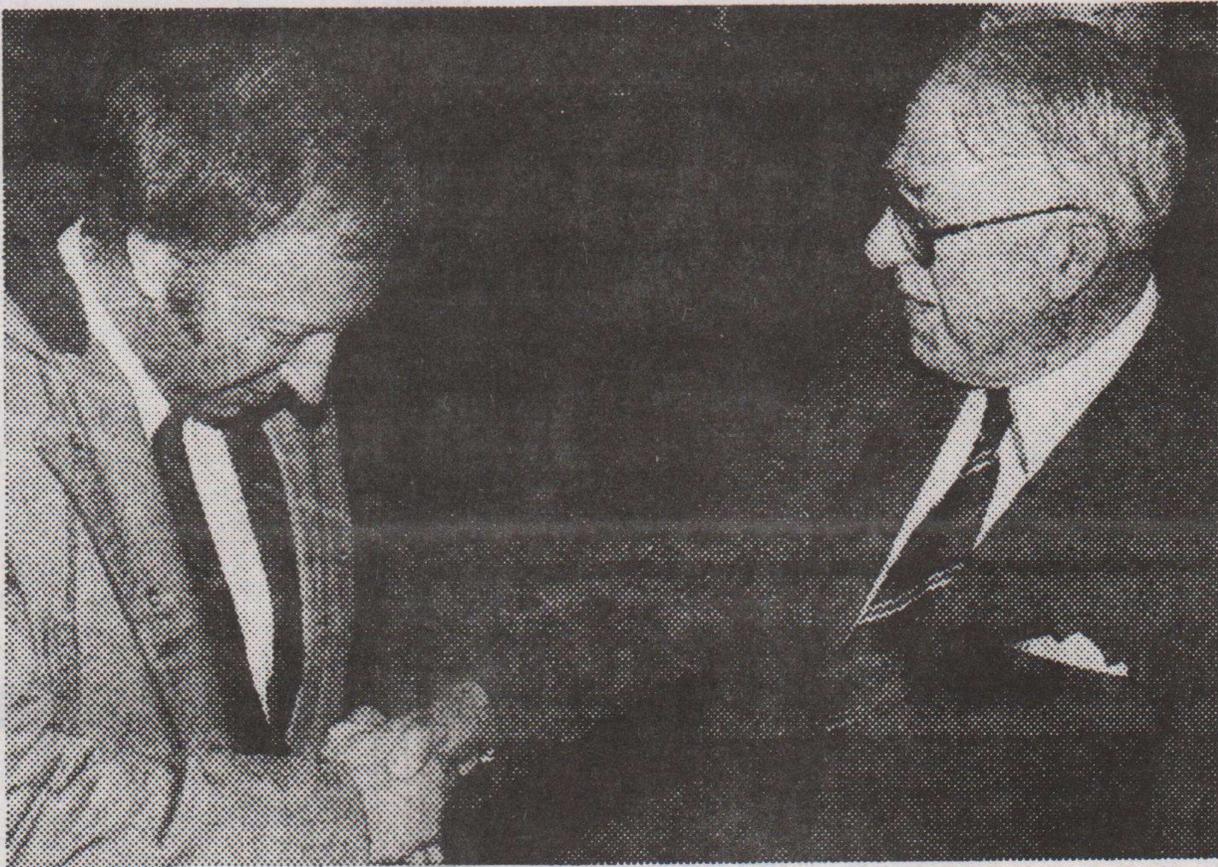


London Workers Bulletin 14 OCTOBER 1983



WHEN I SAID
PUT IT THERE I
MEANT THIS NOT
YOUR TONGUE UP
MY ARSE

Shake on it, Arthur

By TERRY PATTINSON

MINERS' leader Arthur Scargill shook the hand of new Coal Board chief Ian MacGregor when they met for the first time yesterday in London. Everyone expected a storm—but Mr. Scargill just asked Mr. MacGregor to have a new look at plans for pit closures. One miners' delegate said: "It was like a Sunday School picnic."

DAILY MIRROR, Wednesday, September 14, 1983

The Crisis of Reformism, The Revolution is not a Party Affair, Unwaged Report, Class Education, Controversy, Letters.....

SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE !!

ONLY THE LETRASET GETS BETTER

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London Workers Group

The London Workers Group is an open group of militants working or unemployed in the London area. We meet every Tuesday night (See details below). All meetings are open and anyone is welcome to attend. That includes members of parties - but not party recruiters. Our aim is to establish and encourage communication between workers in different industries and workplaces in order to:

- 1) Learn from each others experiences and develop our understanding of industry and trade unions within capitalist society.
- 2) Encourage the establishment of autonomous workers groups within workplaces and amongst the unemployed. The purpose of these groups is to encourage solidarity and to work to spread and intensify struggles. This process implies working for a wider understanding of the need for a revolutionary approach to work and the class struggle.
- 3) Seek out and maintain links with other revolutionaries. We encourage the formation of open regional groups of revolutionaries to complement workplace groups. The purpose of these groups is to overcome the isolation of individuals or groups of revolutionaries in workplaces or unemployed, and thus to assist them to strengthen and develop their activities as revolutionaries through practical solidarity. To this end we should:
- 4) Produce propaganda including a bulletin covering industrial news, workplace reports, analyses and theoretical articles.
- 5) Provide support where asked for.

The London Workers Group meets at
8:30 every Tuesday evening upstairs at
the Metropolitan Pub
95 Farringdon Rd.,
EC1 (2 mins form Farringdon Tube)

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Henceforth ALL mail should be
addressed to:
Box LWG,
C1 Metropolitan Wharf,
Wapping Wall,
London E 1.

Comment:THE CRISIS OF REFORMISM

The defeat of the Labour Party in the General Election and the subsequent crisis within its ranks, plus the decision of the Trades Union Congress to go into talks with the Tory government, is all indicative that reformist Social Democracy (Labourism) can provide no solution to the problems of the working class in Britain. This crisis is but one part of the general crisis of world capitalism in this period of recession; for politics flow from economic foundations. So long as the working class accepts reformism - which means in this context support for the Labour Party, the trades union movement as present constituted, or those parties, groups and tendencies which render it direct or indirect support, such as the Communist Party, the 57½ varieties of Trotskyism, etc., then the class will be unable to defend effectively its immediate short-term interests or fulfil its function as the historical class which must destroy capitalism in the interests of the human race as a whole.

The development of the Labour Party following the end of the second world war in 1945, the growth of the trades union movement in the same period, created the illusion that as the capitalist system expanded its world market, the working class could secure from the system not only big increases in pay rates, shorter hours of work and longer holidays, but an ever expanding social services system. Indeed, improvements in pay and the general standard of living did improve in the post-war period, as capitalism expanded production and maximised its profits. In this situation did pay off under constant pressure, although not to the extent that has often been suggested. It seemed as if with successive governments of Labour, the working class could erode the very bases of capitalism and that sooner or later, it would be possible to bring about an entirely different system of society.

In reality, the Labour Party has never been a genuine socialist party and at no time has it advocated the socialisation of society, nor was it brought into existence for this purpose, notwithstanding the attempts of small minority parties and groups to push it in this direction.

Historically, the Labour Party in Britain came into existence as the political wing of a reformist trades union movement based on craft and general workers - to legitimise it as an acceptable partner within the framework of the capitalist system. It was not until the end of the first world war in which the Labour Party loyally supported its own capitalist and imperialist government, was there any attempt even to define what socialism was. Before the Labour Party came into existence, the trades unions looked to the radical wing of the Liberal Party to secure parliamentary legislation to protect its legal position and secure some social services. In the 1920's the Labour Party gave the theoretical job of defining the ultimate aims and objects of the party to a bunch of intellectuals of the Fabian Society and this found expression in the notorious Clause 4, calling for the "public" ownership of the means of production, distribution (and exchange). But it was Herbert Morrison, who fleshed out these vague terms by combining municipalisation and state ownership, into a theory of nationalisation, which is not socialism.

It is this concept that has been the hallmark of the Labour Party
cont. pg. col.

