental point, it would appear that the Chinese "left" revisionists are loyal to Marxist-Leninist principles, while the Soviet revisionists have rejected them.

If, however, we analyse the detailed policy of the "left" revisionists, we find that it departs from Marxist-Leninist principles as much as that of the right revisionists.

Marxist-Leninists hold, of course, that "parliament" is a part of the machinery of force of the capitalist state and cannot be used by the working class to seize political power and construct a socialist society. But at the same time they hold that the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class should, normally, participate in parliamentary activity in order to expose the real character of "parliamentary

democracy" and to use parliament as a platform to help forward the revolutionary movement of the working class. Lenin devoted a considerable part of his scientific writing to elaborating the correct Marxist-Leninist policy in relation to Parliament and to exposing right and "left" deviations from that policy - above all in "'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder".

The Soviet and other right revisionists preach that parliament can be the instrument by which the working class seizes power. The Chinese and other "left" revisionists reject parliamentary activity entirely. Both are deviations from Marxism-Leninism - to the right and to the "left" respectively - and both these deviations assist the capitalist class to maintain its power.

Just as the right revisionist Communist Parties have adopted the first deviations, so the "left" revisionist Communist Party of New Zealand has, on the "authority" of Mao Tse-tung, adopted the second deviation:

"The Communist Party of New Zealand will not stand candidates for the 1972 general elections for parliament, according to a Political Committee decision made after hearing the General Secretary Mr. V.G. Wilcox, analyse the local situation. ...

In the address to the Political Committee, Mr. Wilcox referred to discussions he had had with Mao Tse-tung in which Mao had pointed out that since Lenin had written "Left-wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder" (in which he advocated that communists should work in the parliaments of the day) imperialism had systematically used parliament to corrupt communist parties and that generally where there had been communist members of parliament the parties had become revisionist". ("The People's Voice", organ of the CPNZ: March 1st; 1972; p.1).

There is thus a significant difference between the content of Soviet revisionism and Chinese revisionism, and the epithets "right" and "left" are attached respectively to these trends in order to assist in clarifying this difference. In other words, we use these terms, not to confuse, but to clarify.

THE ROLE OF "RED FRONT"

Dear Friends,

I received the Special Issue Nov.1971 of RED FRONT and was very pleased to receive it. I think that your literature has a more realistic, firmer approach to Communism than any other that I am acquainted with. However, I do have some comments and criticisms.

I think most people quote from the classics too much. I think you could have left out your quote from Stalin, made your

point in your own words and saved two inches of space. I don't say this out of any desire to downgrade Stalin.

Your point about the switch of British capitalism away from the US to the European Common Market is very interesting, instructive and perceptive. But what the communist movement (such as it is today) needs today is a clarification of some of the basic ideas of communism. The reason why the communist movement foundered after the second world war, was because some of the basic ideas of the movement were wrong.

I notice from your publication that you are making detailed studies of some of the mistakes of the past, such as those connected with the 7th World Congress, etc. Well and good. But we can't wait for all these detailed studies to be made. In the interim we must have these mistakes discussed in broad outline, so that we can start to move, to break the inertia.

Some of the basic ideas that need clarification today are the following:

You speak about "Soviet imperialism". When did it start? In 1970, 1960, 1950, 1940, 1930, 1920? What were the reasons for its coming forth? How and when does it manifest itself? Who profits from Soviet imperialism, the ruling classes, the oppressed classes or the whole nation or the whole community of state capitalist countries?

Just what is state capitalism and how does it differ from capitalism American style and from real socialism or communism?

About the working class:- We have 80,000,000 workers in the US. Yet 99.75% of them support US capitalism, in spite of the fact that we have a socialist movement and propaganda that go back into the 1800s. This is most important to explain. I'm sure the explanation touches on human psychology and "human nature" - two subjects which are never included in discussions by Marxists.

In many communist writings, especially Lenin's writings, it is said that a revolutionary situation may exist when the communists have won a "majority" to their side, etc. A majority of what? The population, the working class, the peasants, etc.? The writings of all "the Masters" must be reexamined very carefully. I have no doubt that some of it will have to be thrown out or put aside.

