

Revolution

No 2 October 1976 25p



CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| ETERNAL GLORY TO THE GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG Letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China from the National Committee of the CFB(ML) | p1 |
| ETERNAL GLORY TO OUR GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG | p11 |
| THE WORKING CLASS GROWS STRONG BY FIGHTING ERRORS WITHIN ITS RANKS | p1 |
| REVISIONISM IS BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY DRESSED UP AS MARXISM | p10 |
| COMBAT INTELLECTUALISM TO TRANSFORM THE CLASS STAND OF THE CFB(ML) ON THE INTELLECTUALS (BY ENVER HOXHA) | p14 |
| BUILD COMMUNIST BASES IN THE WORKING CLASS | p20 |
| | p23 |

THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF

THE COMMUNIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

(MARXIST-LENINIST)

THE COMMUNIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST)

The Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) holds that the central task in Britain today is to build the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, the party of the working class. This revolutionary Communist Party must unite the various struggles of the working class into a struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the monopoly capitalist state to set up a dictatorship of the proletariat and build genuine working class socialism.

The Party must be constructed by ideological, political and organisational struggle. By a bold internal struggle the CFB(M-L) has recently decisively defeated serious opportunist errors. One of these was liberalism, which refuses to stand up boldly for what is in the interests of the working class, but believes in unprincipled peace to keep on good terms with everyone. As a result of the internal struggle the CFB(M-L) has taken important steps away from federalism and towards a united and democratic-centralist Party.

The CFB(M-L) is self-reliant in Party-building but it will not be self-sufficient: where it can learn from other British Marxist-Leninist organisations it will do so. We must break down the small group mentality which exists between Marxist-Leninist organisations in Britain, and struggle for unity on correct principles so as to build the revolutionary Communist Party as fast as possible.

We have to apply the general truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the British revolution. In the contradiction between theory and practice, at present theory is the principal aspect. However practice is an important second. Training and tempering comrades in practical work is essential to build the revolutionary Communist Party.

The most important practical task is to build bases in the industrial working class. This will make sure that the future Marxist-Leninist Party is a firm proletarian party with deep and unshakable roots in the working class.

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY TO LEAD THE REVOLUTION!

For information about the Communist Federation of Britain contact:-

National Secretary
c/o New Era Books
203 Seven Sisters Road
London N4.

For criticisms, correspondence or contributions to 'Revolution' write to:-

The Editor, 'Revolution'
c/o New Era Books
203 Seven Sisters Road
London N4.

ETERNAL GLORY TO THE GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER, CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG !

To The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
From the National Committee of the Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

With immense grief the international working class and revolutionary people of the whole world deeply mourn the death of our great leader and teacher, Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was one of the great Marxist-Leninist leaders of all time. He was a very great leader of the international working class, of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people, and the revolutionary people of the whole world.

He tirelessly defended and developed the universal working class truths of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against class enemies within China and throughout the world. He initiated and led the great struggle in the international Communist movement against modern revisionism, headed by the Soviet Social Imperialist ruling clique. He left Marxism-Leninism an even more invincible weapon of the working class in carrying out its historical mission to overthrow capitalism and imperialism throughout the world.

Chairman Mao Tsetung led the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China to victory after victory against right and "left" opportunism. He has left it an immensely strong and deeply tempered proletarian Communist Party, an unshakeable bastion of the working class.

He was a very great leader of the working class who brilliantly integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete struggles of the masses, and who summed up in a concentrated, systematic and vivid way the aims and interests of the working class and working masses. He led them to carry forward their struggles from one victory to another, again and again, for over fifty years of protracted, complicated, heroic and glorious battles. He led the Chinese working class to victory after victory in the struggle to build socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, taking class struggle as the key link.

Chairman Mao Tsetung led the Chinese people in making the People's Republic of China a great bastion and faithful supporter of the ever-growing struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world against the two superpowers, United States and Soviet Social Imperialism.

We deeply mourn his death.

We are determined to learn from his utter devotion to the cause of the working class and the people, his political boldness and his personal modesty. We are determined to turn our grief into strength by learning from his teachings, by always upholding the working class truths of Marxism-Leninism, and by throwing ourselves wholeheartedly into the glorious, tempestuous and victorious battles of the international working class that lie ahead.

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

GLORY TO INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

ETERNAL GLORY TO THE GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER, CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG!

ETERNAL GLORY TO OUR GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of
All Nationalities Throughout the Country

from

The Central Committee of the Communist Party
of China,

The Standing Committee of the National People's
Congress of the People's Republic of China,

The State Council of the People's Republic of
China, and

The Military Commission of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of China.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, the State Council of the People's Republic of China and the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China announce with deepest grief to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country: Comrade Mao Tsetung, the esteemed and beloved great leader of our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities in our country, the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Honorary Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, passed away at 00:10 hours on September 9, 1976 in Peking as a result of the worsening of his illness and despite all treatment, although meticulous medical care was given him in every way after he fell ill.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the founder and wise leader of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao led our Party in waging a protracted, acute and complex struggle against the Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party, defeating the opportunist lines pursued by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and Peng Teh-huai and again, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, triumphing over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping, thus enabling our Party to develop and grow in strength steadily in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Led by Chairman Mao, the Communist Party of China has developed through a tortuous path in a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party which is today exercising leadership over the People's Republic of China.

During the period of the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao, in accordance with the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and by combining it with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, creatively laid down the general line and general policy of the new-democratic revolution, founded the Chinese People's Liberation Army and pointed out that the seizure of political power by armed force in China could be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas, using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally seizing the cities, and not by any other road. He led our Party, our army and the people of our country in using people's war to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, winning the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and founding the People's Republic of China. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution led by Chairman Mao changed the situation in the East and the

world and blazed a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

In the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao comprehensively summed up the positive as well as the negative experience of the international communist movement, penetratingly analysed the class relations in socialist society and, for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, unequivocally pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, drew the scientific conclusion that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, put forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid down the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Party, our army and the people of our country have continued their triumphant advance and seized great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius and in criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping and repulsing the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts. Upholding socialism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Republic of China, a country with a vast territory and a large population, is a great contribution of world historic significance which Chairman Mao Tsetung made to the present era; at the same time, it has provided fresh experience for the international communist movement in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

All the victories of the Chinese people have been achieved under the leadership of Chairman Mao; they are all great victories for Mao Tsetung Thought. The radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought will forever illuminate the road of advance of the Chinese people.

Chairman Mao Tsetung summed up the revolutionary practice in the international communist movement, put forward a series of scientific theses, enriched the theoretical treasury of Marxism and pointed out the orientation of struggle for the Chinese people and the revolutionary people throughout the world. With the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, he initiated in the international communist movement the great struggle to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, promoted the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all countries against imperialism and hegemonism, and pushed the history of mankind forward.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. For more than half a century, basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, he inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the protracted struggle against the class enemies at home and abroad, both inside and outside the Party, and wrote a most brilliant chapter in the history of the movement of proletarian revolution. He dedicated all his energies throughout his life to the liberation of the Chinese people, to the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, and to the cause of communism. With the great resolve of a proletarian revolutionary, he waged a tenacious struggle against his illness, continued to lead the work of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation during his illness and fought till he breathed his last. The magnificent contributions he made to the Chinese people, the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the whole world are immortal. The Chinese people and the revolutionary people the world over love him from the bottom of their hearts and have boundless admiration and respect for him.

The passing away of Chairman Mao Tsetung is an inestimable loss to our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities in our country, to the

international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries and to the international communist movement. His passing away is bound to evoke immense grief in the hearts of the people of our country and the revolutionary people of all countries. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China calls on the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the country to resolutely turn grief into strength:

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and persist in taking class struggle as the key link, keep to the Party's basic line and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party, resolutely uphold the unity and unification of the Party and closely rally round the Party Central Committee. We must strengthen the building of the Party ideologically and organisationally in the course of the struggle between the two lines and resolutely implement the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young in accordance with the five requirements for bringing up successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, continue the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, enthusiastically support the socialist new things, restrict bourgeois right and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. We should continue to unfold the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift, and go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

We must carry on the cause left by Chairman Mao Tsetung and resolutely implement his line in army building, strengthen the building of the army, strengthen the building of the militia, strengthen preparedness against war, heighten our vigilance, and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to intrude. We are determined to liberate Taiwan.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and continue to resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs. We must adhere to proletarian internationalism, strengthen the unity between our Party and the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations all over the world, strengthen the unity between the people of our country and the people of all other countries, especially of the third world countries, unite with all the forces in the world that can be united, and carry out the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism and modern revisionism through to the end. We will never seek hegemony and will never be a superpower.

We must carry on the cause left by Chairman Mao and assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, apply ourselves to the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and works by Chairman Mao, fight for the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and strive to build our country into a powerful socialist state, make still greater contributions to humanity and realize the ultimate goal of communism.

LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!
LONG LIVE THE GREAT, GLORIOUS AND CORRECT COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA!
ETERNAL GLORY TO OUR GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG!

EDITORIAL

THE WORKING CLASS GROWS STRONG BY FIGHTING ERRORS WITHIN ITS RANKS

In 'Revolution', the struggle against the major bourgeois and petty bourgeois errors in the CFB(ML) was summed up and the advances made were described. But this is not the end of the struggle. Ideological struggle must continue to carry through the self criticism thoroughly and to struggle against errors when they recur. An important aspect of this struggle is the process of turning over the past to build the future party. Nowhere was this a more urgent task than in relation to the founding documents of the CFB(ML).

These documents show that the five major errors were not simply present in the CFB(ML), but that they were an aspect of federalism itself. The propagation of these documents was a training ground in right opportunism for all comrades. Some comrades were attracted to the CFB(ML) on the basis of these errors, and their mistakes were then actively encouraged.

For these reasons, it has been necessary to criticise them thoroughly and to publish the criticism to train all revolutionaries in ideological struggle and to ensure that documents like 'Origins and Perspectives' are not foisted on the Marxist-Leninist movement in the future.

The National Committee of the CFB(ML), after approving the document 'The Working Class Grows Stronger by Fighting Errors Within Its Ranks' passed the following resolution:-

"The National Committee completely rejects and withdraws 'Origins and Perspectives of the Marxist-Leninist Movement in Britain' and the 'Statement on Party Building' by the Joint Committee of Communists. Both these statements are primarily incorrect and propagate errors of liberalism, intellectualism, small group mentality, ultra-democracy and empiricism. These errors and all other bourgeois and petty bourgeois errors must be constantly struggled against in building the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class".

These documents have been rejected not simply because they contained errors, but because they propagated and defended the federalism which for years actively blocked progress towards a democratic centralist party of the working class. As the document says, "the federal road is an opportunist road". Ideological struggle in the CFB(ML) has now cleared the way towards grasping democratic centralism as a main weapon in building the party. It has thus cleared the way for the overcoming of federalism.

