

The Struggle to Build the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat in Britain Today

Party Building under Conditions of the Imperialist Crisis

1. Britain is a capitalist and imperialist country in a state of crisis and within an (international imperialist) system which is in crisis.
2. The bourgeoisie is launching attacks on the working class which in turn is fighting back, and the class struggle is growing in intensity.
3. The working class faces this situation without its own political party. Yet such a party is of central importance if our class is to be mobilized and organized to struggle on the major issues confronting it, and to struggle in such a way as to take the struggle forward along the path of the complete emancipation of our class. If the most conscious elements of our class are not organized into a headquarters through which they can collectively organize the struggle on the basis of learning from the historical experience of the international communist movement and systematically studying our own situation and summing up experience, then there cannot be any strategic direction in the class struggle. The result is that even good spontaneous movements are easily diverted into reformist dead ends, and even temporary gains which may be won are frittered away. That is why for communists the reconstruction of the party of the working class must be the central task at this stage. All our work must serve this aim.
4. We must recognize the strength of the proletariat in Britain and their long history of struggle against the bourgeoisie. In order for the Communist party to flourish among the masses it must reflect the ideas and aspirations of the proletariat. It is our job, in party-building, to ensure that it does this.
5. The purpose of the revolutionary Communist party is to lead the working class in making a triumphant proletarian revolution. The party will be the vanguard of the working class; at the same time it will be an inseparable part of the working class.
6. Without a centre of bold, scientific leadership, the working class cannot sustain or develop its struggle against the British imperialist bourgeoisie. For this reason, building the revolutionary Communist party of the working class is the central task in Britain today. We must arrange all our work around this central task, so as to serve it.
7. The long term aim of the communist movement is the revolutionary overthrow of the British imperialist state; the destruction of the imperialist bourgeois class dictatorship and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and, on the basis of the political power of the working class and of socialist construction, the transformation of society economically, socially, politically and culturally leading to the establishment of communist society.
8. As yet, the communist movement is in its infancy, hardly beyond the stage of local circles. It is essential to grasp priorities correctly on the basis of the two historical tasks of revolution. The first historical task is to win the class conscious vanguard of the proletariat to a conviction in the necessity for revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The second historical task is to lead the masses in practical activity towards the revolution.
9. We cannot undertake the second historical task that of leading the masses- until we have a programme of policies and lines that meets their needs. It is in the course of rallying the vanguard that our lines and policies will develop and be tested. Thus this task is essential to party building.
10. We must understand that we are not yet in a position to lead the masses against the bourgeoisie. We are small in numbers and confused

theoretically. To fail to recognize this and to fail to understand which task we should be carrying out now can only cause setbacks to building a revolutionary Communist party in Britain.

11. As we are at a time of theoretical confusion amongst Marxist-Leninists clearly we are at the stage of the first historical task, that of winning over the class-conscious vanguard. To do this we must deal substantial blows to opportunism and to social-chauvinism.

12. We must firmly grasp how this affects our priorities. These are:
a). The struggle for theoretical clarity and the integration of theory with the actual conditions of the struggle in Britain and the world. This includes the theoretical struggle with opportunism.
b). The political work to build the advanced, and rally them to scientific-socialism, proletarian internationalism and the struggle to build the party of the working class.

These tasks cannot be carried through in isolation from the class struggle. The party-building organization must immerse itself in the struggle of the masses, give leadership where it can and promote anti-imperialist solidarity and an anti-hegemonist orientation. But we must maintain a firm grasp on our priorities and hold on to our orientation.

13. At this point communists cannot put forward a comprehensive programme. This is a basic task of this stage. What we can and must do now is affirm our principled basis of unity and the main direction of advance.

To Whom Do Communists Orientate Their Work?

14. Firstly, in all our work, we re-affirm our orientation to the working class, which is the main and leading force in the revolution in Britain, and the only really revolutionary class. Whilst in our communist work in general, and in our work on particular issues and in particular movements, we seek to mobilize the revolutionary intelligentsia and progressive intellectuals, we maintain our basic strategic orientation towards the working class. This is a fundamental question of the class character of the revolutionary party that we are working to build, and of which class will lead the revolutionary movement in Britain.

15. But, particularly at this stage, we must differentiate between the advanced, middle and backward workers in a way that gives more concrete guidance. Through our activity on various fronts of class struggle, we must sum up our experience more systematically. We must consider the particular situation of the national minority workers, of working class women and the position of the unemployed workers, among other questions. We can, however, make some initial general points, which will themselves need further study, integrating theory with our experience.

16. We can be certain that we will find the advanced and middle workers only by going more deeply among the masses, and not being overly orientated towards the present activists in the official trade union movement, where trade union politics and opportunism are strongest. The advanced and middle elements will generally be found among those with the least possible material interest in maintaining the present bourgeois rule. This orientation is the only basis for uniting the working class to struggle against the bourgeoisie. Opportunism will be exposed and defeated as its real class content and nature become more clearly seen in the course of the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

17. The essential political task of the revolutionary movement in the first historical stage of party building is to rally the advanced elements to Marxism-Leninism through building a real working class anti-imperialist mass movement. The building of such a mass movement is vital in order to expose and oppose the pro-imperialist line of the opportunists in the ranks of the working class and thus win growing numbers of workers to oppose in practice British imperialism's reactionary strategy for survival. The advanced elements are those who grasp the true nature of imperialism and its state and have begun to fight it. These are the elements with whom

we will work openly as communists, with whom we will sun up our mass work together in order to develop our line and at whom we will aim our direct communist propaganda and Marxist-Leninist education in order to win them to revolutionary communism and party-building. At this stage of the struggle, the advanced trend is overwhelmingly located amongst black people and Welsh, Scottish and Irish workers because of the varying forms of double oppression suffered by them.

18. There is a broad section of "middle" workers, who desire socialism (to a lesser extent) have begun to break from opportunist influences. Some of these will be active in particular fronts of struggle, and often constitute the relatively advanced section of that movement, but who may not yet see that movement from the perspective of the class struggle as a whole, and from the perspective of the revolutionary path, leading to the overthrow of the British imperialist state.

19. Finally there is the backward section of the class, who are more deeply affected by imperialist ideology. Our mass work is done in the struggles of the masses, following the mass line. But the central task is to build and rally the advanced (or raise the level of the intermediate and rally the advanced) and to rely on them in the broad struggles of the class.