Before a new communist movement can amount to anything, the debacle of the old communist movement must be explained in full detail - inside out. Perhaps we never had a real old communist movement - only a "so-called" old communist movement!

Fraternally,

J.S., NEW YORK

Editorial Reply

Dear Cde.,

We would agree with you that in a paper directed towards the mass of the workers quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism should be used sparingly. But RED FRONT is not at present such a paper, it is directed towards workers with a relatively high political consciousness who believe themselves to be Marxist-Leninists in outlook but have been confused by revisionists of right and "left" as to what the principles of Marxism-Leninism are. In these circumstances we believe that considerable quotation from the classics of Marxism-Leninism is necessary in order to reestablish in the minds of readers what these Marxist-Leninist principles really are. In the ideological battle against revisionism in such works as "State and Revolution", Lenin made a practice of quoting extensively from Marx and Engels, and in such works as "The Foundations of Leninism" Stalin made a practice of quoting extensively from Lenin. We feel that in the present circumstances, these are correct models for RED FRONT to follow.

We would agree with your para. 3 that what the movement needs today is a clarification of some of the basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which have been fundamentally distorted by the revisionists. As I said above, it is for this reason that we adopt the practice of extensive quotation from the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

On Para 4: In our view, all that is needed to begin the work of rebuilding Marxist-Leninist Parties in each country is a basic acceptance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and a determination to rebuild the movement free from all revisionist distortions of Marxism-Leninism.

We would agree that the movement needs a comprehensive analysis of the reasons why the international communist movement fell victim to revisionism, and we are engaged on preparing such an analysis. It requires, however, a great deal of research and we would not agree that the rebuilding of the movement must be held up until we, or someone more competent, publishes this analysis. Even a generalised analysis, to be correct, requires a certain basis of detail on which it must be based, and to guess at a generalised analysis before the basis of detailed fact has been uncovered would be to risk making grave errors which could do more harm than good. In our view the only broad generalisation that needs to be accepted is that revisionism is the perversion of Marxism-

Leninism to suit the interests of the capitalist class, and that the victory of revisionism in the international communist movement was due to the pressure of world imperialism upon that movement.

Para 5: In our view, the description of the Soviet Union as an imperialist state is valid from the beginning of the 1960s, by which time the revisionist leadership of the CPSU had succeeded in transforming the economy from one of socialism into one comprising all the essentials of state monopoly capitalism, with the profit motive once more the motive and regulator of production and with the system of division of the profits of an enterprise such as to transform its managing bureaucracy into an exploiting state monopoly capitalist class.

In our view all the former socialist countries have reverted to capitalist relations of production with the sole exception of Albania. Within the bloc of such countries dominated by Soviet imperialism, countries such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary are in the position of colonial-type countries and their neo-capitalist classes are comprador capitalists dependent for their own exploiting position on the Soviet imperialists, with whom they are closely linked economically and politically. On the other hand, within these colonial-type countries there are also "national capitalists", who wish to free their countries from the domination of Soviet imperialism in order that they may develop the economies of their countries more in their own interests and in order that they may retain a greater share of the exploitation of their workers for themselves; these "national" capitalists are represented politically by the "ultra-revisionist" factions such as the defeated Dubcek faction in Czechoslovakia and the dominant Ceausescu faction in Rumania.

Para. 6 We would say that state capitalism differs from "free enterprise" capitalism in that the capitalists are for the most part state officials, that the state apparatus which they control is largely represented as a "socialist state", that the exploitation of the working class is carried on in a disguised fashion through the medium of state enterprises.

And we would say that socialism differs from state capitalism in that the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, controls the state, that the motive of production is the maximum welfare of the working people, that the regulator of production is conscious centralised planning in the service of this motive, that exploitation does not exist (the state officials and managers being employees fully controlled by the working class and in receipt of a wage or salary only slightly in excess of the skilled workers themselves).