REVISIONISM IS BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY DRESSED UP AS MARXISM

One result of the struggle to turn over the past has been the withdrawal of all issues of 'Marxist-Leninist Quarterly', with the exception of the last issue, number 11. The journal reflected the opportunism which was a component part of federalism. One article in particular propagated this error, and is criticised firmly in this issue of 'Revolution'. The criticism clearly shows how opportunism and intellectualism acted as a road block to grasping the class nature of revisionism. As the title of the criticism boldly states, "Revisionism is Bourgeois Ideology Dressed Up As Marxism". It is a weapon in the service of the bourgeoisie, not the proletariat. Another aspect of this error is the failure to grasp that the revolutionary Communist Party must be a party of the working class, not of the intelligent-

sia. The article which is criticised should act as a teacher by negative example which will be useful in our struggle to overcome past errors.

COMBAT INTELLECTUALISM TO TRANSFORM THE CLASS STAND OF THE COMMUNIST
FEDERATION OF BRITAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST)

Intellectualism is the principal bourgeois ideological error in the CFB (ML). The ideology of the intelligentsia, which arises from its position as a stratum caught between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, gives rise to the errors of individualism and vacillation, and actively prevents the grasp of the fact that it is the working class that is the only revolutionary class.

The struggle to combat this error is a struggle to build the proletarian organisation. We are publishing the article by Enver Hoxha, and the article on Intellectualism, so that the error can be grasped more firmly, in order to be overcome.

BUILD COMMUNIST BASES IN THE WORKING CLASS

Thoroughly transforming the class stand of the CFB(ML), a task set by the Resolution of the Third Conference will be a protracted struggle. The main thing is to begin. This article explains the importance of building bases, why all the activities of communists must be concentrated on the working class, and why the revolutionary Communist Party must rally the vanguard of the working class to lead the revolution.

Editorial Committee

THE WORKING CLASS GROWS STRONG BY FIGHTING ERRORS WITHIN ITS RANKS

Criticism of the Founding Statements of the Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

In the last eighteen months the Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) has been waging a protracted struggle against five major bourgeois and petty bourgeois errors within its ranks. The struggle against these errors - liberalism, intellectualism, small group mentality, ultra-democracy and empiricism - has been described in the first issue of 'Revolution'.

The struggle has swept away small mountains of opportunist rubbish, has united the CFB(ML), strengthened its working class stand, and greatly increased its fighting capacity. The struggle has prepared the ground for the complete abolition of federalism and the adoption of a fully democratic-centralist constitution. It has opened up excellent prospects for winning unity in the Marxist-Leninist movement through active ideological struggle, bold criticism and self-criticism.

This does not mean that the CFB(ML) should now stop the internal struggle against anti-working class errors. On the contrary it must carry the struggle through to the end.

Lenin wrote in 'Left-Wing Communism':

"Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it - that is the edmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the class, and then the masses." (Peking edition p51)

Therefore we must pay attention to "ascertaining the reasons" for the errors of the CFB(ML). What were the reasons for these errors? There were several.

One reason was the liberalism of the CFB(ML). Because liberalism rejects ideological struggle and bold criticism and self-criticism, it prevents a revolutionary organisation getting rid of other errors as well.

Another reason was that "one error conceals another": by over-reacting to the prevailing left opportunist errors of the early days of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain, the CFB(ML) fell headlong into right opportunist errors, such as liberalism and empiricism. This shows yet again that we must build the revolutionary Communist Party by struggling relentlessly against both right and left opportunism.

An important source of error within the CFB(ML) was the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia has been described as "a large section of people, mainly engaged in mental work, in the organization and management of work and production of the affairs of state and society, who engage in creative and not manual work or merely carrying out instructions". Comrades from both academic and technical sections of the intelligentsia gave rise to opportunist errors because the CFB(ML) gave no leadership to help them remould their class stand to that of the vanguard of the working class.

In thoroughly "ascertaining the reasons" for an error it is necessary to go back to past history to see where the seeds of the error were first planted.

The CFB(ML) must go back to its founding policy statements and examine them strictly from the stand of the working class.

The CFB(ML) was founded in September 1969 out of a loose organization of small groups, known as the Joint Committee of Communists (J.C.C.) which had been set up in April 1967. The J.C.C. was an extremely ultra-democratic body. All the members of all the groups were entitled to attend all the meetings. There was a rotating chairman and the only permanent post was that of minutes secretary. The J.C.C. produced two policy statements. The first, 'Statement on the Question of Party Building' was a short statement of five main points, adopted in April 1968. The second, called 'Origins and Perspectives of the Marxist-Leninist Movement in Britain', was published in the summer of 1969, just before the founding of the CFB(ML). Both statements were taken as founding statements by the CFB(ML) and acceptance of 'Origins and Perspectives' was written into the constitution as a condition of membership of the CFB(ML).

Both statements have now been completely withdrawn by the National Committee of the CFB(ML).

J.C.C. STATEMENT ON PARTY BUILDING

The short five-point 'Statement on Party Building' made some correct points. The most important was in the first paragraph which stated that "the formation of a Marxist-Leninist Party is the top priority for all British Marxist-Leninists today". However in view of the errors that developed within the CFB(ML) it is necessary to concentrate on the shortcomings of this 'Statement' and be strict in dissecting its errors.

The 'Statement' ignored the leading role of the working class. That was its most serious error. It did not even mention the working class. We would be very foolish to regard this as a mere blunder. It has a deep ideological significance. As Mao Tse-tung says:

"In class society, everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class". (Quotations, p8)

This blunder was stamped with the brand of the intelligentsia. Caught as a middle stratum between the antagonistic classes of the bourgeoisie and the working class, the intelligentsia dreams of a world without class conflict, a world after its own image, where everyone behaves like "well-educated, humane and intelligent" members of the intelligentsia. When writing about building the Marxist-Leninist Party, it thinks of it as a party of the intelligentsia. From the point of view of the intelligentsia there is no need to mention the working class in a short statement on party-building. Leaving out any reference to the working class is only a blunder because it gives the game away as to which class interest is really represented by the 'Statement on Party Building'.

By contrast the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) published an article in 'The Australian Communist', number 54, which pointed out sharply:

"The Communist Party is the party of the working class. It must be organized deep in the heart of the working class. The working class has the leading role in the struggle for socialism... One of the weapons of the bourgeoisie is to attack the whole idea of the leading role of the working class."

The questioning of the leading role of the working class takes many forms, some open, some crude, some secret, some subtle. The ruling class promotes attack upon the leading role of the working class because it understands or senses that it is precisely the working class that is the grave digger of capitalism. As early as 1848 in the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels said:

'Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class'...

Sometimes it is said in the revolutionary movement that these truths are self-evident and do not need repetition. We prefer to repeat them. But even more important is to act upon them.

Within the revolutionary ranks systematic education and work on the leading role of the working class is vital. It is by no means a question just of recording the fact and then going on with one's activities. It involves the whole question of outlook, of direction, of what has been called orientation.

Like the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) we too must repeat again and again the great truth that the Communist Party is the party of the working class, and we must act on it. The intellectualism of the 'Statement on Party Building' is clear and gives us a good lesson by negative example.

The 'Statement' also surrenders to and compromises with small group mentality. It says, "we hold that the main characteristic of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain today is the existence of individual autonomous groups". It does not go on to criticise small group mentality at all, but on the contrary praises the groups for "making serious attempts to integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with practice in the concrete working conditions of their own locality and industry". The 'Statement' planned to set up an "organization of groups" to prepare the conditions for a party. It does not grasp that the Party will be built only in the course of openly declared struggle against small group mentality itself.

The 'Statement' appears to be in favour of ideological struggle but in fact it supports liberalism. It says that the groups "must increasingly co-ordinate their efforts in joint work and ideological struggle". Here it is significant that "coordinate their efforts in joint work" comes before "ideological struggle". This represents the liberal theory of peacefully evolving towards a unified party instead of winning unity through the struggle of correct ideas against incorrect ideas.

The liberal theory of 'evolving' unity out of the small groups is the essence of the federal road to party building. The federal road compromises with small group mentality. This road is a cul-de-sac for the working class.

Point 3 of the 'Statement' lays down five "conditions for the formation of a party". The ultra-democracy of the J.C.C. can be seen in the fact that none of these state that building a core of Marxist-Leninist leadership is an essential part of Party building. Some comrades used this list of conditions as a list of pre-conditions. Instead of seeing them as targets to be aimed at, they used them as a convenient check list proving year after year that we had not got a Party yet and so they need not be bound by Party discipline. The 'Statement' did not take a firm stand against ultra-democracy.

The empiricist errors that were so widespread in the CFB(ML) can be seen

in certain phrases in the 'Statement' that tend to emphasize the fragmentary experience of local work rather than the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. This is especially dangerous for an immature movement. Such a movement must pay great attention to grasping the theoretical lessons of the working class struggle in all countries. Otherwise it condemns the working class to blind activity and ensures that its struggle will be crippled and even destroyed by bourgeois ideas.

'ORIGINS AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN'

Point 3b of the J.C.C. Statement on Party Building called for "a full analysis of the national and international political situation including the historical experience of the British anti-revisionist movement to date". 'Origins and Perspectives of the Marxist-Leninist Movement in Britain' was published in the summer of 1969 in order partly to fulfil this task.

For the working class 'Origins and Perspectives' is not an improvement on the 'Statement on Party Building' but a step back. Whereas the 'Statement' is concise and relatively clear 'Origins and Perspectives' is longer and woolly. As a guide to action it is worse. This reflects the error of intellectualism: as Mao Tse-tung points out, intellectuals often tend to be "impractical in their thinking" (Quotations, p292). 'Origins and Perspectives' set an impractically long list of tasks for Party building and did not establish priorities. This too is an example of intellectualism.

'Origins and Perspectives' is a step back from the 'Statement' in that it does not state so clearly and emphasize that "the formation of a Marxist-Leninist Party is the top priority for all British Marxist-Leninists today" ('Statement', point 1). 'Origins and Perspectives' has a pompous and vague intellectualist sentence, "At an organizational level we will of course be motivated and informed by the need for a vanguard party". This is the sort of intellectualist sentence which at first sight sounds very impressive but in fact is difficult to pin down. The little phrase "of course" sounds as if there can be no question about the need for a vanguard party. But the reverse is the case. "Of course" in this sentence shows how much the J.C.C. and the CPB(ML) underestimated the reactionary strength of small group mentality. They did not understand that the Party can be built only if there is a direct, conscious and prolonged campaign against small group mentality.

Like the 'Statement', 'Origins and Perspectives' denies the leading role of the working class. 'Origins and Perspectives' is a much longer document than the 'Statement' and it does refer to the working class on a few occasions. However the introduction ignores the working class all together and whenever the class appears in 'Origins and Perspectives' it is in a passive role. The working class is allowed to appear on stage only as something to be analysed or studied, something to which a duty is owed, something with which a "new type of relationship" must be established, something to which newspapers must be sold or something which is in "great danger". 'Origins and Perspectives' nowhere says simply and bluntly that the working class is the only really revolutionary class, that it will liberate itself and all mankind, and that the Marxist-Leninist Party must be a Party of the working class! With the brand of which class is this kind of thinking stamped? 'Origins and Perspectives' is stamped with the brand of the intelligentsia.