The Principal Components of the Political Line of Advance

20. Already our sketchy analysis and the programmatic work that we have carried out enable us to see the principal political components of our line of advance. Our general orientation is the struggle against imperialism. Anti-imperialism is the basis and common thread of the political struggle. The components are:

- a). Opposition to hegemonism and the war preparations of the two super-powers, especially to the accelerating expansionism of Soviet social-imperialism. Our stand is based on the right of all nations to self-determination.
- b). Support for the national liberation struggles of the peoples and nations of the Third World against imperialist plunder and for a new international economic order. We have a particular responsibility to build solidarity with those struggling against British imperialism as in Ireland and other areas.
- c). The struggle to build the unity of the class. The building of a revolutionary movement demands the development of consciousness from that of seeing the partial struggles into seeing them and developing them as struggles of the whole class, as manifestations of a class struggle for complete emancipation.

In particular, the unity of the multi-national working class must be built on the basis of whole-hearted support for the just demands of the doubly oppressed national minorities. In similar ways, we build the unity of men and women workers, of the employed and the unemployed, etc.

- d). The struggle to defend and extend democratic rights and oppose the trend to fascism-the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary sections of imperialist capital.
- e). The systematic exposure of the declining imperialist economic system, its inherent contradictions, and its economic and social effects; exposure of the trend towards corporatism, of the varying trends in the Labour Party and the revisionists who seek to tie the working class to one or other section of the British imperialist ruling class or to US or Soviet imperialism.

Where Do We Carry Out Our Political Work?

21. Classes are defined in terms of their relationship to the means of production. Modern industry has created the industrial proletariat and modern imperialism has laid the basis for the present social superstructure of society. Large scale industry has concentrated workers together in one place for the purpose of exploitation. Imperialist class rule oppresses the people in various ways outside of the workplace. The crisis of imperialism has created a growing army of unemployed. National minority

people are pressured into the lower paid, most wearing jobs, at work and are oppressed in more general ways by state racism and racist attacks. Women are doubly oppressed both at work and in the community in general. We must orientate our work to take account of all these factors.

22. British imperialism has imported black workers to this country where they are the object of double oppression. British imperialism still holds and oppresses its colony in Ireland. As the crisis intensifies, black people and Irish people in this country suffer the greatest oppression and consequently offer the greatest resistance. National minority people are in the vanguard of the struggle against the British state. It is a high priority for communists to unite with them and learn from them.

23. Anti-imperialist politics and building a working class anti-imperialist mass movement are not counter-posed to industrial work and building factory cells. Factory work and work in the community are mutually reinforcing. Building factory cells must be the focus of our party-building work in the first historical stage so that we can complete that stage and objectively be in a position to move to the second stage and begin leading the working class in the struggle for socialist revolution. This cannot be done if we have no organized base in the industrial proletariat. It is this orientation which enables us to determine the priorities for the use of our limited cadre resources at this present time.

24. In the long term, industrial basic units will provide the party with a firm base at the point of production. We must lay a basis for this now. At the same time, big industry represents a concentrated working class audience to whom we can most easily take our communist propaganda and agitation, whilst uniting with them in the daily struggle that inevitably arises between capital and labour.

25. But we must also develop work in the community, organizing broadly on a number of issues in the the struggle against the imperialist state, taking up questions of the oppression of the working people, including the oppression of national minorities and anti-imperialist solidarity work, etc. The correct relation between work in industry and in the community needs more summing up, but some general points can be made.

26. Work in industry and in the community are complementary and inter-related, and can fuel each others' development. What we must grasp at all times is that wherever we do our work, the essence of it for us is communist party-building work. If industrial work is seen mainly as economic work, or if community based work is seen purely as broad work around one issue, if we forget the central task of building and rallying the advanced in the course of these struggles, then we will end up trailing behind the spontaneous movement. We unite with and where possible give leadership to the spontaneous struggles of the masses, but while doing that work, at this stage, our central task is the reconstruction of the party of the working class, based on scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The Fight Against Opportunism-For Working Class Unity

27. It is impossible to develop the fight against the main enemy-the imperialist ruling class-on a broad scale without weakening and defeating social-democracy's stranglehold on the British labour movement. The fight against opportunism is the prerequisite for the advance of working class unity, the socialist revolutionary movement and proletarian internationalism.

28. Opportunism is an organized system of bourgeois thinking within the working class movement. It is a social-chauvinist ideology which seeks to create common cause between the working class and the imperialist bourgeoisie. As a trend, opportunism has meant policies of class collaboration and sacrifice of the long-term interests of the working class as a whole, for short-term gain for a minority. At this time of growing economic and political crisis, opportunism is increasingly incapable of protecting the immediate interests of the working class. In a wider sense, opportunism has represented the reflection of bourgeois ideas and practices which automatically surface when the working class is forced to organize its struggle without the influence of scientific socialist ideas.

29. As Lenin stated, a feature that is characteristic of present-day opportunism in every sphere is "its vagueness, diffusefess, elusiveness. An opportunist, by his very nature, will always evade formulating an issue clearly and unequivocally, he will always seek a middle course, he will always wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to "agree" with both and to reduce his differences of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, innocent good wishes and so on and so forth." At the core of opportunism, in all its various forms, is the idea that socialism in Britain can be achieved by economic and political changes that do not require the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state by the organized working class and its replacement by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

30. The historic roots of opportunism were established in the last century when Britain's colonial and industrial monopoly provided the material base for the creation of a labour aristocracy.

31. Despite the relative decline of British imperialism this century, particularly during the last thirty years, the superprofits entering Britain are still very high, and continue to provide the material base for opportunism. These super-profits have enabled the bourgeoisie, under pressure from the working class, to concede to them a much higher standard of living than is found for the mass of the peoples of the Third World, most of whom continue to suffer bitterly under neo-colonial exploitation. This has established the conditions for the influence of opportunism within the working class as a whole, though it remains a revolutionary class and is not bought off by imperialism.

32. The unholy alliance between the bourgeoisie and their labour lieutenants of capital, created during the nineteenth century, has become extended and consolidated. During the last fifty years, opportunism has become increasingly institutionalised. The integration of the Labour Party and trade union headquarters may not have been smooth, but it has been continuous. Today it finds expression in the tendency towards corporatism and state monopoly capitalism, especially as advocated by the "left" social-democrats and their revisionist side-kicks.

33. The mass of workers have no interest in perpetuating imperialism. On the contrary, imperialism has succeeded in stunting the development of the workers' movement no less than it has stunted the real development of the productive forces. It is in the fundamental interest of the working class to smash imperialism and unite with the revolutionary and progressive struggles of the Third World peoples and nations, because imperialist super-profits strengthen the bourgeoisie and weaken the position of the workers.