Para. 7 We would agree that Marxist-Leninists have paid too little attention to psychology. Nevertheless we feel it is important to reject the concept that the phenomena of which you speak (i.e. the lack of mass effect of socialist propaganda on the working class) is due to "failure of communication" and that the solution lies in the field of linguistic philosophy.

The working class does not become revolutionary as a result of socialist propaganda, no matter how brilliant this may be. It becomes revolutionary when objective conditions force it to question and discard the ideology of the ruling class with which their minds are permeated by means of all the media controlled by the ruling class.

This does not mean that a Marxist-Leninist Party sits back passively and waits for this process to occur spontaneously. But it does mean that socialist propaganda, whilst vital in itself, is not the most important task of a Marxist-Leninist Party. The most important task of a Marxist-Leninist Party, in our view, is to play a leading role in every day-to-day struggle of the working class in such a way that they learn from their own experience in struggle the facts of capitalist society, and who are their real political representatives. It is in this way that the psychological outlook of the working class can be changed to the fastest degree that the objective conditions allow.

Para 9 Lenin was at pains on many occasions to ridicule the concept of equating the struggle of the forces of socialist revolution with counting heads.

Of course, a socialist revolution must be led by the working class and the winning of a majority of the working class to the side of the Marxist-Leninist Party is an essential pre-requisite of the revolution.

But there are also other social classes which, objectively, stand to gain from socialism: the poorer strata of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie. The winning of these as allies of the working class by the same kind of practical activity is also of vital importance.

In a country where there are large strata of comparatively well-to-do urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie, it is also important to prevent these strata at least from being used as a counter-revolutionary force, i.e. to secure their neutrality.

A socialist revolution can and will be victorious when the strength of those actively fighting for the revolution exceeds the strength of those actively fighting against it. This does not mean that the former must comprise a majority of the population.

We feel that there is a certain passivity expressed in your letter, in the view that you cannot start to move until someone else (e.g., the MLOB) has clarified theoretical questions, in the view that it will take a minimum of 100 years before one can know who is a Marxist-Leninist today, etc.

But our task is not to found the science of Marxism-Leninism. This has already been done. What is above all necessary is to study anew and intensively the classics of Marxism-Leninism, so as to determine what the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism are, and then to apply those principles concretely to the changed and ever-changing social and class situation in order to develop a programme of advance towards socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in country after country, in continent after continent, in world sector after world sector. In this process the laws of motion of the world proletarian-socialist revolution are progressively mastered, brought under control and utilised in order to achieve the growth of the forces of socialist revolution until they become of equal strength with those of the old, dying capitalist society, whereupon the struggle between them becomes a revolutionary one. The temporary triumph of revisionism in the world communist movement is in no way due to a failure of Marxist-Leninist principles, but to the failure of former Marxist-Leninist leaders to apply those principles to the new stage in the development of the general crisis of capitalism and of the world proletarian-socialist revolution which was reached at the end of world war II - a failure the subjective rationalisation of which leads rapidly and inexorably to the systematisation of partial, largely spontaneous undialectical and metaphysical theory still existing within the communist movement as a result of bourgeois influence into a "new" body of anti-Marxist Leninist thought which rapidly develops into a complete doctrine of class collaboration and betrayal of the revolutionary interests of the proletariat which has arisen out of and is therefore applied to the new world situation. Having thus failed to develop Marxist-Leninist theory in the new situation, the modern revisionists succeed in creating a "theoretical" justification for class betrayal.

On the basis of these well-established principles, we of the MLOB have no hesitation in saying that the CPUSA, Progressive Labor, etc. are in breach of Marxism-Leninism, and that the only organisation in the United States which we know of that is pursuing a policy in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and out of which a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party can come is the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of the USA.

In our view every week that passes without a Marxist-Leninist Party in the United States (and in Britain) is a blow against the working class. It is our sincere hope that you will satisfy yourself, not in many years' time but now, that your obvious political acumen and talents should be placed at the disposal of the American working class by joining with the MLOUSA in the difficult but essential task of building that Marxist-Leninist Party in your country without which the American working class can make no significant advances towards the socialist revolution.