Instead of taking the stand of the working class, 'Origins and Perspectives'

atives' views the Marxist-Leninist movement from the point of view of individuals striving 'to attain political clarity'. It is a type of personal biography in which all the details of the twists and turns taken by the subjects in their wanderings after 'political clarity' are solemnly described. For example the foundation of the CFB(ML) is discussed in this way:

"For many months now the J.C.C. has been actively seeking the next step forward. This has been generally seen as the formation of a body that would introduce a new type of relationship between the component groups and between the groups as a whole and the working class. The formulation has been in terms of a federation of British Communists."

The subjectivism, vagueness and empiricism of this statement are very clear. The individuals in the J.C.C. vaguely felt in the course of their wanderings through the marsh, that a federation was the next step; so the J.C.C. was made into a federation! This does not view the problem from the stand of the working class at all.

The early part of 'Origins and Perspectives' lays out the major theoretical lines of demarcation with revisionism fairly clearly (over the dictatorship of the proletariat, peaceful co-existence, etc.). But this too is done in an intellectualist way. The theory is handled as abstract theory, without relating to class struggle. 'Origins and Perspectives' does not grasp that revisionism is the ideology of the bourgeoisie dressed up as Marxism, and that Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the working class. 'Origins and Perspectives' does not grasp that ideological struggle is class struggle. Instead it sees revisionists merely as people who cheat at Marxist theory and fiddle the answers. Of course revisionists do cheat, but our attitude must not be a moralistic one or one of intellectual contempt. With icy coldness and burning indignation we must denounce revisionists as agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement.

'Origins and Perspectives' liberally compromises with small group mentality. This is the essence of federalism. 'Origins and Perspectives' wears two faces on this question: this is why it was able to confuse people for so long. At times it appears to be aimed mainly at building the new Communist Party, but in fact it defends the small groups. For example the introduction defends small group mentality by emphasizing "the necessity of recognizing the autonomous nature of the groups which exist."

'Origins and Perspectives' says that the new "federation must see as its prime task the development of conditions for the formation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party." But immediately afterwards it stresses, "In creating such a federation and developing from it a democratic centralist structure, we must always bear in mind the concrete problems facing the constituent groups. All the groups have different individual histories, class compositions, organizational structures and fields of work. These must be closely considered in building a unified organization." In other words, 'of course we want to build the Party, but we don't want to do anything that will offend the small groups!' A federation was the opportunist compromise solution.

'Origins and Perspectives' faced two ways on this question. Another passage says:- "The federation for which we are working is only a step towards a Party. That must be a basic premise for its existence, if it is not to develop into an impediment to further progress. Nevertheless," it immediately hastens to say, "premature time scales should not be constructed. Many groups who are not yet members of the J.C.C. must not be dismissed..."

Because of this compromise of federalism the CFB(ML) always had in its ranks from the beginning comrades who were primarily concerned with building the Party and comrades who were primarily concerned with defending small group mentality. It was partly because federalism opportunistically blurred the issue that it took so many years for clear lines of demarcation to be established and the issue resolved through struggle.

To be clear on what we are saying: it is a good thing when small groups overcome their small group mentality enough to engage in struggle with each other. From this point of view, that is as a forum, the J.C.C. was for a period of time a progressive step. What was wrong was to set up a federation which fatally compromised with small group mentality and failed to struggle to implement democratic centralism from the beginning.

'Origins and Perspectives' correctly understood that unity cannot be declared into existence solely by a vote to set up a unified organization. It correctly understood that real unity is first and foremost unity of correct ideas. But it did not understand how to win unity. This was because of deep errors of liberalism. Active ideological struggle is the weapon for winning and ensuring unity. But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and the CFB(ML) was riddled with liberalism.

'Origins and Perspectives' talked about 'ideological work for unity' instead of "ideological struggle". It saw this 'ideological work' centering on coordinating education and investigation. Ideological education and investigation are important parts of Party building but here 'Origins and Perspectives' was dodging the issue of how to overcome contradictions between the groups. It rejected struggle. Yet active ideological struggle, criticism and self-criticism is the only way of overcoming contradictions in the revolutionary ranks. As Mao Tse-tung says, there is no other way. Seven years experience of the CFB(ML) has also shown there is no other way.

Falling into liberalism 'Origins and Perspectives' in essence believed in the metaphysical view that unity would evolve through "joint work and study". This is completely opposed to the dialectical stand that unity is won through struggle.

Ultra-democracy was in practice a fundamental principle of the CFB(ML) from the beginning. 'Origins and Perspectives' never criticises or even mentions ultra-democracy even though this error was one of the worst errors of the J.C.C. The document makes a few statements about democratic centralism, but they did nothing to help the CFB(ML) establish democratic centralism. They merely teach us all the more sharply to be vigilant and to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism.

'Origins and Perspectives' says, *"The question of democratic centralism must be studied and the lessons correctly applied within the federation"*. At first sight a statement implying that democratic centralism is of great importance; but we must read it a bit more carefully. In fact it opens the door to all and every ultra-democratic questioning of democratic centralism. How indeed can the 'lessons' of democratic centralism be correctly applied within a federation in any case? A federation directly violates democratic centralism.

'Origins and Perspectives' goes on to say, *"This is a key point and an area of sensitivity and will need to be dealt with thoroughly and responsibly."* Grave words, but what do they really mean? Certainly we must guard against bureaucratic centralism while fighting ultra-democracy. But who exactly suffers from 'areas of sensitivity' about democratic centralism? It is not

the working class. As Lenin said:

"In its struggle for power, the proletariat has no other weapon but organization. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class."

So who precisely suffers from 'areas of sensitivity'? Lenin solves the problem again: it is the intelligentsia. In criticizing the ultra-democratic line of the Mensheviks, Lenin pointed out:

"Martov's formulation ostensibly defends the interests of the broad strata of the proletariat, but in fact it serves the interests of the bourgeois intellectuals, who fight shy of proletarian discipline and organization. No one will undertake to deny that it is precisely its individualism and incapacity for discipline and organization that in general distinguishes the intelligentsia as a separate stratum of modern capitalist society." (This and the previous passage are quoted in 'History of the C.P.S.U. (B)' 1939 edition, Chapter 2, section 4)

So the mystery is explained. Once again we have heard the soft but persistent cooing of intellectualism. Once again this teaches us sharply that the working class will always be the victims of deception in politics until we have learnt to seek out the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases.

'Origins and Perspectives' attacks Michael McCreery, who in 1963 first raised the banner outside the 'Communist Party of Great Britain' to rally all anti-revisionists to rebuild the party of the proletariat. Although McCreery did not lay an ideological basis for the new organization strong enough to continue after his premature death, his stand was primarily correct and must be strongly upheld. 'Origins and Perspectives' reveals its ultra-democracy when it complains that McCreery made a mistake of *"overemphasizing and indeed distorting the role and possibilities of leadership"*. It also sneers at the idea of having a central committee by putting inverted commas around these words. In essence 'Origins and Perspectives' attacked the very idea of proclaiming a centre and building a leading core around which the best Marxist-Leninists and the best elements from the working class can be rallied. Instead it believed that the Party must be rebuilt on the basis of small local circles who received no central national leadership but who ultra-democratically exchanged experiences.

Empiricism was also an important aspect of 'Origins and Perspectives' programme for Party building. Empiricism mistakes fragmentary experience for universal truth. 'Origins and Perspectives' attached great importance to the fact that the local circles which made up the CFB(ML) were doing local work. Certainly it was necessary to correct the left opportunism of a number of other Marxist-Leninist organizations who had no roots in the masses. However 'local work' which is not guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and policies is inevitably empiricist and surrenders to bourgeois ideology.

'Origins and Perspectives' says the right approach was *"to combine theory*

with practice and gain experience in political work in (the) localities." Certainly we must integrate theory with practice, but to talk about combining theory with practice in this way blurs the question of which is primary. This is a crucial question at a time when years of revisionism have robbed the working class of Marxist-Leninist theory. At such a time as this, when without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, theory is primary over practice. 'Origins and Perspectives' never points this out, and implies on the contrary the empiricist error, which was widespread in the Federation, of seeing blind local practice as primary.

Overall 'Origins and Perspectives' underestimates the importance for a young Marxist-Leninist movement of modestly grasping the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. It even arrogantly announces as an urgent task the need to "build upon Lenin's analysis of the state".

For many years the CFB(ML) held up 'Origins and Perspectives' as the best statement in Britain on rebuilding the revolutionary Communist Party. But close study shows that both 'Origins and Perspectives' and the J.C.C. 'Statement on Party Building' contained serious examples of all the five main errors against which the CFB(ML) has recently been waging a protracted struggle; liberalism, intellectualism, small group mentality, ultra-democracy and empiricism. Close study of the documents shows vividly that these errors are not mere accidental mistakes but are ideas sharply hostile to the real interests of the working class; ideas which represent the stand of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie. They almost completely prevented a relatively large number of hard working comrades from contributing usefully to the task of building the Party of the working class for six years.

This proves that in building the revolutionary Communist Party it is necessary continually to sum up experience and to be strict in self-criticism. When errors occur we must thoroughly examine them, ascertain their causes and dig up their roots.

'Origins and Perspectives' was an opportunist attempt to take a number of small groups a step forward in building the revolutionary Communist Party. We must learn from its failures. In particular we must grasp these points:

1. The federal road is an opportunist road.

2. There must be direct, open and firm struggle against small group mentality.

3. Marxist-Leninist organizations must practice democratic centralism and must combat ultra-democracy,

unity must and can be won between different groups by active ideological struggle and criticism and self-criticism. Combating

liberalism, which rejects active ideological struggle, is a task of great importance in Party building.

Since taking up active ideological struggle and criticism and self-criticism, the comrades within the CFB(ML) have greatly increased their fighting capacity as soldiers of the army of the proletariat.

The CFB(ML) publishes this criticism of its founding statements to further temper its own ranks in the struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois errors, and also to help comrades in other Marxist-Leninist organizations guard and fight against the same errors.

The working class is the class of the future. The bourgeoisie is the class

of the past. The bourgeoisie cannot bear the truth, and its ranks are shattered and thrown into confusion by self-criticism. By contrast the working class can only gain in strength through the struggle to grasp the truths about the world and to overcome its weaknesses by means of self-criticism. As Mao Tse-tung points out in 'Serve the People', "If in the interests of the people we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong, our ranks will surely thrive."

As a result of the successful ideological struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois errors within the CPB(M), the organization has withdrawn all its articles from the 'Revolution' (M.O.) on account of major errors of opportunism and intellectualism. The only exception to this is M.O. 11, the last issue before the name of the journal was changed to 'Revolution'.

It would be interesting to spend time criticizing in detail all the incorrect articles in 'M.O.'. This would hold up the work of building the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class, rather than help it forward. But one article must be singled out for criticism, an article in M.O. 6 called 'Revisionism and the British Anti-Revisionist Movement'. Although signed by an individual this article has been accurately identified as being in line with 'origins and perspectives of the Marxist-Leninist Movement in Britain', the opportunist founding statement of the CPB(M). The article in M.O. 6 was written by a leading member of the organization at the time. He rapidly left the CPB(M) during the recent ideological struggle as soon as the waves of criticism began to lap around his feet.