34. The opportunists are the main enemy within the working class movement. They are the principal social (not military) prop of the bourgeoisie, the labour lieutenants of capital, real channels of reformism and chauvinism. Again, the various opportunist tendencies must be correctly differentiated, their different allegiances targetted and exposed. Exposing the social-democrats is an essential part of the process of assisting the workers to break free from illusions of parliamentarism and orthodox trade unionism which tie them to capitalism and divert them from revolutionary struggle.

35. The whole range of opportunists in the political spectrum constitute the bitterest enemies of proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism within the workers' movement and are, either overtly or covertly, the most effective apologists of imperialism. This is far more than a question of individual treachery or even conscious betrayal by this or that Labour Party hack or trotskyite apostle; social-democratic theory, including the pseudo-Marxist brands pushed by the CPGB and SWP, etc, inevitably leads in practice to the betrayal of the working class.

36. Throughout its history, the Labour Party's leaders have had to contend with two sets of critics on the "left." Firstly, the Labour "left," the Bevanites of yesteryear, and the Bennites of today. Secondly, the extra-parliamentary "left" as represented by the SDF in the past and the CPGB and all the trotskyist organizations today. It, too, is a permanent part of Labour's political landscape. Even at its most "radical" its strategy hinges around the Labour Party and not the workers' mass movement.

37. As contradictions within the British ruling class and among the superpowers intensify, so do the struggles among the various opportunists. These must be utilized. At this stage, Communists must pay particular attention to exposing the Labour "left," the CPGB and the various trotskyite groups. Their socialist demagoguery covers up their advocacy of state monopoly capitalism and their allegiance to or appeasement of Soviet social-imperialism, and is directed precisely at exploiting the struggles and revolutionary aspirations of advanced workers.

38. In this connection, the decisive task of the first historical stage is for Communists to win the ideological/theoretical battle against "left" social-democracy among the advanced workers. As part of the programmatic work associated with this task, it will be essential that we develop an accurate definition of advanced, middle and backward worker, study how and to what extent sections of the working class have benefitted from and been influenced by imperialism, and learn how to effectively link Communist policies and ideas to the direct experience and exploitation of the most class conscious workers.

39. The notion of "left" and right has become ossified and has little meaning in relation to what is or is not in the interests of the working class. To be pro-Soviet is described as "left wing" when support for the Soviet Union today is support for Soviet hegemonism and oppression of nations. Ideologically, the "left" is dominated by imperialist ideology and is opportunist in relation to the bourgeois parliament and seeks socialism through reforms of the state. Although they may claim to be Marxist or Marxist-Leninist, they do not base themselves on the principles of scientific socialism. The main trend in the "left" is a radical rump in the Labour Party, which it seeks to transform. Ideologically, this is a clear indication that right opportunism (reformism, class collaboration and opposition to the struggles of oppressed peoples) is the main problem crippling the workers' movement. The political and ideological struggle against opportunism is the principal one at our stage of rallying advanced workers. The distinguishing feature of all fake left organizations is that they are themselves more or less tied to British imperialism and peddle its ideological wares. They cannot be consistent anti-fascists, anti-racists or anti-imperialists. They seek to reform the British state in the interests of monopoly capital.

How to Fight Opportunism

40. We must learn to carefully differentiate, on the basis of concrete Marxist analysis, between hard line opportunists and those who to varying degrees are under their influence. With respect to the latter, we must apply the concept "Unity-Struggle-Unity!" We must refrain from dogmatic labelling of individuals or sectarian methods of struggle and we must oppose opportunism by putting forward concise Communist policies that are based on the application of the mass line and by encouraging the growth of the mass movement. In opposing the opportunists we should also guard against the tendency to go for positions of leadership before the necessary political and educational work has been carried out among the members. Opportunists must be fought in a way which seeks to develop and encourage the unity of the masses against their common enemies and in a way that educates the working class on the strategy and tactics of developing independent mass struggle. This is the communist method, which has nothing in common with the manoeuvrings of the opportunists who hate and fear mass struggles. However, if we are to influence sections of the working class away from reformism and revisionism then there are bound to be divisions and splits. It is unrealistic to suppose that the whole of the working class will be won over without them. It must happen; otherwise we capitulate to their policies and finally liquidate the party-building organization.

41. We must also be alert in our internal work to the dangers of opportunism of both the "left" and right variety. We have all been brought up and educated in an imperialist society and our thinking has inevitably been influenced and affected by this. We must therefore guard against this emerging in any of our work and in particular watch out for errors of social-chauvinism, sectarianism and individualism. We must recognize that the struggle against bourgeois ideas in our ranks will be a long one and will only be successful if we consciously work to

raise our ideological and political grasp of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, maintain the stand and outlook of the proletariat and link the theory with the concrete practice of the British revolution.

42. Revolutionary communists will, as a result of protracted struggles against the bourgeoisie and education among the working class, win vanguard elements of the working class into their ranks on the basis of internationalist communist consciousness, as well as deepening the influence of communist ideas among the broad mass of the workers. As this is increasingly successful, so the grip of opportunism on the working class will be weakened, and this is an essential condition for working class victory. The struggle against opportunism-like the struggle for socialist revolution-will be a long and difficult one with no easy victories. Only through hard and patient work among the masses over a period of time and through the correct strategy can opportunism be defeated.

Party Building Amongst the Working Class

43. The working class is the main and leading force in the revolution in Britain. As Communists, we must orientate the vast proportion of our work to this class. The Party must be a working class party both ideologically and in its membership. The black and national minority workers will provide a large number of advanced workers from their ranks because of the double oppression which they face.

44. Communist political work amongst the industrial working class must be our main priority in mass work. In industry, the working class is brought together by the bourgeoisie and organized into social production, and this provides a stable base to do political work over a long period of time. This is the only sure way the Party we are building will be firmly rooted in the working class.

45. Communist work in industry is by no means confined to the economic struggle. We must take communism to the workers in the factories, educate them to analyse all issues from the standpoint of their own class and develop a thorough-going anti-imperialist outlook. It is only on this basis that the working class can achieve the unity necessary to develop the revolutionary struggle.

Factory Cells

46. We will build factory cells as basic units of the RCL and the future Party. The cells will be composed of communists who work in those factories. Through their work, the cells will build up and rally around them a core of advanced workers, developing in them an anti-imperialist and proletarian internationalist world outlook, and an understanding of the need to build a democratic-centralist vanguard party.