The Crisis of Reformism, cont:

ever since and the winning of bourgeois parliamentary elections was the means of securing it. The first post-war Attlee Labour government did precisely this. It nationalised certain basic industries which had been run down during the war, such as the railways, the mines, and a number of other essential public services. But nationalisation is not socialism, it is state capitalism - but even this state nationalisation was limited, leaving intact the key profitable sectors of the capitalist economy. The Labour Party's election manifesto stopped short in its nationalisation schemes, to smaller industries such as pharmaceuticals, etc. As for the working class as a whole, its aspirations - dominated as it has been by the Labour Party - has not gone beyond this in its demands. In fact this nationalisation was a very necessary step for capitalism in this period, in order to rehabilitate it. Massive sums of money were raised by the state by means of taxation to capitalise the run-down industries.

So far as the workers were concerned in these industries, far from setting them and us on the road to socialism, it has had the effect of strengthening the capitalist system as a whole and was not and is not a "progressive" step forward for us. For nationalisation has meant the rationalisation of under capitalised and has led to massive redundancy as re-structuring and technology was introduced. No wonder that nationalisation has become a dirty word among so many workers who have suffered the rough end of this treatment. Workers have been saying this long before Sir Bill Sirs, the Steel Workers boss told this year's TUC: "we have created monsters of destruction".

When capitalism is expanding, trade unions can secure wage

increases and with the aid of the Labour Party get better public services. But once a peak of expansion is reached and an economic decline sets in, then the crisis in the Labour and trade union movement became more and more acute.

The break away from the main Labour Party by a section of its right wing and the foundation of the Social Democratic Party, eroded the vote of the Labour Party in the general election, many workers showed no confidence either in Labour's so-called alternative economic strategy (which is based on old fashioned Keynesian capitalist economics) or any other of its manifesto nostrums. Although the Tory Party was elected on a minority vote, large numbers of workers either actually voted Tory, or abstained. But we would be deceiving ourselves if we thought that these abstentions were primarily a move to the left in the direction of support for anti-parliamentary politics, as some anarchist papers seem to suggest.

The decision of the Trades Union Congress, despite some opposition, to open talks with the government and in particular with Norman Tebbit, the Employment Minister, on so-called "trade union" reform and other matters, is all part of the same process. In effect this is a contemporary version of the Mond-Turner discussions which dominated the unions in the debacle of the general strike of 1926, the solidarity of which frightened the life out of the reformist Labour Party union leaders. We can expect that as a natural corollary that the affiliated union leaderships will be prepared to accept lower wage increases, so that the capitalist system can pull itself out of its economic crisis. We may even face a situation where the employers refuse all wage increases, or as in the hungry early '30's got wage

 The Crisis of Reformism, cont:

reductions negotiated with the agreement of some unions.

Then alongside this is the mass unemployment of some 3 to 4 million unemployed, which is being continually aggravated as the capitalist economy is re-structured, unprofitable sectors closed down, and technological developments constantly reducing the labour force. The tragedy of the unemployed is that they are in a much weaker position to those in employment, for they have no economic clout. They are outside, as it were, the economic system and their social security benefits even at their current low rates can only be sustained if the economic downturn is halted. With the Tory government in power hell bent on reducing taxation on the wealthy, the social services are under increasing attack and in this Tory attack will be the unwaged - the unemployed, pensioners and all those who cannot bring economic pressure to bear on the capitalist class. The Toxteth and Brixton riots are a small indication that in some depressed areas, the mass unemployment and poverty, the exasperation is very acute. Moreover, as a result of an entirely new system of paying benefits, atomising the unemployed, making it very difficult to organise their forces, in so far as they have shown the understanding and ability to do so. Unlike the 1930's where there were mass unemployed movement, very closely integrated with the trade union movement, no such movement exists today, except a reformist claimants movement which is for the most part divorced from the organised workers. No useful class purpose is served by perpetuating this division of the class.

This briefly sketched background does pose for us an opportunity to develop our ideas about the future structure of the working class along entirely different lines to existing reformist working class organisation, divided into economic and political wings.