The article, 'Revisionism and the Anti-Revisionist Movement', divorces the question of revisionism from the class struggle. It never grasps the essence of the question - that by means of revisionism the bourgeoisie in Britain has robbed the working class of its Party.

It is clear that the question is very sharp class terms:

'Revisionism, the "revision" of Marxism, is today one of the chief, if not the chief, method of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and a major cause of the "workers" (1914, quoted on the first page of 'Learn in the struggle Against Revisionism', Peking, 1960)

In view of the deep intellectualism the article in M.O. 3 sums up revisionism in very vague terms, it is a struggle:

"The article in M.O. 3 sums up revisionism in very vague terms, it is a struggle: 'Revisionism is a bourgeois and intellectualist method of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and a major cause of the "workers" (1914, quoted on the first page of 'Learn in the struggle Against Revisionism', Peking, 1960)

It is clear that the question is very sharp class terms: 'Revisionism, the "revision" of Marxism, is today one of the chief, if not the chief, method of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and a major cause of the "workers" (1914, quoted on the first page of 'Learn in the struggle Against Revisionism', Peking, 1960)

It is clear that the question is very sharp class terms: 'Revisionism, the "revision" of Marxism, is today one of the chief, if not the chief, method of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and a major cause of the "workers" (1914, quoted on the first page of 'Learn in the struggle Against Revisionism', Peking, 1960)

of the past. The bourgeoisie cannot bear the truth, and its ranks are splitting and working revisionism is bourgeois ideology dressed up as Marxism. This has been the world's only class struggle through the struggle of the working class. The only exception to this is MLQ 11, the last issue before the name of the journal was changed to 'Revolution'.

As a result of the successful ideological struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois errors within the CFB(ML), the organization has withdrawn all issues of 'Marxist-Leninist Quarterly' (MLQ), the old theoretical journal of the CFB(ML) on account of major errors of opportunism and intellectualism. The only exception to this is MLQ 11, the last issue before the name of the journal was changed to 'Revolution'.

It would be intellectualist to spend time criticizing in detail all the incorrect articles in 'MLQ'. This would hold up the work of building the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class, rather than help it forward. But one article must be singled out for criticism, an article in MLQ 3 called 'Revisionism and the British Anti-Revisionist Movement'. Although signed by an individual this article has been accurately identified as being in line with 'Origins and Perspectives of the Marxist-Leninist Movement in Britain', the opportunist founding statement of the CFB(ML). The article in MLQ 3 was written by a leading member of the organization at the time. He rapidly left the CFB(ML) during the recent ideological struggle as soon as the waves of criticism began to lap around his feet.

The article, 'Revisionism and the Anti-Revisionist Movement', divorces the question of revisionism from the class struggle. It never grasps the essence of the question - that by means of revisionism the bourgeoisie in Britain has robbed the working class of its Party.

Lenin puts the question in very sharp class terms:

"Revisionism, or 'revision' of Marxism, is today one of the chief, if not the chief, manifestation of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and bourgeois corruption of the workers". (1914, quoted on the first page of 'Lenin on the Struggle Against Revisionism', Peking, 1960)

Because of its deep intellectualism the article in MLQ 3 sums up revisionism in vague terms stripped of class struggle:

"Modern revisionism is not a mere matter of slogans and incorrect policies. It is a matter of consciousness, of ways of viewing the world". (p25)

This opportunistic article never presents the fight to rebuild the Party of the working class as a class fight. The working class appears only nine or ten times in an article of 24 pages and six pages of footnotes, and when it does appear it is almost always merely incidental to another point. The article sneers at the 'fetishism of the Party' (p7), and at the 'subjective motivation' of comrades who wanted to see the Party of the working class rebuilt (p6). This is a particularly severe example of intellectualism, which denies the leading role of the working class.

Instead, taking the stand not of the working class, but of the petty-bourgeois intellectual, the article talks about revisionism almost exclusively in terms of individuals who are anti-revisionists. It talks about their struggle to 'emancipate themselves' from revisionism, (p25). This is the bourgeois theory of self-cultivation, not the stand of the working class.

It describes in great detail the twists and turns of the wanderings of these individual anti-revisionists and loses sight of the principal question: how much any particular step contributed to rebuilding the proletarian Party.

In fact on page 22 the article denies altogether the leading role of the working class: it sneers,

"According to this 'feeling' (it rarely becomes more explicit than this) an industrial worker was intrinsically somehow or other more valuable than a non-industrial worker or an intellectual!"

Yet 'somehow or other' Lenin also had just this 'feeling' which the article criticizes so contemptuously. Writing in 1897, when the Communist movement (then called Social-Democratic) was just developing, Lenin said in "Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats",

"Our work is primarily and mainly concentrated on the factory urban workers. The Russian Social-Democrats must not dissipate their forces; they must concentrate their activities among the industrial proletariat, which is most capable of imbibing Social-Democratic ideas, is the most developed class intellectually and politically, and the most important from the point of view of numbers and concentration in the important political centres of the country. Hence, the creation of a durable revolutionary organization among the factory, the urban, workers is one of the first and urgent tasks that confronts the Social-Democrats, and it would be very unwise indeed to allow ourselves to be diverted from this task at the present time."

Instead of pointing out sharply that revisionism is the ideology of the bourgeoisie dressed up as Marxism in order to fool and disarm the working class, the article makes a great deal of fuss about dogmatism and about the danger of following the lead of the socialist countries mechanically. Waving the red flag to oppose the red flag, it calls these errors 'revisionism' and it slanders as 'revisionist' comrades and organizations who make these errors.

The article makes no distinction between warmly supporting the line of a great Marxist-Leninist Party and opportunistically supporting the line of an infamous revisionist party. It implies that if comrades attach great importance to and are deeply influenced by the line of a great and tempered Marxist-Leninist Party they are guilty of revisionism. It puts them on the same level as the revisionists in the Communist Party of Great Britain who promptly and opportunistically supported Khrushchov when he overthrew the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This is indeed waving the red flag to oppose the red flag. It is to go over to the stand of the bourgeoisie.

Sneering at 'fetishism of the Party' of the working class, the article in MLQ 3 also defends and supports small group mentality. It attacks attempts to form a leadership to unite the anti-revisionists in a single organization and overcome the disintegration into small groups from which the movement suffered.

On page 21 it complains about 'The Provisional Committee of the British Marxist-Leninist Organization' that:

"Implicitly and explicitly the groups, who in their polemics and

to organization were revitalizing the Marxist movement in Britain, were treated as obstacles.

Yet small groups, so long as they remain small groups, are precisely obstacles in the way of building the united national Party of the working class. The Party must be built in the course of relentless struggle against small group mentality. By sheltering small group mentality this article objectively opposed the interests of the working class.

The article makes some correct subordinate points about errors made in the attempts to set up a new revolutionary Communist centre. But the essence of its line is to attack the attempt to set up the centre itself, and to insist that small group mentality has to be appeased. According to this line it is essential to compromise with small group mentality. Compromise with small group mentality is the essence of the federal road to Party building, which the CPB(ML) pushed for so long so opportunistically.

The attack on Michael McCreery in this article and in 'Origins and Perspectives' must be denounced. McCreery was one of the very few strong and tempered Marxist-Leninists to come out of the thoroughly rotten revisionist 'Communist Party of Great Britain'. His death at the age of 36 in April 1965 was a great loss to the British Marxist-Leninist movement. The essence of his decision to leave the 'CPGB' in 1963 and raise the fallen banner of proletarian, revolutionary Communism, to call on all anti-revisionists and class-conscious workers to rally round, the essence of this decision was fundamentally correct.

The accusation in MLQ 3 that he 'put organization before politics' is a slander. McCreery's writings show a strong grasp of the ideological and political principles needed in reconstructing the genuine revolutionary Communist Party, and the need to concentrate in the early stages on propagating these principles in the fight against revisionism. In particular his article, 'The Way Forward', which has rightly been reprinted by certain organizations in the Marxist-Leninist movement, is a very powerful anti-revisionist statement which still merits reading today.

There were subordinate weaknesses in McCreery's lead. He failed adequately to consolidate a strong leading core to leave behind after his death and the organization which he set up, the 'Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity' (CDRCU) collapsed. Nevertheless we must recognize that McCreery's achievements far outweigh his shortcomings.

By attacking McCreery the article in MLQ 3 reveals further its own pandering to small group mentality and ultra-democracy. It reveals its opposition to the setting up of a central rallying point for building the proletarian Party and its opposition to the principles of democratic centralism.

The article also makes a sectarian attack on the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist). It concentrates on questions of personality and organizational details instead of concentrating primarily on ideological and political line. It criticizes to destroy instead of criticizing in the spirit of curing the sickness to save the patient. This is sectarianism. As a criticism of the CPB(ML) the article is inferior to the pamphlet published by the Communist Unity Association (Marxist-Leninist) called 'Economism or Revolution?'

Comrades McCreery of the CDRCU and Birch of the CPB(ML) should not be criticized for attempting to set up a centre for building the new

revolutionary Communist Party of the working class. They should only be criticized to the extent that they made certain errors or mistakes which meant that the new centre was not as strong or correct as it should be.

Taken as a whole, the article in M.L.Q. 3 shows serious errors of intellectualism, small group mentality, ultra-democracy and sectarianism. Its publication harmed the working class by furthering the attempt to sidetrack the struggle to build the revolutionary Communist Party into the cul-de-sac of federalism.

But through struggle a bad thing can be turned into a good thing. This article is a teacher by negative example. The working class can learn from errors and put the lessons to good use in the struggle to carry out the central task in Britain today of building the revolutionary Communist Party. We must take a firm working class stand, unite genuine Marxist-Leninists on the basis of what is in the interests of the working class, starting from the desired for unity and winning unity through active ideological struggle and criticism and self-criticism. We must combat small group mentality relentlessly and practice democratic centralism strictly. The future lies with the working class. Because we take the stand of the working class with perseverance success is inevitable.

The imperialist bourgeoisie throughout the world are deeply threatened by the rising militancy of the proletariat and oppressed nations although for imperialism from imperialism. Revolution is the main trend in the world today. The contradictions of imperialism also affect other strata. Since the early stage of capitalist development, the middle strata, petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia have been transformed. Marx and Engels, writing of an earlier stage of capitalist development described the position of the petty bourgeoisie in the following words:

"The petty bourgeoisie is a class - the small tradespeople, shopkeepers and retired tradespeople generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants - all these petty proprietors who possess their own means of production, but who have not sufficient for the sale of their own products, and are engaged in the competition of the market. (ibid. p. 43)

The crisis of imperialism also affects the intelligentsia who do mental work (look to Marx now). A section of this stratum has often historically grasped the scientific aspect of Marxism-Leninism and seen that bourgeoisie the logic is incapable of offering solutions to the contradictions of capital. The intelligentsia has furnished leaders of the workers' movement, for example Marx and Lenin in the "Communist Manifesto" (p. 44). Marx and Engels described the petty bourgeoisie as a "stratum of the bourgeoisie" that the petty bourgeoisie are part of "the bourgeoisie" and that the petty bourgeoisie are part of "the bourgeoisie" and that the petty bourgeoisie are part of "the bourgeoisie".