Editor, RED FRONT

THESES ON UNITED FRONT TACTICS

(Adopted by the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Organisation on 20th February 1972)

1. The socialist revolution can be accomplished only when a majority of the working class has been won to the cause of revolutionary socialism and to acceptance of the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party.
2. At the present time the majority of the working class support organisations ostensibly within the working class movement but which, as a result of the policies of their leaders, objectively serve the interests of monopoly capital (e.g., the Labour Party, the reformist trade unions).
3. The winning of a majority of the working class to the cause of revolutionary socialism and to acceptance of the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party can be accomplished not by propaganda alone, but as a result of the Party and its members playing a leading role in the day-to-day struggles of the workers for reforms. In these day-to-day struggles the workers learn from their own experience that it is the Marxist-Leninist Party and its members which genuinely represent their interests.
4. The Marxist-Leninist Party supports these struggles for reforms not as ends in themselves, but as part of the strategy of mobilising the working class for socialist revolution.
5. In so far as the Party can win the cooperation of non-Party workers for a particular partial objective and this cooperation takes some organised form, the latter constitutes a UNITED FRONT around that particular partial objective.
6. Appeals for united front action must be directed primarily at the non-Party workers who form the rank-and-file to form a UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW. In so far as such appeals are directed to organisations under reactionary leaderships, they must be open and public, so that the leaders may not prevent the appeals from coming to the attention of the rank-and-file.
7. Provided the policy of the Marxist-Leninist Party is a correct one of principled defence of the interests of the working class, the reactionary leaders (who objectively serve the interests of the capitalist class) will normally reject appeals for a united front made to their organisations. Such rejections must be used to expose the leaders to as wide sections of the rank-and-file as possible.
8. Where an appeal for a united front is rejected by the reactionary leaders of an organisation, every effort must be made to win the lower bodies of that organisation (branches, districts, etc.) to defy the reactionary leadership and respond positively to the appeal.
9. In exceptional circumstances, rank-and-file pressure for a united front may be strong enough to force the reactionary leaders nominally to agree to a united front (UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW AND FROM ABOVE). The Marxist-Leninist Party will accept such a united front.
10. In entering a UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW AND FROM ABOVE, the Marxist-Leninist Party will insist on maintaining its independent role outside the united front, including its critical exposure of the reactionary leaders concerned in all fields outside that of the united front.
11. When the reactionary leaders take action to try to sabotage the united front in the interests of the capitalist class, the Marxist-Leninist Party must see that their wrecking, anti-working class role is exposed to the widest possible section of the working class.
12. The Marxist-Leninist Party must be constantly on guard to prevent deviations from these correct united front tactics either to the right or to the "left".
13. The principal deviations to the right consist of making concessions of principle to the reactionary leaders in an effort to maintain the united front in being, in particular the renunciation of criticism of the reactionary leaders in fields outside that of the united front.
14. The principal deviations to the "left" consist of opposing united front tactics as "opportunist", of putting forward partial objectives which are beyond the political level of the workers concerned, and of couching united front appeals in terms which are so abusive of the reactionary leaders as to repel their supporters.

NOW AVAILABLE from MLOB
Literature Department:

Report of the CC of the MLOB on
REVISIONISM AT THE 7TH
WORLD CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
1935: THE PERVERSION OF "UNITED
FRONT" TACTICS.

The role of Dimitrov and Pollitt in the
triumph of modern revisionism

Price: 25p postage included

RED FRONT MOVEMENT

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES

The RED FRONT MOVEMENT was formed in July 1971 and adopted the following declaration of aims:

- a) the establishment of a leading nucleus of militant, class conscious workers and working youth, the RED FRONT MOVEMENT, which will take in hand the building, in sector after sector of the broad working class movement of those independent base organs of struggle, the foundation of a future revolutionary mass movement of the working class which alone can serve to break the decades-long stranglehold of corrupt reformist ideology and practice and develop the long dormant but always potential revolutionary energies of the British working class;
- b) the development of a comprehensive programme of training in the scientific theory of socialist revolution, Marxism-Leninism, and the fundamental principles of revolutionary class leadership such as will equip the most advanced members of the Red Front Movement with the qualities fundamental to a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary cadre, and such as are necessary to merit adoption as a Candidate Member of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party or its inceptive nucleus.
(RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.31).