We have not only to expose and challenge the reformist ideology and organisational structures of the class at present, but to constructively develop a positive alternative that can serve the class and help towards its re-orientation. To refuse to face up to this need, leaves us and the class at the mercy of the capitalist class.

Firstly, it requires of us a much better understanding of the economic function of the capitalist system and its present stage of evolution. For unless we know the enemy and how he operates, we cannot hope to overcome him. We can take some small initiatives in this direction in providing facilities for our own circle to improve our own understanding with a small education class, or large, if we can get it.

Secondly, if it is true that we can learn from history and the mistakes and tragedies of our own class, then we can do much more in the direction of digging out material on past struggles, for which some of our members have already shown initiative. We could dig out and publish some of the theoretical contributions made at times of intense revolutionary activity, e.g., Russia and Europe, the USA, etc. in the period 1917 to 1923, and later.

Thirdly, I think after our original foundation some four or five years ago, we ought to be very much more advanced in our ideas as to how we should develop an alternative revolutionary strategy, from the beginnings of new autonomous groupings within industry and

 The Crisis of Reformism, cont:

and amongst the unwaged, expanding and developing towards a better understanding of the structures needed to bring about the social revolution and to hold it on course. It is not sufficient to talk vaguely about "people taking control over their own lives" and achieving a new "free society" in loose utopian terms. We are not in a "utopian" period of history. With all the difficulties of building workers' councils, and the problems we face within them when they do come into existence, we still need to think out in advance their structures more closely and clearly. The current crisis favours us in such a task.

We discussed workers councils earlier in the year on my insistence and this was introduced by P.A. (he supplied a two page precis in which he referred to the problem of bringing them into existence and keeping them on course). We have to deal with this question again and again.

His conclusion was: "Although I share some criticisms of traditional councilism with anti-councilists, my feeling is that councils offer the best of a bad job: as a stage in the transition to socialism (shades here of my Trotskyist past!) - in other words, as an essentially temporary means of seizing social power - nobody's come up with anything better, either in theory or practice". (My emphasis - J.T.)

Some have offered even other criticisms, without spelling out what they consider to be the alternative(s) if autonomous groups move in this direction.

Without going into any great detail in this particular contribution, I would just briefly refer to some criticisms that constantly recur when we deal with this

implicitly showing a lack of enthusiasm to get to grips with the question.

One is the concept of "spontaneity" which (with variations) suggests that the question of how workers councils can be organised can be left to a time when they do come into existence. This is the favourite theme of the so-called revolutionary parties who (like the Bolsheviks and their descendants) do not want the working class to establish their own class organs until they are strong enough and ready to take them over and dictate their powers and development. In other words until they establish their political hegemony over them, on the specious grounds that the class is not capable of solving its own problems, without their intervention ("Intervening in the class struggle" as they always put it). This bureaucratic and elitist concept I think we should reject.

Another objection is that voiced by those who think we can immediately (in the short term) jump from a capitalist system of production, to a non-class society in which the wages system is abolished and a society in which we have "from each according to his ability and each according to his needs," a utopian catch-all which has no real meaning.

Yet another variant is the idea that a post-industrial society should be organised along some kind of decentralised handicraft production. In this way it is hoped to abolish the alienation of the present industrial system with its ecological disasters. How this is to be done on the morrow of the workers' revolution is usually left floating in the air. This is a favourite theme

The Crisis of Reformism, cont:

of many intellectuals and the middle strata oscillating between the working class and the capitalist class. Ecology thus becomes in their eyes the main problem and not the class relations of capitalist society, which is the major ecological problem in itself!

Since we take over the means of production and distribution with the workers councils and take over the other functions of society, the workers councils are not limited in their scope solely to production - as some seem to think. They take on the role of organising the whole of social life.

We do not abolish problems with the transfer of class power; we then have to deal with an entirely new set of problems, within the context of a different and higher form of society. If the workers councils dont extent their hegemony over the whole of society, the pre-existing capitalist state forms will continue, masked no doubt, with the Leninist/Stalinist/ Trotskyist oncept of a "workers state" i.e., rule by a party/state bureaucracy.