This happens because these sections of the intelligentsia comprehend the contradictions between monopoly capital and the petty bourgeoisie for the scientific understanding of the intelligentsia is needed to make them revolutionary. The workers' leaders who came from the petty bourgeoisie like Marx and Lenin did, because they grasped the need to take the side of the proletariat. Marx and Engels and Leninists are the only ones who have done this.

COMBAT INTELLECTUALISM TO TRANSFORM THE CLASS STAND
OF THE COMMUNIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses however this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat." (Marx and Engels, 'The Manifesto of the Communist Party', Peking edition, p33)

Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism summed up the essential feature of the class struggle under capitalism in these words. Over one hundred years later, the two great hostile camps are still in conflict. The means of production are concentrated in still fewer hands, and the power of the bourgeoisie is backed up by the increasing power of state repression. The proletariat, the only productive class in society, is subjected to exploitation which the bourgeoisie is forced to intensify by means of drives for increased productivity, redundancies and increasing measures to cut living standards. But the epoch of the bourgeoisie has, since the beginning of this century, reached its highest stage - the stage of imperialism, of which as Lenin pointed out is the "eve of the proletarian revolution". As the crisis of imperialism intensifies its parasitic character is revealed more clearly. Its yoke gets heavier and the struggle between the classes is now intensified. The imperialist bourgeoisies throughout the world are deeply threatened by the rising militancy of the proletariat, and oppressed nations struggling for liberation from imperialism. Revolution is the main trend in the world today. The contradictions of imperialism also affect other strata. Since the early stage of capitalist development, the middle strata, petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia have been transformed. Marx and Engels, writing of an earlier stage of capitalist development described the position of the petty bourgeoisie in the following words:-

"The lower strata of the middle class - the small tradespeople, shopkeepers and retired tradespeople generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants - all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production." (ibid. p42 - 43)

The crisis of imperialism also affects the intelligentsia who do mental work. Quick to grasp new ideas, a section of this stratum has often historically grasped the scientific aspect of Marxism-Leninism, and seen that bourgeois ideology is incapable of offering solutions to the contradictions of capitalism. The intelligentsia has furnished leaders of the workers' movement, for example Marx and Lenin. In the "Communist Manifesto", (p46), Marx and Engels described the period when "the process of dissolution, going on within the whole range of society assumes such a violent glaring character" that the ranks of the proletariat are joined by "a portion of the bourgeois ideologists who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole".

This happens because these sections of the intelligentsia 'comprehend theoretically'. But neither the contradictions between monopoly capital and the petty bourgeoisie, nor the scientific understanding of the intelligentsia is enough to make them revolutionary. The workers leaders who came from the intelligentsia, like Marx and Lenin did so because they grasped the need to take the stand of the proletariat. Marx and Engels add, immediately after the last passage quoted:-

"...of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie, today, the proletariat alone is the really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."
(ibid. p46)

INTELLECTUALISM IS THE PRINCIPAL ERROR IN THE CFB (ML)

This is one of the key points that has been grasped as a result of ideological struggle in the CFB (ML) - "the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class." The struggle to deepen our grasp remains the central struggle. In all the articles of this issue of 'Revolution', this struggle is placed at the centre. In particular the article criticising our founding documents "The Working Class Grows Strong By Fighting Errors Within Its Ranks" (p1) points out the errors that arose from the failure to grasp this point. It also argues that this was no accident or oversight. It was one aspect of the error of intellectualism, the ideology of the intelligentsia being imported into the young revolutionary movement. Although progress has been made in combating this trend, intellectualism is the principal ideological error in the CFB (ML). In order to carry through the struggle against intellectualism, to take our stand with the working class and not with the intelligentsia, we must grasp more firmly the fact that intellectualism is a mode of thinking stamped with the brand of the intelligentsia. It is with this in mind that the article by Enver Hoxha is being reprinted (see p20).

INTELLECTUALISM - THE TYPE OF THINKING CHARACTERISTIC OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

In his article, Enver Hoxha shows clearly how intellectualism emerged with class society and developed alongside it. Taking ancient Greece as an example he shows the connection between intellectualism and idealism - the view that the ideas in our heads are primary over practical reality. This belief rested on the separation in class society between manual and mental activity. This division of labour corresponded in ancient society to the division into classes, into labourers and slaves on the one hand and rulers and their priests and philosophers on the other.

Under capitalism the development of the forces of production means that the intelligentsia is a much larger stratum than earlier periods. Bajram Abdiu, in an article called "The Intelligentsia and its Present Day Role" says:-

"In the capitalist countries there is a continual growth in the section of the intelligentsia which does not own any means of production and which is employed for wages by private or state capitalist enterprises. This for example, in the United States, in 1969 this section accounted for about 88% of the total number of intellectuals, in Britain in 1951 it represented 87.7%, in France in 1954 it represented 85.6% and in Japan in 1960 about 92%."

(Reprinted from 'Albania Today' in the Communist Unity Association (ML) pamphlet "Is There a Middle Stratum?" p4-5)

But because the intelligentsia has grown in size, and its role is transformed, because it has become largely a wage earning group, this does not mean that it has become part of the proletariat. Abdiu criticises bourgeois ideologists, and especially the revisionists in the Soviet Union for arguing this. To quote Abdiu again:-

"Marxism views the intelligentsia as a large group of people mainly engaged in mental work, in the organisation and management of work and production of the affairs of state and society, who engage in creative work and not in manual work or merely carrying out instructions. The intelligentsia constitutes a specific social stratum and not a class in itself because, unlike the classes, it has no independent relation of its own to the means of production, it stems from, and it is formed by, various classes and in every historically given social system it mainly serves the class in power." (ibid p5).

At the same time the intelligentsia is not a homogeneous mass. In general it assists the bourgeoisie to exploit the working masses and it is also paid by the bourgeoisie out of the value created by the working class.

As it has grown in size it has also become more diverse. Communists must draw clear distinctions between different categories and strata of the intelligentsia. Abdiu describes these as:-

".. the upper strata which is closest to the bourgeoisie and takes part jointly with it in the exploitation of the proletariat, ... the middle and lower strata which are connected with, and are closer to, the proletariat than the bourgeoisie." (ibid p7)

Communists must distinguish between for example judges, senior civil servants, senior managers and engineers who take part jointly in the exploitation of the proletariat and school teachers and technicians in the factory or laboratory who are closer to the working class in living standards and sometimes in working conditions.

It is mainly from these sections (the middle and lower intelligentsia) that some elements will be won to progressive positions, and some will enter the workers movement. Especially in periods of acute class struggle, some members of the intelligentsia will have grasped theoretically the need to overthrow capitalism, whereas others, particularly from the lower strata who are in daily contact with the masses, will have begun to understand from a more practical aspect. These factors will drive some members of the intelligentsia into the ranks of the proletarian movement.

But it is at this point that Communists must be absolutely clear on the nature of the intelligentsia as a stratum, and must grasp that the proletariat alone is the really revolutionary class. The class position of the intelligentsia is still different from that of the proletariat. It continually gives rise to intellectualism, which can be transferred wholesale into the movement if not guarded against.

As Hoxha shows, the class position of the intellectual continually gives rise to intellectualism. Intellectuals are prone to vacillation and to the illusion of individualism because, in Hoxha's words:-

"The abstraction, the division of mental from manual work means that they are not in contact with things, but with their symbols".

(E. Hoxha. "On the Intellectuals". p21 below)

Because of this the intellectuals believe that they stand above classes and that problems can be solved through theory alone. This is the key link between the class position of intellectuals, and the ideology of intellectualism. When intellectuals enter the communist movement these errors must be boldly and patiently combated. It is only through struggle that intellectuals can begin to take up a firm proletarian class stand. And it is only with leadership from the proletariat that such a struggle can take place.

"Lenin says that the stratum of intellectuals is characterised by its, bourgeois individualism, by its inability to organise itself and by instability. The proletariat should take them by the hand, and teach them the dangers of anarchic individualism, because individualism makes them hesitate, vacillate and so on." (ibid. p22 below)

COMBAT INTELLECTUALISM. TRANSFORM THE CLASS STAND OF THE CFB(ML)!

Through struggle, the CFB(ML) has begun to grasp the task of struggling against intellectualism. In summing up the experience of the Third Conference, the article 'Build the Revolutionary Communist Party to Lead the Revolution' pointed out:-

"As a result of the campaign against intellectualism all comrades, both those from the working class and those from the intelligentsia, have begun to

those from the working class and those from intellectual backgrounds have united in striving to take an open, conscious proletarian stand, to write and speak simply and clearly, to study in order to apply in practice and to decide on realistic tasks and carry them through to the end." (Revolution 1, p12).

This was possible because comrades began to grasp that the revolutionary Communist Party must be a party of the working class, not of the intelligentsia. It is also important to grasp that this will be a protracted struggle. As Mao points out:-

"... a thorough change in world outlook takes a very long time, and we should work patiently and not be impetuous."

*(The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People
in Selected Readings, p 458)*

The world outlook of the intellectuals must be remoulded. They must be taken in hand by working class comrades, whose strongest weapon is ideological struggle. Examples of intellectualist errors must be boldly criticised and self-criticisms made when they occur. But as Mao says, the struggle will be a protracted one, and should be a patient one. Recognising this fact, the CFB(M) has doubled the period of candidate membership for members of the intelligentsia. This is explicitly to give time for such comrades to begin to remould their outlook, under the leadership of the organisation.

This is not to argue that some comrades from the working class will not be free of intellectualist errors. The history of the CFB(M) itself provides examples of comrades from solid working class backgrounds, who perhaps because of incorrect leadership in the past, fell into intellectualism and even embraced it enthusiastically in their search for a clear line. In general however, we must recognise that it is the class position of the intelligentsia that gives rise to intellectualism, and measures must be taken to combat this.

Ideological struggle is a potent weapon, but it is not sufficient on its own. Ideological education must be constantly carried out. It is necessary to study the question of intellectualism, especially the article by Enver Hoxha, to gain a deeper grasp of the class nature of intellectualism. It is also necessary to apply the lessons of study to practice, and to show how the struggle against intellectualism must run through every aspect of our work. In relation to the fight for democratic centralism, we must show that revolutionary discipline combined with proletarian democracy is an essential weapon for the working class in its fight against the bourgeoisie, and that petty bourgeois anarchic individualism, if not checked will destroy the revolutionary movement.

In their style of living, communists struggle to adopt the style of 'plain living and hard struggle' particularly with comrades from the higher intelligentsia who are used to a privileged standard of living, and whose contact with symbols instead of things makes them forget how much hard physical toil is needed for the working class to earn their wages.