Since then, the Movement - with the assistance of the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain - has, in the course of the day-to-day struggle to realise these aims and despite a number of setbacks, succeeded in cutting the first beginnings of the path by which the working class will grow in the revolutionary understanding of its strength and interests, shrugging off the net of opportunism and deception in which it has been enmeshed for so long.

These first steps have been taken simultaneously in the broad field of activity and in the specific work of training potential cadres in the understanding and practice of the science of revolution - Marxism-Leninism.

An important event in the growth of the RED FRONT MOVEMENT was the formation, on the initiative of artist-workers in the movement, of the UNION OF SOCIALIST ARTISTS in August 1971. SOCIALIST ARTISTS is an independent Organisation affiliated to the RED FRONT MOVEMENT and is the subject of a separate report on this page.

The task of developing potential cadres in the understanding of revolutionary theory and practice has been undertaken in the form of classes on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. These courses, based on a syllabus designed by the MLOB are organised, conducted and promoted by RFM members where and whenever requested; courses have already taken place in West and South London, and at the City of London University, and are being conducted at present in North London and at Surrey University, with further series planned for Southampton and Cambridge in the near future. A series of discussion meetings generally follows each course, in which particular areas of study are examined in greater detail. These discussion meetings, and the preceding classes, have been instrumental in winning new cadres to the practical application of the understanding acquired, in the development of RED FRONT MOVEMENT work.

Although the RFM is still at a provisional stage of organisation, the preparation for the formal Founding Conference is being undertaken and to this end a draft manifesto is near to completion.

We in the RFM would end this report with an appeal to all class-conscious workers, working youth and revolutionary students to join with us in building a revolutionary mass front and a vanguard party of the working class, and so bring that much closer the day on which the Socialist and Communist future of the working class will be fought for and won.

UNION OF SOCIALIST ARTISTS

In August 1971, artist workers, critics and art theoreticians active in the RED FRONT MOVEMENT met to form the Preparatory Committee of the Union

/continued

of SOCIALIST ARTISTS. After extensive and thorough discussion the following Aims were adopted, as part of the draft Constitution:

"SOCIALIST ARTISTS pledge themselves:

a) to work for socialism - a society based on the political power of the working people in which production is planned in their interests.

b) to work towards the development of a revolutionary art and to place that art at the service of the working people, in such a way that it functions as an inspiration and a weapon to them in the class struggle and in the emerging revolutionary movement to establish and maintain a socialist society."

Subsequent meetings of the Preparatory Committee have agreed a Programme of Activities including:

- a) a series of lecture/discussion meetings on a variety of questions of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics including
- 1) The Marxist View of Art and its Petty Bourgeois Opponents;
 - 2) Towards a Proletarian-Socialist Realism;
 - 3) Agitation-Propaganda - a Programme of Action ;
 - 4) Marxist Aesthetics - Base and Super-structure, Content and Form;
 - 5) Art and Imperialism;
 - 6) Art and Socialism.

Specialised lecture and discussion meetings already held have dealt with "Socialist Realism in Film Art", in which excerpts from classic Soviet films were shown, and "Socialist Realism and the Working Class Movement Today";

b) the formation of a poster workshop and a poster working group. The group has already produced one poster on the theme of national liberation struggle in Northern Ireland, "One of the Demonstrators was Shot" (See insert to this issue of RED FRONT). Further items in the series will include a poster depicting graphically the struggle against the corporate state. A set of posters depicting Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is also in preparation.

In February the Union of Socialist Artists was granted use of two rooms at 18 Camberwell Church Street, one of which is being shared with the Red Front Movement and has been equipped as a combined meeting-lecture room and art gallery (Communard

Gallery); the other room will provide facilities for the poster group.