To sum up: the current economic and political crisis favours us in our educational, propganda and organisational activities. An alternative "Campaign for Workers' councils" through the development of autonomous workers' groups should be mounted. We have never had a more favourable opportunity since 1945,

J. Thomas.

STATE INDUSTRIES....."MONSTERS!"

There was a revealing statement made at the TUC conference in September by "sir" Bill Sirs, leader of the iron and steel workers union, when he charged that the Labour Party and trades union movement, in initiating and supporting nationalisation, had "created monsters of destruction, destruction of communities, including industrial capacity and jobs."

This is a belated recognition that Clause 4 of the Labour Party's constitution, which led the first (Atlee) Labour government following the war in 1946 to nationalise certain run-down wartime industries such as coal, railways etc., was not socialism but was in reality state capitalism (despite the inclusion of some prominent trade union leaders on the boards of these industries, such as W.Allen, former general secretary of ASLEF.

Some of us pointed this out at the time and were ridiculed, then and subsequently, by members of the Labour Party, Communist Party and sundry Trotskyist groupings. Nor did we change our analysis when the effects of nationalisation began to be felt, when rationalisation began to bite and the left of the labour movement began to demand "nationalisation with workers control" as did the Institute for Workers Control and those who supported it such as Jack Jones (TGWU) and Hugh Scanlon (AUEW).

Bill Sirs went on to say: "We find ourselves in the ironic position that the public sector we have brought into being has caused more upheaval than the private sector." Yet despite this admission of Labour's culpability in helping to bring about massive redundancies, he had the nerve to then urge the TUC to support a composite notion to co-ordinate industrial action in defence of public services - a plea to make the "monsters" less monstrous.

We pointed out that nationalisation (Clause 4), so strongly supported by the Left in the Labour Party, was a very necessary sop to capitalism as a whole in the post-war reconstruction

Continued Page 20 Col. 2

THE REVOLUTION IS NOT A PARTY AFFAIRIntroduction

This article first appeared in "Die Aktion" in 1920. It appears to have been written in May 1920, shortly before its author Otto Ruhle left for Russia to participate in the second congress of the Communist International. Two years previously its author had been a deputy in the Reichstag (the equivalent of an MP). He was the second Social-Democrat to vote against the war credits. By 1918 he was a member of the German International Communists and still retained his seat in the Reichstag.

His dramatic change of political position reflects the revolutionary upheaval in Germany following the first world war. Two important aspects were, firstly the direct involvement of the social-democrats in the suppression of the workers movement, shattering the myth of a peaceful parliamentary road to socialism (this proved to be a road to nazism). Secondly there was the experience of the workers councils. The basis of Ruhle's ideas on the general Workers Union is modelled on such experience. Aside from putting forward a method of organisation for the revolution, the crucial aspect is that the revolution is to be carried out by the workers themselves, starting at their individual workplace i.e. a social revolution rather than a political revolution carried out by decree.

At the time of writing Ruhle did in fact belong to a political party, the Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD). This was a split off from the official Communist Party (KPD) a split which comprised of about 40,000 members, 4/5 of the KPD. When the KAPD was founded in April 1920, Ruhle and his comrades were involved specifically with the intention of dissolving it into the "General Workers Unions". These were groups of revolutionary workers based primarily in the workplace, although the unemployed, those working for small companies and others outside the immediate production process were organised on a geographical basis. These groups were organised on a federal basis, with revocable mandated delegates sent to regional and national bodies. Their role was not to participate in negotiations nor to attempt to modify the evils of the capitalist system, but to prepare for revolution. At the time of their formation into a national organisation in Feb. 1920 they had about 150,000 activists.

In July 1920 Ruhle travelled through Russia to attend the Communist International Congress in Moscow. He was appalled by what he saw:

"Russia has the beueaucracy of the commissariat; this is what rules. It has no council system. The soviets are chosen according to lists of candidates drawn up by the party; they exist under the terror of the regime and thus are not councils in a revolutionary sense. They are "show" councils, a political deception. All power in Russia lies with the bureaucracy, the deadly enemy of the council system."