It is necessary to educate comrades from the intelligentsia to integrate with the masses. Integration with the masses is the key to actively remoulding the world outlook of the intelligentsia. Mao is absolutely correct when he says:-

"The intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggles, or made up their minds to serve the interests of the masses and become one with them." (Quotations, p292)

In struggling for this, not only class stand, but also class position is important. In fact Mao argues that the thorough change of class stand is only possible on the basis of change in class position. To integrate with the masses means that comrades from the intelligentsia, (especially those from the higher intelligentsia), should take jobs which are closer to the working class. It will also be necessary to win conviction for some comrades from the intelligentsia to enter directly the work of building bases.

As the article "Build Communist Bases in the Working Class" (p23) points out, the decision to concentrate all our forces on the industrial working class is a further blow against intellectualism. It is in this way that the principal error within the organisation, the error of intellectualism, will be overthrown. This is not to argue that it will be defeated forever. Bourgeois ideological errors will reappear as long as the material basis for them exists. Examples from the socialist countries where struggle is still needed to prevent the restoration of capitalism, proves this fact. But by struggling to achieve the central mass work task, the building of communist bases, we will begin to have what Mao calls 'a real grasp of Marxism'.

"In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants. When in addition to reading some Marxist books our intellectuals have gained some understanding through their own practical work, we will all be speaking the same language, ... if that happens, all of us will certainly work much better." (Quotations, p312).

Intellectualism is founded on the separation of manual from mental work. It comprises a number of ideas and methods of work which are typical of the intelligentsia, and which prevent them from quickly taking up a bold proletarian class stand. These are vacillation, which is typical of the strata caught between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; idealism, which makes the intellectual think that he is not prompted by any class interest, and that everything is subject to his judgement; opportunism, based on the belief that contradictions can be solved by intellectual consideration; and individualism, based on the fact that the intellectual's "means of production are his personal knowledge, his personal convictions and personal qualities". (Hoxha, p22) All these illusions are incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat. When they arise in the Marxist-Leninist movement they must be combated.

The proletariat has three main weapons with which to combat intellectualism. These are active ideological struggle, ideological education, and integration of intellectuals with the working class. Through ideological struggle incorrect ideas can be rectified if Marxist-Leninists examine their thinking and work, and carry out criticism and self-criticism to expose mistakes and promote what is good. Criticism of intellectualist errors must be done seriously, but must also follow the principles of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient." Alongside ideological struggle, comrades from an intellectual background must be educated. What Mao said about Chinese intellectuals is applicable to intellectuals who are coming towards Marxism-Leninism at this stage in Britain:-

"They have had some Marxist education... But the majority still have a long way to go before they can completely replace the bourgeois world outlook with the proletarian world outlook. Some people have read a few Marxist books and think themselves quite learned, but what they have read has not penetrated, has not struck root in their minds, so that they do not know how to use it and their class feelings remain of old. Others are very conceited and having learned some book phrases think themselves terrific and are very cocky; but whenever a storm

blows up, they take a stand very different from that of the workers and the majority of the peasants. They waver while the latter stand firm, they equivocate while the latter are forthright. Hence it is wrong to assume that people who educate others no longer need to be educated and no longer need to study...." (Speech at the CPC National Conference on Propaganda Work! Selected Readings, p484).

The aim of struggle and education is to improve the work of Communists, to make them better fighters against the bourgeoisie. To achieve this aim ideological struggle and education should be consolidated by practical integration with the working class. In the last analysis this is the true test of whether an intellectual is truly revolutionary or not:-

"In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so. Ultimately it is this alone, and not professions of faith in the Three Principles or in Marxism, that distinguishes one from the other. A true revolutionary must be one who is willing to integrate himself with the workers and peasants and actually does so." (The May 4th Movement! Selected Works Vol 2, p238).

ON THE INTELLECTUALS!

(Reprinted from Enver Hoxha "Selected Works", Vol. 2)

The early forms of division of labour in Greek antiquity:—
Plato and his ideal "Republic"

- o Manual work and mental activity.
- Mental activity, — the privilege of the archons, the ruling classes.

Placing the question of society on such a basis must lead to idealism, which creates the idea of the independence of thought, that thought "predominates" over material and practical reality, that thought is prior to matter.

The feudal regime preserved the philosophical idealist concepts and consolidated the division of mental labour from manual labour.

The nobles, the men of the sword, commanders, leaders, The clerks, the intelligentsia of that time, the representatives of philosophical and scientific thought.

Serfs and artisans, manual workers.

The capitalist regime caused the intellectuals to form a more homogeneous stratum, and the functions of the intellectual began to expand.

Various categories of intellectuals in the service of capital, like technicians, engineers, economists, judges, teachers, professors, and others, develop along with capital, not only because needs for them increase but because the capitalists, to make life easier for themselves, drop their technical functions.

The greater the number of intellectuals the more they become dependent on the capitalist economy.

From the economic standpoint, the intellectuals can be grouped into these categories: functionaries, salary-earners in capitalist enterprises, judges, officers, and others of this kind; teachers, professors, and philosophers, whom the capitalists utilize to spread bourgeois ideology, but:

- 1) decadence of the bourgeoisie.
- 2) Malthus's economic theory which characterises the decadence;
- 3) the critical spirit of the latter category of intellectuals, which

¹ Theses drafted for discussion at the meeting of the Bureau of the Party Committee for the city of Tirana which, on March 21, 1958, was to take up for consideration the report "On the work for the education of intellectuals". Comrade Enver Hoxha did not deal exhaustively with all these theses at that meeting.

² In his treatise "The Republic", Plato described an "ideal state" based on the division of work among castes of free citizens: 1) leaders (philosophers), 2) fighters, 3) artisans and farmers. Each caste, according to Plato, should carry out only its specific tasks without interfering with those of the others; the fighters were denied the right of private ownership and of creating a family so that they might deal exclusively with the defence of state.

³ According to the anti-scientific and reactionary theory developed by Malthus (1766-1834), the impoverishment of the workers does not result from their oppression and exploitation by the rich classes, but is allegedly the consequence of the permanent disproportion between the arithmetical progress of the means of subsistence and the geometrical progress of the growth of the population.

... makes the bourgeoisie sacrifice culture to the interests of the army, the police, ... aggravate the situation of the intellectual, causing him to reject the capitalist yoke, and the bourgeois state to violate the traditions of the alleged "university freedoms".

The decadent bourgeoisie and its ideology reject rationalism, and trample the national honour underfoot. This makes the conscientious intellectual understand more clearly that the bourgeoisie can no longer be the sole leader of the nation and its culture.

The characteristics of the engineers and technicians:

The bourgeoisie leaves in their hands the management of equipment and the management of cadres, that is, direction and command of part of the workers. Although they enjoy better material conditions, spiritually they are close to the workers, living nearly the same way as they do.

The technicians of medium training live under poorer material conditions, they are in daily contact with the proletariat at work, hence they are in still closer spiritual contact with them.

The allegedly independent work of the artisan intellectuals, artists, and others, brings them closer to the bourgeoisie, but the sale of their works, which is subject to speculation, turns them towards the working class.

What is typical about the doctors is that they do not owe their existence to capitalist development. They try to maintain their traditional status quo, their individual character. This turns them into a closed caste, reluctant to admit elements of the proletariat into their ranks. But contact with the deplorable conditions of the working class makes them gradually aware of the actual situation of the decadence of the bourgeoisie and brings them closer to the working class.

Hence the intellectuals, who until yesterday were with the bourgeoisie and were used as its tools, begin to gain a better understanding of things.

Certain subjective considerations prevent the intellectual from becoming conscious quickly:

- 1) The vacillations which are typical of the middle and petty-bourgeois classes from which he comes.
- 2) Certain special illusions.

The abstraction, the division of mental from manual work means that he is not in contact with things but with their symbols. This brings about idealist illusions.

His position between the classes makes him think that he is not prompted by any class interest and that everything is subject only to his judgement and knowledge. That is why he thinks that the "ideas" that set the intellectual in motion are independent of the class relationships. He thinks he stands above the classes, and represents a morality independent of the economic forces and class antagonisms.

This idea, detached from manual work, from life, makes him think that he is the supreme power of the world order. This takes the intellectual out of the sphere of reality and makes him think that all the contradictions should be solved not by violence but by intellectual conciliation, by peaceful evolution.

These views predispose him to opportunism.

Herein lies the source of his reluctance to accept communism, because the concept of morality independent of class relationships and the abstract objectivity are diametrically opposed to historical materialism, and that conciliatory opportunism is in flagrant contradiction to the revolutionary

concept of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Another illusion is his individualism. The intellectual is not opposed to the proletariat. He is not a capitalist. He has no work implements like the medium bourgeois or handicraftsman. He is obliged to sell the product of his labour, and therefore, capitalist exploitation weighs heavy on him. But with regard to his living conditions he is nearer to the bourgeoisie than the proletariat.

The intellectual does not fight with physical force but with arguments. His means of production are his personal knowledge, his personal convictions, and he cannot create a position for himself except through his personal qualities. Therefore, he thinks, he can achieve his ends only by expressing his individuality.

He does not accept discipline for himself but only for the masses. He places himself among the "elite", above the common man, Nietzsche's theory.

Lenin says that the stratum of intellectuals is characterised by its individualism, by its inability to organise itself, and by instability. The proletariat should take them by the hand, and teach them the dangers of anarchic individualism, because individualism makes them hesitate, vacillate, and so on.

It is necessary for the intellectuals to shake off bourgeois ideology and to become imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

When a worker becomes a communist, he feels that something that had been latent in him is now flourishing, he discovers a culture which enlightens him on what he had been dimly aware of, he finds in Marxism the clear assertion of himself, becoming aware of what had existed in his subconscious.

Hence when a worker becomes a communist, he builds and consolidates himself.

When an intellectual becomes a communist, events do not develop as in the former case. At every step of the triumph of socialist consciousness, the intellectual is compelled to destroy something from his past. Thus, he destroys and builds, and in the first steps he takes he has the impression not of creating but of a struggle against himself.

When the worker becomes a communist, he knows that he will fight, that he will go on strike, come into conflict with capitalism, and may even be killed, but he has only one enemy and this enemy is an external one, capitalism, while the intellectual must wage a battle on two fronts, against himself, that is, against his petty-bourgeois hangovers and against the external enemy, capitalism.

For an intellectual to acquire socialist consciousness he must be guided, tempered in practical work, re-educated and imbued with Marxist-Leninist theory. This constant work will be done by the working class and its party.

4 From F. Nietzsche (1844-1900), bourgeois reactionary theoretician of the transitory stage from capitalism to imperialism, on which fascism was founded. According to his theory, will is the determining factor in society because the development of history depends on the will of the individual aspiring to power, while the masses are only "serfs", the "mob", destined to obey and submit to the ruling classes forever.

BUILD COMMUNIST BASES IN THE WORKING CLASS

Building Communist bases in the working class must be the central task of mass work at the present stage of the revolution in Britain.

For a long time the CFB(ML), in a vague and woolly way, had thought it 'important' to carry out practical activity among the working class. As long ago as 1970 the task of drawing up a line on Trade Unions was delegated to some comrades, and in due course a line was developed.