47. The cell will unite with the advanced core of workers in striving to play a leading role in the class struggle of the factories, but will not confine the work to the economic struggle. They will work to spread the influence of communism among the broad mass of workers.

48. As basic units of the RCL they will play a full role in discussing, determining and implementing the political line of the organization on the wider issues of the class struggle nationally and internationally. The cell will continually work to win new recruits to the RCL from among the advanced core.

Workers Trade Unions

49. Trade unions came into being in the early days of the bourgeoisie. Almost from its birth, the proletariat saw the need to combine in action. This lesson was forced on it by the very conditions in which it was created and under which it has always had to live and work. Trade unions were built by workers in the face of threats, persecution, exile and even murder by the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. But their size and influence continued to spread because they were the only means available for workers to defend themselves and their jobs against the everyday attacks of capital. The trade unions are indispensable organs of economic defence forged by the working class over decades of struggle. The significance of trade unions is that they are organizations built spontaneously by the working class and are the product of the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie at the point of production.

50. But trade unionism despite the early fears of the bourgeoisie has never

threatened bourgeois rule. Trade unions in general refuse to oppose imperialist oppression of the Third World, and they encourage social-chauvinism among the working class. This is not surprising considering the huge investments which trade unions have in imperialist companies. Trade unionism seeks to defend the working class against the excesses of capitalism without seeking to overthrow capitalism itself. This leads to reliance on, and illusions in, the bourgeois state and the "democratic" organs it sets up-like ACAS, Industrial Tribunals, worker participation in management-as impartial forces. This means the working class is forced to struggle for economic reforms that cannot threaten bourgeois rule in the manner dictated by the bourgeoisie. Nowadays, the bourgeoisie has by and large despaired of smashing the trade unions as they tried to do at first. Instead they have found means to "tame" them and make them serve capitalism by sabotaging the mass movement from within. Strategically, this trend represents the major danger for the working class. At present, the Tory government is launching an open, frontal attack on our class, which represents a more serious immediate danger. The opportunist leadership of the trade unions is incapable of leading even the minimal necessary defensive struggles against this attack. Communists must play a full role in the defence of the working class' immediate interests against the Tories, with the perspective of building the fighting strength of the class in order to resist more effectively the trend to corporatism.

51. British imperialism's plunder of the Third World has provided workers in the metropolitan country with a higher standard of living than their colonial and neo-colonial brothers and sisters, and is the material reason why opportunism is so influential in the working class. The reformism and economism arising from this has allowed the opportunist trade union leaders to firmly entrench themselves at all levels of leadership. This development has been particularly marked over the last 30 years or so-although the basic conditions for it have existed much longer-and has created the situation where the top trade union leaders, particularly the TUC General Council, are not just conciliators of the monopoly bourgeoisie, but in essence form part of the monopoly bourgeois state machine.

52. The struggle to turn the trade unions into fighting working class organizations is the struggle against opportunism in the trade union sphere. Opportunism has tied the trade unions to the bourgeoisie in a thousand ways, ideologically, politically and organizationally. Although this is undoubtedly the situation today, it is necessary to remember that this was not accepted without struggle. There have at times been strong trends opposing class collaboration and fighting for democratic independent trade unions. We must follow this tradition and work to unite the working class to throw off the shackles imposed by opportunism and to fight for broad-based democratic trade unions capable of fighting for the interests of the working class against the power of the imperialist state.

53. If the trade unions are to become the genuine voice of the working class, there will need to be a radical change in their basic attitudes and ideology.

a) Trade unions must be independent of all bourgeois parties and pressure groups. This is particularly relevant to the Labour Party. We oppose all collaborationist policies and all legislative interference in trade union affairs. We oppose the trade unions' tactics of relying on the state apparatus for "mediation" and "conciliation" in disputes instead of relying on the strength of the membership.

b) Trade unions must be democratic. Lack of democracy is the most glaring obstacle to work in trade unions at present, and is constantly highlighted in every struggle that takes place. There are many undemocratic forms in the trade unions-like elections for life, appointment of officials, management level salaries, etc. There is also more importantly, an undemocratic attitude whereby wheeling and dealing, horse-trading, seeking privileges, abusing authority, etc. are considered natural.

c) Trade unions must unite the working class. This can only be done on the basis of taking up the specific demands of those sections of the working class who are particularly oppressed-such as black workers, women workers, unemployed workers-and making these the demands of the trade unions as a whole.

d) Trade unions must be internationalist in their attitude. This means seeing that workers in other countries are their natural allies and refusing to collude

either actively or by their silence- with the bourgeoisie against them.

54. We will defeat opportunism in the course of the struggle against the bourgeoisie. This is a strategic line which is based on the fact that the historic task of the proletariat is to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and build socialism based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. But this should not be interpreted in a mechanical way of "first you fight one, then you fight the other." At times, in particular struggles, the grip of opportunism has to be challenged before that struggle is capable of moving forward against the main class enemy. This struggle must be waged ruthlessly and it must unfailingly be brought to a point where all the incorrigible leaders of opportunism and social-chauvinism are completely discredited and driven out of the trade unions.

55. All struggles against the class enemy and against enemies within the "labour movement" at whatever level, must be struggles of the class itself and in no way can Communists carry out such struggles in isolation from the class; on the contrary, we wage these struggles against the opportunist leaders in the name of the workers and in order to win them to our side.

56. The organized strength of the working class is still very small. Communists are few and as yet their influence is very limited. On the other hand, the organized strength of opportunism is much greater. In all our work, we must aim to free the workers from the shackles imposed by opportunism. Our greatest weapon in this is the mass line, which must be our fundamental method of work. There are many workers with at least partial understanding of what the trade unions really are, although such workers are not yet organized together. Some may have fallen into cynicism, some may be under the influence of opportunist political organizations, others may be totally inactive at present. We must educate and rally such workers, weld them together where we can, and rely on them to develop the struggle. At times, particular opportunists who are hindering and obstructing the class struggle must be fought and exposed as individuals. When we do this, it must be on the basis of openness with the masses, education and mobilization of the masses and on the basis of clearly specified charges against the opportunist. We do not attack all individuals with opportunist ideas even very strong ones, but we narrow the target of attack to the real headquarters of opportunism, whether that be shop steward, trade union official or trade union leader.

57. In this it is essential to take a dialectical attitude towards leaders with opportunist errors and, according to the concrete situation, use the policies of unity and struggle, and of distinguishing between greater and lesser opportunists in terms of the sharpness of our criticism, so as to win the leadership of the workers over a period of time in a way that seems relevant to them. In the same spirit, it is important to take a concrete and dialectical attitude to union elections where this helps us to unite with a greater number of workers and advanced elements.