Basic Issues of Organisation, 1921

The Bolsheviks had just had their ninth congress where one-man management was institutionalised as the replacement for collective workers management. Trotsky had just published "Terrorism & Communism". This nauseous peice of capitalist propaganda has such comments as:

"The unions should discipline the workers and teach them to place the interests of production above their own needs and demands."

In short, the Bolsheviks were busy crushing workers resistance to their state capitalist programme. On arrival at the congress Ruhle was presented with 21 conditions for participation (in particular these included acceptance of a tig tightly centralised parties and working within trade unions to win them for the party) . Ruhle had had enough, and returned to Germany without participating.

However within the KAPD, the majority wished to remain linked to the Communist International, and in fact to constitute the basis for the german section, ousting the KPD who were trying to form a mass party through merging with the German Independent Socialist Party (USPD). Gorter's "Open Letter to Comrade Lenin"

was a polemic in their struggle to gain re-admittance into the communist international and, along with other "Left Communists" to form a revolutionary opposition within the Communist International. They attended the Third Congress of the Communist International where under pressure from the Russian Communist Party they admitted that in no way did they sympathise with the Kronstadt Rebels who had been suppressed a few months previously. However in consequence of this congress they realised it was impossible to form a revolutionary opposition within the Communist International and on this basis denounced it as counter-revolutionary.

However to return to Ruhle, he was expelled from the KAPD shortly after his return from Russia when the KAPD decided to re-open relations with the Communist International. The Dresden section of the KAPD promptly dissolved itself into the local section of the General Workers Union of Germany (AAUD). (Dresden was where Ruhle was based) In Hamburg the AAUD expelled any members who wanted to remain within the KAPD. The split became more openly realised when Ruhle's tendency broke away from the AAUD itself to found the General Workers Union (Unitary Organisation) (AAU-E) in October 1921. This organisation had about 100,000 members, leaving a similar number in the AAUD which remained close to the KAPD.

This article is significant in that it makes a break with previous thinking within the revolutionary movement. It must be distinguished from Anarcho-Syndicalist views. (During this period the German anarcho-syndicalists were regrouped in the German Free Workers Union (FAUD) founded in December 1919. Although many of the members participated in revolutionary activity, this was often disavowed by the leadership who were more concerned with the formation of fronts with the KPD. In fact about half the membership was to leave the FAUD to constitute the economic organisation of the official communist party, finally to be dissolved into the old social-democratic unions. (At its height the FAUD had about 200,000 members.) Crucial differences were that the FAUD was anti-political, organised along trade lines and officially adopted a pacifist policy relying on the glorious general strike to achieve revolution. (this at a time when workers militias were involved in armed struggle with the state). The AAU-E believed in the integration of revolutionary politics into the workplace organisation, they were organised along geographical lines, and they did not make a fetish of the general strike, and saw the need for arming the workers.

I

Parliamentarism appeared with the domination of the bourgeoisie. Political parties appeared with parliament.

In parliaments the bourgeois epoch found the historical arena of its first contentions with the crown and nobility. It organised itself politically and gave legislation a form corresponding to the needs of capitalism. But capitalism is not something homogenous. The various strata and interest groups within the bourgeoisie each developed demands with differing natures. In order to bring these demands to a successful conclusion, the parties were created which

sent their representatives and activists to the parliaments. Parliament became a forum, a place for all the struggles for economic and political power, at first for legislative power but then, within the framework of the parliamentary system, for governmental power. But the parliamentary struggles as struggles between parties, are only battles of words. Programmes, journalistic polemics, tracts, meeting reports, resolutions, parliamentary debates, decisions - nothing but words. Parliament degenerated into a talking shop (increasingly as time passed). But from

the start parties were only mere machines for preparing for elections. It was no chance that they originally were called "electoral associations".

The bourgeoisie, parliamentarism, and political parties mutually and reciprocally conditioned one another. Each is necessary for the others. None is conceivable without the others. They mark the political physiognomy of the bourgeois system, of the bourgeois-capitalist system.

II

The revolution of 1848 was stillborn. But the democratic state, the ideal of the bourgeois era was erected. The bourgeoisie, impotent and faint-hearted by nature provided no force and displayed no will to realise this ideal in the struggle. It knuckled under to the crown and the nobility, contenting itself with the right to exploit the masses economically and so reducing parliamentarism to a parody.