In the course of struggle the line was transformed from an economist, empiricist and tailist line on 'trade union' work to a generally correct line on building bases in the working class. By the time of the CFB(ML)'s Third Conference in February of this year (see 'Revolution' no.1) the resolution of the conference was able to say:

"Practice will become primary in the course of the struggle to develop and test lines. The prime aim of this practice will be to build Communist bases among the industrial proletariat at the place of work in order to establish and consolidate our roots in the working class. The vanguard of the socialist revolution must be proletarian, not petty bourgeois."

So by this time the CFB(ML) had begun to grasp the importance of building bases in the working class. Work with the working class was no longer just one field of mass work among many but had become "the prime aim" of the CFB(ML)'s mass work.

But grasping a line is not the same as grasping it firmly. One page of the 'Quotations', Mao Tse-tung points out that not grasping a thing firmly is the same as not grasping it at all. The CFB(ML) had only understood the importance of building bases superficially, it had not really sunk in.

After the conference a new struggle broke out. Leading comrades pointed out that base building should not just be the most important part of mass work, but should be the central task of mass work. Was it correct, these comrades asked, at a time when our numbers are relatively few, and when so few workers have been won over to Marxism-Leninism, to engage in any other work but work in the working class?

At the time this new struggle broke out the CFB(ML) had decided that, as well as base-building, the CFB(ML) should also carry out mass work on women's emancipation, which meant working in the Working Women's Charter (WWC), and on Ireland, working in the Troops Out Movement (TOM). These tasks had been listed 1, 2 and 3, without any real grasp of their relative importance.

The comrades who questioned this empiricist list of tasks pointed to the experience of the Bolshevik Party and Lenin's theoretical writings. At a similar stage of the Russian revolution to our own Lenin had pointed out that it was essential to concentrate the forces of the revolutionary Party entirely on the working class and mainly on the industrial proletariat.

Writing about the Russian revolutionary movement in the 1890's, Lenin said:

"...we had astonishingly few forces, and it was perfectly natural and legitimate then to devote ourselves exclusively to activities among the workers, and severely condemn any deviation from this. The whole task then was to consolidate our position in the working class."

('What Is To Be Done?' Peking edition, p107)

At that time Lenin had written:-

"Our work is primarily and mainly concentrated on the factory, the urban workers. Russian Social Democracy must not dissipate its forces; it must concentrate its activities on the industrial proletariat, which is most susceptible to Social Democratic ideas;... the creation of a durable revolutionary organisation among the factory, the urban workers, is, therefore, the first and most urgent task that confronts Russian Social Democracy, and it would be very unwise indeed to allow ourselves to be diverted from this task at the present time." ("The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats", Collected Works, vol 2, p330).

What does the experience of the Bolsheviks mean for us? It means that the CFB(ML) is now directing all its mass work to the working class and is concentrating in particular on the industrial proletariat. Work on women's emancipation and on Ireland is subordinate to and serves the interests of the central mass work task of base-building. The CFB(ML) has withdrawn from broad front work in the WWC and in TOM as these broad fronts cannot serve the interests of the working class at this stage. Propaganda on women's emancipation and the struggle against British imperialism in Ireland will be carried on as part of the base-building work.

The CFB(ML) has crystallised this line of devoting all energies in mass work to base-building, and that work's relation to party-building in this formula: Building the revolutionary Communist Party is the central task; building bases in the working class is the central task of mass work.

What were the ideological errors which prevented the CFB(ML) from firmly grasping this before? They were intellectualism and empiricism.

INTELLECTUALISM

Intellectualism is the ideology of the intelligentsia - the stratum of those who do mental rather than manual work. Members of the intelligentsia can be won to the revolutionary movement, but at the same time bring errors arising from their class position with them. In essence they forget that the working class is the decisive class. They see Marxism-Leninism correctly as the most complete scientific theoretical system that exists, but forget that Marxism-Leninism is at the same time not an abstract set of powerful ideas but objectively the voice of the vanguard of the proletariat and of no other class.

These comrades forget Marx's words that "the philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point, however, is to change it." The whole point about Marxism-Leninism is that it is the ideology of the proletariat and that when Marxist theory is grasped by the masses it becomes a material force capable of changing the world.

"One tendency covers another" as Chou En-lai has pointed out. In combating liberalism and embracing active ideological struggle some comrades began to become intoxicated with the success of active ideological struggle and began to see it as a thing in itself. Ideological struggle is essential for winning and ensuring unity in the central overall task of Party building. But if it is forgotten that this ideological struggle must serve a specific practical goal - to arm the vanguard of the working class - the errors of intellectualism and idealism will be fallen into. Leading comrades made these errors by not grasping the task of base-building firmly.

These comrades recognised intellectually the importance of base-building in the industrial working class but did not grasp it firmly in practice. They assumed that the CFB(ML)'s practical work should continue as before with priority being given to base-building, but with work in broad fronts continuing at the same time. This was wrong and ignored the present class composition of the broad fronts.

Until the vanguard of the industrial proletariat has been rallied these broad fronts can, in general, represent only reformist pressure group politics, not proletarian class politics. Their class composition is overwhelmingly

that of collections of individuals from the intelligentsia. There are very few industrial workers in them. The intellectualist butterfly cannot imagine any other form of politics than these broad front meadows in which he can skilfully flit around, creating a position with his purely personal qualities. These broad fronts breed intellectualism. They teach comrades working in them to forget that the working class is the decisive class, and train them to believe that Marxism-Leninism is a set of clever political skills completely divorced from the class stand of the proletariat and the objectively existing class struggle.

These broad fronts are not wholly bad and at times can take up a progressive stand. But their disadvantages are great, and in view of the tightness of the resources of the Marxist-Leninists at this stage it is incorrect to work in them.

Marxist-Leninists should stop all work in broad fronts to release resources for base-building in the industrial working class. Instead of directing Communist politics at individual members of the intelligentsia within these broad fronts, we must take Communist politics straight to the industrial working class, so that its members come forward, at first in ones and twos, but later in increasing numbers, to form the bulk of the membership of the revolutionary Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class.

Some say that to concentrate on the industrial working class is to commit errors of economism. Certainly, in our propaganda and mass work we must set our face like rock against economism. But those who say that to concentrate on the working class is economist shows intellectualist contempt for the working class. They do not see that the working class is the decisive class. They do not believe that the working class can and will lead all other progressive strata, including the intelligentsia, forward to the socialist revolution.

Previously the CFB(ML) took part in broad front work partly because it could see no other way of getting contacts from the intelligentsia involved in mass work. This was opportunist. It shied away from transforming the class character of the CFB(ML). The best mass work that comrades from the intelligentsia can do is to place themselves at the service of the working class and aid the formation of its vanguard Party through rallying the industrial proletariat.

THE ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS

Intellectuals play an important role in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Intellectuals occupy a position intermediate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Because of their class position and their training they are relatively quick to grasp radical ideas. In the early stages of the revolution the intellectuals tend to be dominant. The history of all revolutions shows that the working class cannot by their own efforts create revolutionary theory. Marxism-Leninism has always been taken to the working class by intellectuals. Marxism-Leninism, as a theory, is the product of the "revolutionary socialist intelligentsia", to use Lenin's phrase. Marx and Lenin themselves were precisely such members of the intelligentsia.

But although Marxist-Leninist theory was produced by the intelligentsia, it is the ideology of the proletariat. It is the working class which is the only thoroughly revolutionary class. The intellectuals themselves tend to be "subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggle..." (Quotations from Mao Tse-tung, p292).

The intellectuals bring into the revolutionary ranks their own ideology; intellectualism. (see p14 in this issue of 'Revolution' for a fuller explanation on this question). For a long time this ideology was very strong in the CFB(ML). Comrades at all levels, including working class comrades, complacently accepted the dominance of intellectuals and the organisation's relative divorce

from the working class. Objectively the CFB (ML) considered that the new Communist Party would be a Party of intellectuals, not the vanguard of the working class. The task of intellectuals is not to lead the revolution, but to serve the proletariat. It is the proletariat who must be the vanguard of the revolution.

THE VANGUARD ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

"...it is only the working class that is most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class revolution fails and that with the leadership of the working class revolution triumphs." ('Quotations' p39)

It was characteristic of the CFB (ML) that one of the early tasks set was a full class analysis of Britain. This task was set at a time when there was no firm grasp that it is the working class which is the revolutionary class. Without this fundamental concept really sinking into the minds of all comrades, without the idea being firmly rooted in all the theory and practice of the organisation, a 'full class analysis' would be like a coat of glossy paint on top of rotten wood.

The error of not really grasping the vanguard role of the working class is still fairly strong in the Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain, a movement which is still dominated by intellectuals. It is correct therefore to restate the basic theoretical principles on this question. In case comrades who read this consider that they don't need to be told about this, then let them ponder on it and struggle to grasp the concept firmly. They should ask themselves "is our ideology that of the proletariat, or that of the progressive intelligentsia? - is all our mass work devoted to the working class, or are we still working in the broad fronts of the intelligentsia?"

"The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle." ('The Communist Manifesto'. Peking edition, p30). When Marx and Engels wrote these words at the beginning of the Manifesto they did so for a reason. Class struggle is the lynch-pin of Marxist theory, which alone understands that class struggle is the engine of history.

Capitalism brings together in factories the working class in large numbers. Their association together and their exploitation and oppression by the bourgeoisie is the material base for the fact that the working class is the only truly revolutionary class. As Lenin put it:

"The very conditions make the workers capable of struggle and impel them to struggle. Capital collects the workers in great masses in big cities, uniting them, teaching them to act in unison. At every step the workers come face to face with their main enemy - the capitalist class. In combat with this enemy the worker becomes a socialist, comes to realise the necessity of a complete reconstruction of the whole of society, the complete abolition of all poverty and oppression".
(*'The Lessons of the Revolution'. Collected Works. Vol 16, p301*).

The working class, exactly because of their objective position in society is, in Marx and Engels' telling phrase, the "gravediggers of the bourgeoisie". The working class is the class whose historical destiny it is to lead the masses in the socialist revolution and the building of the new order, socialism:

"...not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself: it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons - the modern working class - the proletarians."
(*'The Communist Manifesto', Peking edition: p39*)

THE PARTY MUST BE A PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

As it is the working class which is the only truly revolutionary class, so it is only the Party which firmly bases itself and relies on the working class which is a truly revolutionary Party.

The revolutionary Communist Party of the working class must be built in the midst of the struggles of the working class. Marxist-Leninists must unswervingly devote all their energies in mass work to building bases in the working class at this stage of the revolution. Marxist-Leninists must serve and lead the working class so that first the advanced elements and then the masses will rally round Marxism-Leninism and its organisational form, the revolutionary Communist Party. Only in this way can the future Party fulfill Stalin's criteria:

"The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their selfless devotion to the cause of the proletariat". ('Foundations of Leninism', Peking edition, p103)

CONCENTRATE ON THE ADVANCED WORKERS

At this stage of the revolution in Britain it is mainly towards the advanced workers that we must direct our propaganda and mass work. Marxist-Leninists cannot lead the masses until the class conscious vanguard has been won over. As Lenin pointed out:

"The proletarian vanguard has been won over ideologically. That is the main thing. Without this not even the first step towards victory can be made".