Wider Struggles Among Working People

58. In the wider movement amongst the working people as a whole, the keynote is to emphasize the need for unity and mutual support by different sectors of workers.

59. In the context of the capitalist crisis and the offensive of capital against the living standards of the working class, two important areas of class struggle are in defence of social services (health, housing, education) and in defence of employment. This requires a widespread struggle bringing together those who work in the threatened sectors with those directly affected by the cuts, organizing in whatever ways we can (tenants' associations, local groups campaigning over community issues), with these actions being supported wherever possible by the industrial proletariat, including unemployed workers.

60. As a major secondary aspect of mass work, Communists will be actively involved in these particular forms of struggle by working people.

61. In explaining its line, the RCL will stress the political point that unemployment benefits and various forms of social services are things for which the working class has paid and to which it is entitled; at the same time, we will win advanced elements of the working people around our revolutionary line on the basis of the deeper analysis that the capitalist attack in these fields is in essence aimed at driving down the value of workers' labour power in a disguised form, to cut our standard of living and hence increase the proportion of surplus value extracted from workers.

Defend and Extend Democratic Rights

62. The struggle to defend and extend democratic rights is a great school in which participation of communists is aimed at exposing the bourgeois state as a repressive organ on which the power of the ruling class of monopoly capitalists is based. Communists support reforms which aid the struggle of the working class and doubly oppressed national minorities. Our chief responsibility is to expose the facade of parliamentarism and bourgeois legality behind which the whole coercive machinery of the bourgeois state apparatus hides. Communists defend bourgeois democracy against trends and moves towards bourgeois fascism.

63. At the present time, there is a growing resurgence of great nation chauvinism in its most reactionary form-fascist terror. This is a direct product of British imperialism's reactionary strategy for survival where the main trend is preparation for fascism.

64. One law after another has been rushed through Parliament restricting and removing basic democratic and trade union rights. The monopoly capitalist class is attempting to outlaw or render ineffective all the tried and tested methods of economic struggle developed by the working class over the years. A vital aspect of British imperialism's reactionary strategy for survival is the promotion of fascist ideology and organization, of which fascist terror against the black and Asian communities is the essential outcome. The monopoly capitalist class promotes fascist ideology in the hope that white workers will turn a blind eye to intensifying state racism and fail to see that the systematic strengthening of the state machine is aimed at crushing the struggles of all working people. The fundamental aim of racist oppression is to divide the working class, set white people against black people and undermine the resistance of working people to mass unemployment, attacks on living standards, education, health and welfare services, democratic and trade union rights. This will enable the bourgeoisie to super-exploit the black and Asian people even further and thus intensify the rate of exploitation of the working class as a whole. Working people want to defend themselves against this onslaught but find themselves seriously divided by imperialist ideology, particularly racism, and therefore open to manipulation and demobilization by the opportunist misleaders.

65. Working people will not indefinitely accept the systematic reduction in their relative standard of living. The spontaneous fightback of working people against the onslaught of the monopoly capitalist class is constantly developing. The most far-sighted section of the monopoly capitalist class sees the day (and is systematically strengthening the state machine in preparation for it) when racism no longer succeeds in effectively splitting the fighting unity of the working class, when parliamentary methods no longer work in forcing the burden of the crisis onto the backs of working people, when control of the trade unions by law and the misleadership of the opportunists fails to restrict and divert the workers' fightback. At this point, the monopoly capitalist class will attempt to bring in fascism. As the British imperialist state imposed fascist rule on the colonies in order to extract superprofits and to suppress their resistance, so it will attempt to impose fascism at home in a last desperate bid to maintain imperialist rule and thus defend the economic interests of the monopoly capitalist class.

66. The racist ideology of black inferiority and white supremacy is con-

sistently and relentlessly being spread through the capitalist mass media. In this climate of growing race hatred and intensifying state racism, the open fascist organizations are promoted by the monopoly capitalist class and defended by the imperialist state. They are free to mobilize the most backward elements of society in order to carry out their reactionary tasks laid down by their political masters; the widespread dissemination of fascist propaganda to prepare public opinion for fascist dictatorship, the building of a social base for fascist and the organization of secret terror gangs to terrorise the black and Asian communities. Experience in other countries shows this protective relationship between the state and the fascist organizations to be standard imperialist practice, where fascist groups carry out terror campaigns, including operating murder squads, which the monopoly capitalist class does not wish the state's forces to be seen undertaking.

67. Racism is the main weapon to prepare the way for fascism and to justify the use of fascist measures such as the 1971 Immigration Act. The monopoly capitalists' reactionary campaign against the national minorities has inevitably led to spontaneous mass resistance on the streets and thus provided the political justification for bringing in more repressive laws and more far-reaching powers for the forces of the state thus systematically undermining the traditional civil rights associated with parliamentary democracy. These powers will be used against all working people, black and white, when they fight back against the onslaught. The significance for revolutionary communists of this analysis of the tactics of the monopoly capitalists' reactionary strategy for survival is not to be mere onlookers, but to play an active part in the mass resistance and struggle to give it guidance and direction towards unity and organization.

68. The ruling class is systematically strengthening the state machine as part of its preparations for fascism. The war in northern Ireland is providing the main training ground to prepare the army for its domestic role. The powers of the army and police are being extended, their numbers increased, and special training and equipment provided. The police are being increasingly used to combat "industrial unrest" and political "subversion" rather than fight crime. To this end the police are developing specially trained units-SPGs and tactical firearms units. They are effectively a para-military force. In addition, a specially trained riot police, the Police Support Units, has been formed which can be mobilized on a national or local basis. Under the Special Powers Acts, the state now has the powers without reference to parliament and the tried and tested machinery for launching a military coup.

69. Whilst supporting the struggle to defend and extend democratic rights, communists must be prepared for any moves by the bourgeois state to outlaw the activities of revolutionary parties. In the final analysis, a genuinely revolutionary party is illegal and must, therefore, be prepared to carry on its activities secretly. However, the right to free association existing under bourgeois democracy gives more favourable conditions for organizing.

The Rights of National Minorities

70. Racism is a total ideology originating in the slave trade of developing capitalism and only becoming fully defined with the development of capitalism into imperialism. Imperialism oppresses and super-exploits the nations and peoples of the Third World and theories of racial inferiority were developed in the late 19th century to justify the wholesale colonial enslavement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The economic basis to racist ideology continues to be national oppression by imperialism, although principally by neo-colonial means.