So resulted the need for the working class to send representatives to parliament. These then took the democratic demands out of the perfidious hands of the bourgeoisie. They carried out energetic propaganda for them. They tried to inscribe them in legislation. Social-Democracy adopted a minimum democratic programme to this end: a programme immediate and practical demands adapted to the bourgeois period. Its parliamentary activity was dominated by this programme. It was also dominated by a concern to gain the advantages of legalised field of manoeuvre both for the working class and its own political activity, through

the construction and perfection of a liberal-bourgeois formal democracy.

When Wilhelm Liebknecht proposed a refusal to take up parliamentary seats, it was a matter of failing to recognise the historical situation. If Social-Democracy wanted to be effective as a political party, it would have to enter parliament. There was no other way to act and to develop politically.

When the syndicalists turned away from parliamentarism and preached anti-parliamentarism, this did honour to their appreciation of the growing emptiness and corruption of parliamentary practice. But in practice, they demanded something impossible of Social-Democracy: that it take a position contrary to the historical situation and renounce itself. It could not take up this view. As a political party it had to enter parliament.

III

The KPD has also become a political party, a party in the historical sense, like the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Independent Social-Democrats (USPD).

The leaders have the first say. They speak they promise, they seduce, they command. The masses, when they are there, find themselves faced with a fait-accompli. They have to form up in ranks and march in step. They have to believe, to be silent, and pay up. They have to receive their orders and carry them out. And they have to vote.

Their leaders want to enter parliament. They have to elect them. Then while the masses abide by silent obed-

ience and devoted passivity, the leaders decide the policy in parliament.

The KPD has become a political party. It also wants to enter parliament. It lies when it tells the masses that it only wants to enter parliament in order to destroy it. It lies when it states that it does not want to carry out any positive work in parliament. It will not destroy parliament; it doesn't want to and it can't. It will do "positive work" in parliament, it is forced to, it wants to. This is its life.

The KPD has become a parliamentary party like any other; a party of compromise, opportunism, criticism and verbal jousting - a party that has ceased to be revolutionary.

IV

Consider this:

It entered parliament. It recognised the trade unions. It bowed before the democratic constitution. It makes peace with the ruling powers. It places itself on the terrain of real force relations. It takes part in the work of national and capitalist reconstruction.

How is it different from the USPD? It criticises instead of repudiating. It acts as the opposition instead of making the revolution. It bargains instead of acting. It chatters instead of struggling. This is why it has ceased to be a revolutionary organisation.

It has become a Social-Democratic party. Only a few nuances distinguish it from the Scheidemanns (SPD) and the Daunigs (USPD). This is how it has finished up.

V

The masses have one consolation - there is an opposition. But this opposition has not broken away from the counter-revolution. What could it do? What has it done? It has assembled and united a political organisation. Was this necessary?

From a revolutionary point of view the most decisive and active elements, the most mature elements have to form themselves into a phalanx of the revolution. They can only do this through a firm and solid formation. They are the elite of the revolutionary proletariat. By the firm character of their organisation they gain in strength and their judgement develops a greater profundity. They demonstrate themselves as the vanguard of the proletariat, as an active will in relation to hesitant and confused individuals. At decisive moments they form a magnetic centre of all activity. They are a political organisation but not a political party, not a party in the traditional sense.

The title of the Communist Workers Party (KAPD) is the last external vestige - soon superfluous - of a tradition that can't simply be wiped away when the living mass ideology of yesterday no longer has any relevance. But this last vestige will also be removed.

The organisation of communists in the front lines of the revolution must not be the usual sort of party, on pain of death, on pain of following the course of the KPD.

The epoch of the foundation of parties is over, because the epoch of political

parties in general is over. The KPD is last party. Its bankruptcy is the most shameful, its end is without dignity or glory.... But what comes of the opposition? of the revolution?