In March 1972, Socialist Artists published its first contribution to the development of scientific Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, the "Theses on Art" Up to the present date 500 copies of this important theoretical document have been sold. In fact, the Theses represent the first concise yet fully comprehensive statement on Marxist-Leninist aesthetics ever to have appeared, and they will, accordingly, prove of inestimable value as a guide to revolutionary action for all artists and art-workers wishing to place their talents at the service of the working class and the cause of socialist revolution.

In addition to the programme of activities outlined above, the Provisional Committee is in process of drafting a Manifesto which will set forth in complete and systematised form the fundamental principles and aims underlying the work of the Union of Socialist Artists.

All socialist artists and art-workers wishing to assist in the above work should contact:

Maureen Scott,
Provisional Secretary,
Union of Socialist Artists,
18 Camberwell Church Street,
London SE5
Tel: 703 0561

AVAILABLE FROM THE ABOVE ADDRESS:

THESES ON ART

Price 10p postage included

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

Applications for Candidate Membership to: MLOB,

18 Camberwell Church Street,
London SE5

Telephone: 703 0561

RED FRONT

is the organ of the Marxist-Leninist Organisation
of Britain

Editorial address: 18 Camberwell Church Street, London SE5

Tel: 703 0561

Subscription rates: 50p per year, airmail on application

THE RED FRONT MOVEMENT

aims to function

- 1) As the inceptive nucleus of the future revolutionary mass front of the British working class
- 2) As the broad training school in the science, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle of the working class which will equip the most advanced and politically conscious workers with that minimum grasp of Marxism-Leninism, the science of socialist revolution, necessary for membership of the emerging and developing Marxist-Leninist vanguard party.

Courses in the foundations of Marxism-Leninism are being held in selected areas at the present time and full details of the courses are available from

Bernard Charnley, 18 Rodenhurst Road, London SW4

The central workshop and gallery of

SOCIALIST ARTISTS

is

THE COMMUNARD GALLERY

from which posters, prints and other art works on the theme of working class life and struggle are available.

Catalogue of posters, prints on request, viewing by appointment, from:

Maureen Scott,
18 Camberwell Church Street, London SE5
Tel: 703 0561

PROLETARIAT

is the theoretical journal of the MARXIST-LENINIST
ORGANISATION OF THE
U. S. A.

Details from: MLOUSA,
1550 Steiner Street,
Station A,
P.O. Box 15094,
San Francisco, Calif. 94115, USA

NOW AVAILABLEREPORT OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE MLOB

on

THE PAKISTANI REVOLUTION

A detailed and fully documented history of the national-democratic revolutionary movement in Pakistan from partition to the present day. Subjects the development of Pakistan - its economic foundation, political system, class relationships and the changing alignments amongst and between the various leading factions and the political parties and mass movements of right and "left" under their control - to the searchlight of Marxist-Leninist analysis. Essential reading for all cadres active in the national-democratic solidarity movement.

Price: 35p including postage

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE MLOB

on

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN REVISIONISM

- * The Perversion of "United Front" Tactics
- * Revisionism at the 7th World Congress of the Communist International
- * The role of Mao Tse-tung, Dimitrov and Pollitt in the triumph of modern revisionism

Traces the first origins of modern revisionism back to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International (July-August 1935). The Report analyses in particular the formative and influential roles of three founding figures of modern revisionist theory and practice: Mao Tse-tung, Georgi Dimitrov and Harry Pollitt. It shows how their revisionist thought was designed to bring about that perversion of "United Front" tactics in the anti-fascist struggle which at a later stage was to prove effective in laying the basis for the later proliferation of modern revisionism in all its varied forms to a point at which it had successfully wrought the destruction of the entire International Communist Movement.

Price: 25p including postage

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE MLOB

on

"CENTRIST" REVISIONISM

The vitally important sequel to the Report of the CC of the MLOB on the Situation in the People's Republic of China, continuing the theoretical exposure of "centrist" revisionism as developed in the "Communist and Workers' Parties" headed by those of North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba.

Price: 15p postage included