71. The oppression of national minorities is a marked feature of British imperialist society today. The oppressed national minorities in Britain are mainly, but not exclusively, from the ex-colonies of British imperialism.

22. The oppression of these national minorities is derived from the imperialist exploitation and oppression of the nations from which they have come. It takes the form of super-exploitation, violence, discrimination and the denial of their right to develop their national languages and cultures. Racist ideology was created by imperialism, and is particularly directed against the black and Asian communities in the most vicious and acute form. Coming from the Third World, which is the main force against imperialism, black and Asian people are in the vanguard of the fight against imperialism in Britain.

23. The national minorities are increasingly fighting back against their oppression. This increases their awareness of their national identities. Organizations of specific national minorities are taking the lead in the struggle, but unity is developing between different national minorities and between the national minorities and the working class of the national majority.

24. The continuation of British imperialist rule depends on both national oppression and the exploitation of the working class. A revolutionary alliance between the working class and national minority peoples, with the unity of the working class as its core is essential to overthrow the imperialist bourgeoisie. To help to forge this alliance, Communists must fight for the democratic rights of the national minorities and for the abolition of all national oppression and inequality. The full democratic rights of the national minorities must include the right to develop their own languages and cultures.

25. The oppression of national minorities results in one of the most dangerous divisions within the working class and working people. This division is promoted and exacerbated by the use of racism by the monopoly capitalist ruling class through the state and the media. This division can only be overcome by drawing the working class into the struggle for the democratic rights of national minorities. We completely condemn all immigration laws which are a racist attack on national minority people, and support all struggles against deportation and the division of families. We thoroughly and unconditionally support the black people's fight against police harassment and brutality.

26. The development of state racism is intrinsically linked with the development of fascism. On the one hand, the state introduces such measures as the Immigration laws and Prevention of Terrorism Act; on the other, the monopoly capitalist class promotes and defends open fascist organizations, which terrorise national minority communities. Both these means are used to prepare for the time when the monopoly capitalist class will need to prolong its rule through fascism. The struggle against national minority oppression is useless unless it is linked to the struggle against both these tendencies.

27. National minority people in Britain are of different classes, but the majority are workers. Because of their super-exploitation and their specific national oppression, they are among the foremost fighters for the rights of rights of the working class against the attacks of capital.

28. It is essential to build a multi-national Communist party in order to build working class unity and the alliance between the working class and the national minorities. Only thus can the struggle against the imperialist state be carried through to the end. It is therefore essential to unite communists from the national minorities and the national majority into a single Communist party.

The National Question in Wales and Scotland

29. Wales and Scotland are oppressed nations within the British State. Economically, these nations are consistently worse off than the rest of Britain, and they suffer the effects of the present capitalist onslaught in an even more savage form. They have fought a bitter centuries-long struggle against open persecution as well as other tactics on the part of the British ruling class in order to preserve their national cultures, way of life and independent economic development, which are still under

80. We uphold the right of Wales and Scotland to self-determination, up to and including the right to secession. A co-ordinated struggle, based on equality, in the three nations of the present British state is necessary for a revolutionary overthrow of imperialism.

The Struggle Against the Oppression of Women

81. Within the capitalist system women are doubly oppressed, as women and as workers. They are particularly hard hit at home and at work by today's economic crisis. They are also bearing the brunt of the cuts within the welfare state.

82. At the basis of women's oppression lies the economic unit of the family. The family and women's role of privatised labour within it is necessary and essential for capitalism which leaves the maintenance and reproduction of the workforce in women's hands and also uses women as a reserve army of labour.

83. Women's unequal position in society is the basis of divisions between men and women within the working class. The fight for women's equality is an essential part of the struggle of the class for socialism. Without women's participation it cannot be won. Only socialism can lay the material basis for the full liberation of women. However, we should also struggle now for reforms around women's demands.

Anti-imperialist Solidarity

84. Anti-imperialist solidarity work is an essential part of our communist work.

85. In the case of struggles directed against British imperialism, our solidarity work helps to weaken the enemy of the British working class. In the case of struggles against Second-world imperialist powers, these help force the ruling classes of these countries into playing a more positive international role. In the case of struggles against the superpowers, these help attack the main enemy of the world's people, and in particular, movements of resistance against Soviet aggression help delay the outbreak of world war, thus giving the revolutionary forces more time to develop. The struggles waged for democratic rights against repressive regimes backed by imperialism serve to strengthen the voice of the working masses in the world. The struggles of the Third World countries for the new international economic order help to weaken the economic foundation of imperialism.

86. Defence of the genuine socialist countries is the defence of precious reserves of the international proletariat and points out to the working class the bright future of socialism.

87. We must integrate our anti-imperialist solidarity work with our party-building work by linking the national and international struggles. Our anti-imperialist solidarity work must reflect our analysis of the national/international situation together with our priorities and resources. We must strive to unite the largest possible forces in this work.

88. At present priority areas for active solidarity will include:

a). The main priority for anti-imperialist solidarity work directed against the British bourgeoisie is in solidarity with the armed struggle of the Irish people for self-determination and the destruction of the partition system. The Republican movement which leads that struggle also plays an important part in the British revolution, for a successful Irish revolution is a necessary precursor of a British revolution. The latter cannot succeed if the Irish revolution fails. We stand for unconditional support of the armed struggle and its republican leadership.

b). The struggles of peoples who are fighting in the front line against the aggression of Soviet social-imperialism including Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Eritrea. In this field, our guideline is to support the unity of all forces which are actively fighting the main enemy irrespective of their political and social complexion, while at the same time giving proper coverage in our publications to the role of Communist forces in these struggles.

c). The struggles of the peoples of southern Africa who are suffering racist oppression and acute economic exploitation at the hands of imperialism, including British imperialism, while also occupying a likely flashpoint in the conflict between the two superpowers. In this field, our guideline is to support the unity of the different trends in the liberation movement with the aim of hitting at the main immediate imperialist enemies of the peoples of southern Africa, and in so doing expose the splittist and factional activities of social-imperialism, while also, in appropriate ways, helping towards an understanding of the strategic goals of social-imperialism.

89. In all our solidarity work, we must give resolute support to all forces fighting imperialism, including Soviet social-imperialism, both materially and politically, while, when appropriate, highlighting the role of Communist forces.