VI

The revolution is not a party affair. The three social-democratic parties (SPD, USPD, & KPD) are so foolish as to consider the revolution as their own party affair and to proclaim the victory of the revolution as their party goal. The revolution is the political and economic affair of the totality of the proletarian class. Only the proletariat as a class can lead the revolution to victory. Everything else is superstition, demagogy and political chicanery. The proletariat must be conceived of as a class and its activity for the revolutionary struggle unleashed on the broadest possible basis and in the most extensive framework.

This is why all proletarians ready for revolutionary combat must be got together at the workplace in revolutionary factory organisations, regardless of their political origins or the basis by which they are recruited. Such groups should be united in the framework of the General Workers Union (AAU)

The AAU is not indiscriminate, it is not a hotch-potch nor a chance amalgam. It is a regroupment for all proletarian elements ready for revolutionary activity, who declare themselves for class struggle, the council system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the revolutionary army of the proletariat

This General Workers Union is taking root in the factories, building itself up in branches of industry from the base up - federally at the base, and through revolutionary shop-stewards at the top. It exerts pressure from the base up, from the working masses. It is built according to their needs; it is the flesh and blood of the proletariat; the force that motivates it is the action of the masses; its soul is the burning breath of the revolution. It is not the creation of some leaders, it is not a subtly altered construction. It is neither a political party with parliamentary chatter and paid hacks, nor a trade union. It is the revolutionary proletariat.

VII

So what will the KAPD do?

It will create revolutionary factory organisations. It will propagate the General Workers Union. Factory by factory, industry by industry it will organise the revolutionary masses. They will be prepared for the onslaught, given the power for decisive combat, until last resistance offered by capitalism as it collapses is overcome.

It will inspire the fighting masses with confidence in their own strength, the guarantee for victory in that such confidence will free them from ambitious and traitorous leaders.

From this General Workers Union the communist movement will emerge, starting in the factories, then spreading itself over economic regions and finally over the entire country. i.e a new communist "party" which is no

longer a party, but which is, for the first time communist ! The heart and head of the revolution !

VIII

We shall show this process in a concrete way:

There are 200 men in a factory. Some of them belong to the AAU and agitate for it, at first without success. But during the first struggle the trade unions naturally give in, and the old bonds are broken. Soon 100 men have gone over to the AAU. Amongst them there are 20 communists the others being from the USPD, syndicalists and unorganised. At the beginning the USPD inspires most confidence. Its politics dominate the tactics of the struggles carried out in the factory. However slowly but surely, the politics of the USPD are proved false, non-revolutionary. The confidence that the workers have in the USPD decreases. The politics of the communists are confirmed. The 20 communists become 50 then 100 and more. Soon the communist group politically dominates the whole of the factory, determining the tactics of the AAU, at the front of the revolutionary struggle. This is so both at the small scale and large scale. Communist politics take root from factory to factory, from economic region to economic region. They are realised, gaining command and becoming both head and head, the guiding principle.

It is from such communist groups in the factories, from mass sections of communists in the economic regions that the new communist movement - through the council system - will come into being.

As for "revolutionising" the trade unions or "restructuring" them - How long will that take ? A few years ? A few dozen years ? Until 1926 perhaps. Anyway, the aim could not be to wipe out the clay giant of the trade unions with their 7 million members in order to reconstruct them in another form.

The aim is to seize hold of the commanding levers of industry for the process of social production and so to decisively carry the day in revolutionary combat, to seize hold of the lever that will let the air out of the capitalist system in entire industrial regions and branches.

It is here, in a nature situation, that the resolute action of a single organisation can completely surpass a general strike in effectiveness. It is here that the David of the factory can defeat the Goliath of the union bureaucracy.

IX

The KPD has ceased to be the incarnation of the communist movement in Germany. Despite its noisy claims about Marx, Lenin and Radek it only forms the latest member of the counter-revolutionary united front. Soon it will present itself as the amiable companion of the SPD and USPD in the framework of a purely "socialist" workers government. Its assurance of being a "loyal opposition" to the murderous parties who have betrayed the workers is the first step. To renounce the revolutionary extermination of the Eberts and the Kautskys (SPD and USPD) is already to tacitly ally oneself with them.