(*"Left Wing" Communism*, An Infantile Disorder'. Peking edition. p97)

The revolutionary Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class. It must be built in a constant struggle against opportunism and for the strategic interests of the working class. In the course of this struggle, first in ones and twos, then in large numbers, the class conscious vanguard, those most conscious of the bitterness of their exploitation and oppression, will rally round their Party. The Party will become the organised expression of their iron determination and revolutionary daring. The Party will then lead the masses in the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois state.

But until this task is basically completed, attempts to lead the masses will inevitably lead to opportunism. Because such attempts will not be led by the advanced workers and will not be based on a firm policy of relying on the most selfless and determined workers, but rather on a small number of individuals, failure will be the inevitable result.

Either the 'left' opportunist error of commandism or the right opportunist error of tailism are the necessary consequences of ignoring the stage of the revolution we are at. Commandism attempts to impose the views of a few individuals on the mass struggle and thinks that, by revolutionary phrasemongering and impetuous actions, history can be bent to the will of these individuals. Mao says that *"our comrades must not assume that everything they understand is understood by the masses."* ('Quotations', p127). Commandism is a form of sectarianism which tries to substitute the actions of a few for the mass struggle.

Alternatively, comrades will fall headlong into tailism, the opposite error to commandism. Tailism lags behind the understanding of the masses and fails to advance when the workers demand advance. Mao says that *"our comrades must not assume that the masses have no understanding of what they themselves do not yet understand"*. ('Quotations', p127). The form that tailism has usually taken in the Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain is tailing behind the opportunists in the official labour movement: the mistaking of the lines of the agents of the bourgeoisie in the revisionist, reformist and Trotskyite movements for the authentic voice of the working class.

movements for the authentic voice of the working class. A specific example of this is the support of the old Coventry group of the CFB (ML), for the opportunist's substitution of the demand for bourgeois nationalisation for the real demand of the working class; the right to work.

Both commandism and tailism fail to grasp the concept of the first historical stage of the revolution, that of winning over the class conscious vanguard. Not understanding this, commandism substitutes the actions of a few individuals isolated from the working class for the leadership of the advanced workers. Tailism relies on the opportunists and mistakes the views of these bourgeois agents for those of the advanced elements.

SMASH OPPORTUNISM

A very big task in building the revolutionary Communist Party, and a particularly big task in the central mass work task of base building is the decisive and complete defeat of opportunism in the working class. Lenin pointed out that the task of winning over the advanced workers "could not be accomplished without a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism..." ("Left Wing Communism" Peking edition, p 98).

The contradiction with the opportunists is not a contradiction among the people; it is a contradiction with the enemy. The opportunists, the revisionists, the reformists and, to a lesser extent, the Trotskyites, are the agents of the bourgeoisie in the midst of the working class. Lenin expressed this most clearly:

"Practice has shown that the active people in the working class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie, than the bourgeoisie itself.... this is where our principal enemy is: and we must conquer this enemy."

(*'On the Struggle Against Revisionism'*, FLPH Peking, p74).

Lenin did not idly call opportunism the "principal enemy". It is absolutely necessary to smash the ideological, political and eventually, organisational hold opportunism has over the working class. The advanced elements will not rally round the revolutionary Communist Party until the opportunists are thoroughly exposed as incorrigible enemies of the working class and allies of the bourgeoisie. This is why, although the bourgeoisie is the main enemy strategically, tactically it cannot be defeated until their agents in the working class are defeated and opportunism shown to be the ideology of the bourgeoisie. This is the whole nub of the first historical stage: the opportunists are a bigger immediate enemy than the bourgeoisie, they are the "principal enemy".

They are the "principal enemy" because they strip the revolutionary soul from Marxism, they embellish it with bourgeois ideology. They dress up opportunism in the fine clothes of Marxism. They use the name of Communism to divert the working class away from the revolutionary path and onto the reformist path. Again to quote Lenin:

"The bourgeoisie needs lackeys whom a section of the working class could trust, and who would paint in fine colours, embellish the bourgeoisie with talk about the possibility of the reformist path, who would throw dust in the eyes of the people by this talk, who would divert the people from revolution by depicting in glowing colours the charms and possibilities of the reformist path." (*'On the Struggle Against Revisionism'*, FLPH Peking, p72. (emphases in the original)).

For all these reasons the most important task in base building is ideological struggle against opportunism and the tireless propagation of Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the proletariat. Until the advanced elements have grasped this ideology they have nothing; with this ideology, and leading the masses, they are invincible!

BUILD THE PARTY IN THE MIDST OF THE WORKING CLASS

Building the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class must be the central task for all Marxist-Leninists in Britain today. It is the central task because without their Party the working class have nothing:

"In its struggle for power, the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organisation which will weld the millions of toilers into an army of the working class. Neither the decrepit rule of Russian Tsardom, nor the senile rule of international capital will be able to withstand this army." (Lenin - 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Back'. Moscow edition. p210)

The Party cannot be built in isolation from the struggles of the working class. The Party must become one with the class, so that, first the advanced workers, and then the mass of workers, respect and love their Party. In this way the workers will protect their Party to the end and the Party will lead the working class in increasing struggles until the eventual overthrow of the bourgeois state.

At this stage this can only be done by devoting, as Lenin said, all our mass work to the working class, concentrating mainly on the industrial proletariat. This is why building Communist bases must be the central task of mass work for all Marxist-Leninists. We must accomplish this task!

"And so to work, comrades! Let us not lose precious time! Russian Social-Democrats¹ have much to do to meet the requirements of the awakening proletariat, to organise the working class movement, to strengthen the revolutionary groups and their mutual ties, to supply the workers with propaganda and agitational literature, and to unite the workers' circles and Social Democratic groups scattered all over Russia into a single Social Democratic Labour Party!" (Lenin - 'The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats'. Collected Works, vol. 2, p347).

¹Editor's Note. Before the October Revolution, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) was called the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolshevik). Where Lenin uses the term 'Social Democrats', we would now say 'Communists'.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CFB(M-L) advance the struggle for the principal task of building the Marxist-Leninist party in Britain.

REVOLUTION. The theoretical journal of the National Committee of the CFB(M-L).
1 year - £1.50 2 years - £3.00 3 years £4.00

CLASS STRUGGLE. Newspaper of the National Committee of the CFB(M-L). The working class itself must come forward, lead the people and overthrow the capitalist class by force. "Class Struggle" is being published to help the working class rally its forces and build a truly revolutionary Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class.

1 year - £1.60 .

CHINESE AND ALBANIAN BOOKS AND PERIODICALS give a lead in applying Marxism-Leninism to the present struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, and for the building of socialism through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

PEKING REVIEW is a political weekly on Chinese and World affairs.
£1.80 per year. £2.70 for 2 years.

CHINA PICTORIAL. Large format monthly with fine pictures and short articles on China's achievements in all fields.
£1.50 per year. £2.25 for 2 years.

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS is an illustrated monthly of general coverage on the building of socialism in China.
£1.20 per year. £1.80 for 2 years.

ALBANIA TODAY is a bi-monthly political review. Detailed analysis of the achievements and problems of construction of socialism in Albania.
£1.50 per year.

also

VIETNAM is a monthly review of the Vietnamese struggle for socialism and against the remnants of US imperialism.
£1.50 per year.

VIETNAM COURIER is a monthly paper of political analysis of events in Vietnam and South East Asia.
£0.80 per year.

ORDER FORM (cheques payable to NEW ERA BOOKS)

I wish to subscribe to: (list periodicals and duration of subscription)

I enclose payment of.....

NAME

ADDRESS

Mail Order from NEW ERA

Mail Orders welcomed and promptly attended to: send 10p for further details and catalogue

New Era Books

A PROPAGANDA WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!

REVOLUTIONARY THEORY - *"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."* (Lenin.)

NEW ERA BOOKS stocks and distributes MARXIST-LENINIST CLASSICS, the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. The ideology of the class conscious workers is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, and the principal aspect of party building in Britain today is to build theory from the historical experience of the international Communist movement.

CHINESE AND ALBANIAN BOOKS AND PERIODICALS give a lead in applying Marxism-Leninism to the present struggle against imperialism and social imperialism, and for the building of socialism through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CFB(M-L) AND OTHER MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATIONS IN BRITAIN advance the struggle for the principal task of building the Marxist-Leninist party in Britain.

PUBLICATIONS OF MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES are an important source of revolutionary theory, for *"theory is the experience of the working class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect."* (Stalin.)

PROGRESSIVE LITERATURE New Era Books stocks ANTI-IMPERIALIST BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND JOURNALS, which publicise the great achievements of countries fighting for independence, nations fighting for liberation and people fighting for revolution throughout the world. They expose and condemn the vicious nature of imperialism and social-imperialism.

Literature on the struggles of the working class against exploitation, racism and for women's emancipation, and progressive novels, document the class struggle in Britain and abroad.

New Era Books also stocks handicrafts, posters and artwork from the socialist countries which emphasise and publicise the achievements of socialism in a concrete way.

NEW ERA BOOKS
203 SEVEN SISTERS ROAD
LONDON N4.
Tel. 01-272-5894.

Nearest Tube - FINSBURY PARK.
Opening hours 10 - 6pm.
Monday - Saturday.
Late Night Thursday till 7.30pm.

CLASS STRUGGLE

Today the two superpowers, Soviet Social Imperialism and United States imperialism threaten the peoples of the whole world. The two superpowers speak 'detente' and prepare for war.

British imperialism, wounded and limping, still throws its weight around, tries to oppress and exploit countries like Ireland, the Arab countries, Southern Africa, and Iceland. At home it steps up its attacks on the working class with massive job cuts, pay cuts, and cuts in essential services, in a desperate attempt to resolve the crisis of decaying capitalism.

There is only one answer to these problems. The working class itself must come forward, lead the people in opposition to the superpowers, and overthrow the British imperialist ruling class by force.

The working class must speak out loud and clear. It must speak out in its own voice, the voice of no other class. It must speak out strongly to rally its forces and build a truly revolutionary Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class.

'Class Struggle' is being published to help the working class rally its forces and build that revolutionary Communist Party. It is the organ of the National Committee of the Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist).

'Class Struggle' is primarily a propagandist paper aimed at the class-conscious vanguard. Its main aspect is to present 'many ideas to the few', to win over the advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism.

The central task of building the revolutionary Communist Party guides every aspect of the paper. In the task of rallying the working class vanguard to build the Party, it serves the central mass work task: building Communist bases in the industrial working class.

It shows how the working class and progressive forces fight back against oppression and exploitation. 'Class Struggle' upholds Comrade Mao Tse Tung's profound analysis of the present era:

COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE!

NATIONS WANT LIBERATION!

PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION!

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO 'CLASS STRUGGLE' ARE AVAILABLE FROM NEW ERA BOOKS
£1.60p a year.