90. Therefore we can say that the importance of anti-imperialist solidarity work is twofold:

a). It is an integral part of our party-building task in that by struggling to promote anti-imperialist consciousness in our industrial base-building work we will be delivering mighty blows to great nation chauvinism—a vital element in defeating opportunism.

b). It helps build a broad anti-imperialist front which will rally to a large extent the revolutionary movement not only the progressive intelligentsia but, most importantly, the national minorities in this country, who at the moment are taking the brunt of the attacks of the British imperialist bourgeoisie.

The Labour Party and Social Democracy

91. The two main political parties are two wings of a single bird of prey. The Conservative Party plays the "hard man" towards the working class. The Labour Party plays the "soft man" who poses as the friend of the working class. Both unite in trying to fool and confuse the working class and to keep it trapped within the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

92. The social-democratic Labour Party is a bourgeois and imperialist political party. This is determined by the class it serves politically and the class character of its ideology. The whole history of the Labour Party is one of supporting and administering British imperialist exploitation and oppression. These historical pro-imperialist roots provide a major source of the opportunism and social chauvinism which has dominated the working class movement in Britain.

93. The Labour Party is especially valuable to the bourgeoisie in hiding the class nature of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In words, the Labour Party claims to be the party of the working class but in deeds it serves the bourgeoisie. The Labour Party is the "best bosses' party." It poses as a friend of the working class and, along with the opportunist leaders of the trade union movement, fools large sections of the working class, particularly those organized in the trade unions, into supporting its capitalist policies which attack the working class in a way that the Conservative Party cannot. Thus it successfully binds the workers' economic organizations—the trade unions—into the capitalist system.

94. The opportunists and some sections of the bourgeoisie say that the Labour Party at times wobbles towards serving the interests of the working class. These "wobbles" are not accidental. They are a deliberate and conscious balancing act. This continual balancing act is essential if the Labour Party is to fool the working class into giving in to the demands of the ruling class.

95. As between the two main bourgeois political parties, the Labour Party is not "the lesser evil," as the opportunists shout. The Labour Party is the greater danger! By their cry, the opportunists try to tie the working class to the coat-tails of a bourgeois reformist political party.

96. Compared to the Conservative Party, the Labour Party represents that wing of the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie which favours greater state

intervention. Although this is disliked by some individual capitalists, greater state monopoly capitalism is the only way British monopoly capitalism can prolong its existence. In this respect, the Labour Party is the more far-sighted political party of the bourgeoisie.

97. The leaders of the Labour Party (particularly the parliamentary party) and the opportunist trade union leaders (particularly the TUC General Council) are not just conciliators of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but in essence form part of the imperialist state. They are part of the bourgeois strata receiving directors' fees and high incomes from managing state bureaux and corporations. Because of this, the Labour Party opens the way to fascism—the open and terroristic dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In fact successive Labour governments have played a full part in building up and strengthening the state apparatus. They have introduced racialist immigration controls and so-called "anti-terrorist" laws, which sow splits in the working class and erode democratic rights. They have led the way in attempts to suppress the struggle for national independence in Ireland.

98. There exist within the Labour Party minority elements which employ "socialist" and anti-capitalist rhetoric. This is the so-called labour "left," which is mainly made up of revisionist and trotskyist elements whose opportunist and social chauvinist ideology and politics present yet another serious diversion for the working class.

99. These elements mislead the working class as to the true nature of the Soviet Union. They either support it as a "socialist" country or describe it as some form of "degenerate workers' state." They fail to expose it as social-imperialist and as an expansionist and aggressive superpower, the main source of a new world war.

100. Amongst the rank and file of the Labour Party are individuals who can be won over to Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism. They will be won over as opportunism becomes increasingly exposed in the struggle against imperialism, but are not a priority of our mass work. Instead, we concentrate on building the advanced amongst the working class by going "lower and deeper" and by using the mass line.

101. Internationally, we must be prepared to unite with those forces on the "left" which are ready internationally to look more towards the Third World and the non-aligned movement than towards the Soviet Union. There is considerable confusion amongst the masses that being against capitalism is the same as supporting the Soviet Union. We must struggle to destroy this deadly association which is being fostered by the ruling classes.

Revisionism and Trotskyism

102. Regarding the form of opportunism which identifies itself as Communism, we direct our struggle against revisionism. In Britain, the main aspect of this is the rightist line dominant in the CPGB which repudiates the need for revolutionary struggle by the masses. There have also at times existed within the British communist movement leftist errors of various kinds and it is necessary to be vigilant about these too. We must aim to expose the leadership of the revisionists and educate the mass of members.

103. Where our work brings us into contact with revisionists we should direct particular attention to isolating the diehard pro-Soviet elements and finding common ground on specific issues with any elements which take progressive stands on questions of the struggle against capitalism or imperialism.

104. Trotskyism has emerged as a trend of some importance in Britain, owing to the successive betrayals of the working class by social-democracy and revisionism, to the weakness of scientific communist ideology in the working class movement, and to the errors and shortcomings which have hitherto characterised the Marxist-Leninist movement.

105. The Trotskyite trend covers a large variety of different tendencies and organizations ranging from extreme liberalism to rigid dogmatism,

from working within the Labour Party to extreme sectarianism. These different groups—as well as the constant squabbles between them—all suit the bourgeoisie. Without being sidetracked from our main priorities of work, we should be ready where possible to co-operate with rank and file Trotskyites with a long term perspective of propagating revolutionary communism among them and for the purpose of strengthening the overall movement against monopoly capitalism.

The Anti-revisionist Movement

106. The struggle against modern revisionism began following Khrushchev's infamous secret speech to the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956. The polemic in the international communist movement became public in the early 1960's. From the beginning it was a struggle in defence of the basic principles of Marxism on the nature of the state and the role of violence in proletarian revolution and national liberation struggles; Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin was an attack on Marxism-Leninism. Subsequent developments have confirmed that the great struggle against Soviet revisionism was a class question of either the capitalist or the socialist road.

107. The revisionist betrayal by Khrushchev accelerated but did not determine the development of revisionism in most communist parties. In Britain, the CPGB's degeneration is inseparable from its failure to ally with the struggles of colonial peoples and educate class conscious workers in the spirit of anti-imperialism. From its birth, the CPGB failed to break with social-democratic prejudices and practices and integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of Britain. The theoretical foundations and political analysis of the CPGB being weak, the victory of reformist illusions in the British imperialist state in conditions of the international united front against fascism was inevitable. Today, the CPGB remains an apologist for the Soviet Union and is wedded to the model of phoney socialism in the USSR and its satellites in Eastern Europe.

108. The need to continue and deepen the criticism of the CPGB's revisionism remains a priority in order that rebuilding the communist party can be based on preserving the CPGB's contribution to the struggle and leadership of the working class, while demarcating ourselves from the shortcomings and imperialist prejudices which destroyed it as a revolutionary party. Promoting criticism and discussion of the CPGB's history remains an important theoretical task.

109. The anti-revisionist movement is an international one which is alive and flourishing in many Third World countries (though generally not in Western Europe or North America) and has made important progress in recent years in integrating itself with the concrete realities of each country.

110. In Britain, the exceptionally deep influence of opportunism in the oldest imperialist power has made it hard for the Marxist-Leninist movement to make rapid progress. At the same time, Marxist-Leninists have had serious shortcomings in their work; weaknesses of individualism have been expressed in liberalism, small group mentality and factionalism, there have been ultra-leftist errors of idealism, dogmatism and sectarianism (partly influenced by the errors made during the Cultural Revolution in China, but having national roots as well), while bureaucratic errors have also been carried over from the old revisionist and trade union organizations.

Building the Revolutionary Party

111. The party must be built on three main fronts: ideological, political and organizational.

112. Ideologically, we must build the party and arm it with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in a constant struggle for proletarian ideology against all forms of bourgeois ideology.

113. Politically, we must build the party as the political party of the working class, by closely integrating the universal truths of Marxism-

Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete practice of the British revolution.

114. Organizationally, we must build the party by grasping the proletarian organizational principle of democratic-centralism. Democratic-centralism is essential for the working class to fight with unity of will and unity of action. Only democratic-centralism can enable the party speedily to concentrate correct ideas upwards and give centralised guidance downwards.

115. The past criticisms of the CPGB as a revisionist and therefore bourgeois party remain correct. At this stage, when there is no revolutionary party, Lenin's dictum of "without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement" applies. What is correct invariably develops in the course of the struggle against what is incorrect. Therefore, integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of Britain will develop with and is inseparable from the struggle against opportunism and incorrect ideas. The most dangerous form of opportunism from a communist point of view is that which dresses itself up as Marxism. Engels described three fields of struggle-political, economic and theoretical. In all fields, at our stage, the struggle against opportunism takes priority. It is particularly important that this struggle is not isolated from concrete problems of the revolution in Britain and internationally. In the practical struggle the weight placed on tactical unity with individuals from opportunist organizations must be judged from the standpoint of what furthers the struggle of the working class and the masses.

117. Opportunism is well established in the workers' movement whilst the revolutionary trend is barely defined. Against the influence of opportunism there can be no relaxation of the struggle in the interests of preserving unity against a Tony government. This is tantamount to Marxism-Leninism sacrificing its right to separate existence.

118. The RCL will adopt a policy of unity and struggle towards members of opportunist organizations. It will sincerely unite on specific issues of work with those people in them who show themselves in practice to be genuinely opposed to capitalism, and strive gradually to influence them. With people who have undergone a strong systematic influence of opportunism it will not in general be possible to win them as members of the vanguard organization on a correct basis at the present time, and the perspective should rather in the medium term be to win them into the broader revolutionary movement.

119. The struggle of the working class to free itself from the influence and leadership of opportunism is a facet of the struggle for liberation from capitalism and imperialism. Imperialism, like all systems of class oppression, depends on the ideological domination of the oppressed class as an important element in its overall domination. The revolutionary Communist movement is, in the ideological sphere, a movement of the working class to emancipate itself from the shackles of opportunism which exist within the class itself.

120. This struggle is waged by giving full play to the fine fighting qualities which exist in the class. The RCL will grow as a real anti-opportunist organization insofar as it is able to incorporate and embody these qualities, bringing them together with scientific socialism to build a revolutionary party with a true proletarian class character. Communists must practice the life style of "plain living and hard struggle" and in order to remain or become close to the masses, beware of blandishments which seek to isolate communists and genuine working class fighters from the masses.

121. If we take our analysis of British imperialism's reactionary strategy for survival seriously we must begin now to develop our revolutionary security and master the techniques of legal and illegal work so as to be fully prepared ideologically, politically and organizationally to face the threat of fascism. We should determine which comrades in each situation should work openly as communists and which comrades should not. Some comrades will work as declared anti-imperialists and some will work as just anti-racists or militant workers. This is particularly vital for hiding our organization from the bourgeoisie, building up our reserves and protecting new cadres of the Marxist-Leninist movement.

Characteristics and Style of Work of the Revolutionary Communist Organization

122. Revolutionary communists are thoroughgoing materialists who strive to combine the revolutionary scientific spirit of Marxism-Leninism with the style of practising the mass line and conscientiously encourage criticism whenever they fall short of this.

123. The characteristics of revolutionary communism are deeply influenced by the experience of the Chinese revolution, led by Comrade Mao Zedong who contributed substantially to the basic orientation of the communist movement established by Marx and Lenin. Communists have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. Communists do not set up any sectarian principles of their own by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

124. The characteristics of the internal life of the Marxist-Leninist organization are to serve the revolutionary cause of the working class, start from the desire for unity, avoid liberalism in struggling against what is wrong, struggle against an error in order to strengthen the revolutionary work and help the person who is making it; while being vigilant against the enemy to understand that differences of opinion are normal and healthy so long as they are handled in a principled way; to win conviction for points of view and not issue orders bureaucratically; to put the interests of the proletariat above all else—not in an empty and bombastic way, but by being painstaking and conscientious in matters of ideology, politics and organization; to shun factionalism like the plague and unite firmly with other comrades in an organization which resolves questions of policy by discussion and struggle about matters of principle within the basic structure of democratic-centralism, that enables the party to be built as a united core of leadership for the revolutionary working class struggle—namely that the individual is subordinate to the organization; the minority is subordinate to the majority; the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

125. Taking the ideological, political and organizational line of the proletariat as the core, revolutionary communists will strive to unite the vast majority of working and progressive people in mass actions against the main enemy.

126. The Marxist-Leninist movement is a movement to return to the basic principles of Communism put forward scientifically by Marx and Lenin and to apply these to present-day conditions. In doing this, a powerful and indispensable weapon is provided by Mao Zedong Thought which, if used creatively, is a powerful force in curing the opportunist and revisionist poison which has accumulated in the Communist movement and creating the conditions for founding a party which at last embodies the fine and rich qualities of the multi-national working class of Britain.

(The above text should incorporate all the amendments passed by Congress. Small changes have been made to make it read a little better, but nothing else; hopefully, it will still be useful for guidance until the CC deals with any contradictions in it and the text is re-written to eliminate unnecessary repetition and make it more readable.)