CONGRESS 2012

The document resulting from the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), London, November 2012.

1 Our country is under attack. All of its institutions, bar none, are in decline. Our economy is in decline, and the only growth anywhere is in unemployment, poverty and war. Apart, that is, from charity shops, pay day loans and food banks. In periods of crisis leadership is necessary. This is a crisis. A crisis of thought, and of deed. Describing the parlous state of our bleeding country is insufficient alone.

2 But first, the description. The decline absolute of an economic system cannot be disguised forever. The fact that two-thirds of all Formula One cars are built in Britain cannot blind us to the killing fact that our deficit in manufactured goods runs at billions of pounds a year, and is growing. The fact that this motor racing 'industry' employs 25,000 of the most highly skilled engineering workers in the land should not obscure the fact that a proud Union of 1.2 million skilled engineers 40 years ago, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, is reduced to a rump within a crumbling general union whose total membership is less than that. Yes there is manufacture in Britain, and yes it is crucial to a British economic recovery and to our national independence, but it is weak, underinvested, unbalanced and uncontrolled. And too few of its workers are Union members.

3 Indeed the entire economy has too few Union members, and a shocking reversal has taken place. Where industrial unions created and led the 'movement' and were joined only latterly by workers in what were known as 'white collar' jobs, the situation is now on its head. The percentage of workers in unions is pathetically low in public & other service sectors of the economy; it is even lower in industry, in manufacture, in the private sector. This dangerously low – and even more dangerous, still declining – number of workers joining together in union is the material basis of the decay which is compounded by aggressive, anti-union tactics deployed by some unions.

4 The so-called 'organising model' (when was there in truth ever anything else?) is now perverted in some quarters into nothing more nor less than poaching. Both lazy and greedy at the same time. We can't recruit in the sectors of the economy we have always covered so we will encroach and poach into areas where others have established a presence. And we will suborn those whom other unions have rightly expelled in order to do so. After all it is always easier to convince workers to move from one union to another than it is to convince workers to join a union in the first place. So let someone else do the hard graft of recruiting workers into a union & then sneak in the back door and offer lower subs, or better-looking officials, or free holidays, or, if you think it'll work, lots of strikes. Better still if you can pay former members of the original union, members whose megalomaniac plans for domination led them to be chucked out, to do the poaching for you.

5 And there is a sad self-delusion in continual mergers of unions. It hides from those who most need to see, the scale of decline, and in an unconscious way apes the drive to merger of capitalist companies. The number of members always appears healthy but there is a conjuror's sleight of hand. It is an attempt to concentrate all those unionised workers into one big union, and as long as that one union has more than a million members (and for how much longer can that even be claimed in the case of some unions?) things look all right. Self-deception is always the worst kind of deceit, and it is only the perpetrators of this deception that are now fooled by it.

6 Those who look to the USA for inspiration to create this One Big Union, and who indeed have even begun the process of merging with Unions in the United States, should heed the fate of the inventors of the concept, the Industrial Workers of the World, the brave but misguided 'Wobblies'. The development of that union was specific to north American conditions and didn't succeed even there. It won't work here.

7 These are dangerous developments. The Party said many years ago that trade unions were a fast emptying house, and that we may need perforce to become caretakers, the better to seize the assets. The asset we have in mind is the consciousness of our workmates, members of unions. There are those around who want to seize the assets material. There are those who are seduced to bring their small unions into merger with bigger ones for money; some even suggest it themselves. That is bribery and it takes place behind the backs of the members. Often it happens after years of swearing blind that it never will.

8 The proportion of some unions' income that goes to fund its retired officials is becoming ever greater and is a scandal that only the softness of mind of members is allowing.

9 Those blacklisted in some industries are now on the books of their union as a permanent reminder of the failure to get them back on site. An asset converted into a liability.

10 Most of the unions which existed only forty years ago have now gone, a partial reflection of the destruction of the industries in which they organised. The decline in membership is accelerating and at this pace trade unionism as we have known it will be eradicated within this generation of members. The employing class has

always aimed at this. That it should be connived at by those within is a crime.

11 Unions are not only institutions. They exist as working members in real work places or they become something else entirely, something entirely negative. Workers themselves need to involve themselves, to involve themselves in pruning back the weedy overgrowth and nourish the shoots.

12 A serious product of this decay is the neglect of pay. Pay is our battleground, it reflects the state of struggle because it is concerned with the proportion of our labour power that we control. When workers and their unions asserted more, in the 1970s, the proportion of domestic product seized from employers in wage increases was at an all-time high. Now it is at an all-time low. This is at the root of the present economic crisis. In order to avoid the spiral of wage rises it could not control capitalism took a bold step; it made credit easily available to workers. Or rather, it used our savings and the extracted surplus value of workers to offer those same workers loans to pay for what they had previously bought with the wages they had to constantly fight for.

13 With Thatcher came this explosion of credit, and with that explosion (and, never to forget, the destruction of industry which led to mass unemployment) came a move away from the fight for pay. And this has contributed directly to the credit collapse of the last five years. The system was top-heavy with debt and finally it toppled over.

14 But this is not the product of workers' profligacy, it is the product of workers' cowardice. Neither a borrower nor a lender be. We oppose debt not through some religious disquiet about usury, but because if we don't fight for the money we need to live on we don't appreciate its true value. Indeed in borrowing rather than fighting we assist in our own ideological corruption. We think now that we get what we want materially through the use of credit, not by joining a union & putting in a pay claim. For progress to be made in Britain's, and we may say in the world's economy, this thinking must go. We should spend only what we earn and if we don't earn enough we'll have to fight the employers for more.

15 We are encouraged to adopt a corrosively superior attitude; we need manufactured goods, but we're told they should be made abroad. All that dirt! It's the industrial equivalent of the 'too posh to wash' canard aimed at nurses. We are encouraged to want energy without digging coal. We'd rather get our electricity from nice clean sources like wind and sea power, but you'd have to be, literally, a bit green to believe that these sources will keep the lights on. There's no brass without muck, no energy without risk.

16 We should look at it like this; should our country be attacked in war now we would be defeated, because we do not make enough things here. The Soviet Union won the Second World War because they made everything there. The USSR was materially, as well as politically independent. Forget US/British lend lease, trumpeted as leading to Soviet victory; Soviet manufacturing won that war, and in the process saved us all. As Stalin said, it was a war of engines. The country which made the most, and the best, won the war.

17 History is written in the west which ignores the truth; the Soviet people fought for socialism in what they called their Great Patriotic War, not just for Mother Russia. They were utterly committed to their defence, and its defence, and in the end in the teeth of terrible sacrifice were utterly successful.

18 Vietnam and Cuba also. Successful because of the connection made between national independence & the fight for socialism. Wherever the advance of Marxism-Leninism has been profound it has come from the dialectical relationship of these crucial lines. For our fight for progress at home to be successful, so must be our fight against the EU. For our struggle against foreign intervention to succeed we must destroy the power of capital at home. Our fight for progress at home is the fight for national liberation, against the EU.

19 So we must overcome the false superiority that assumes we can live on the labour of others in other countries (at root an attempt to convince us that we're bourgeois). Instead we must build actual superiority. And to do that we must overcome the sense of inferiority we feel as a class.

20 Our principal enemy is within us: ourselves. It is our mind, the mind of the working class, of people who work for a living. That is why our task is to overcome that enemy. To encourage consciousness of our class position, confidence in our capacity to rise, to defeat our enemy external, the employing class. How to do that is the question for our Congress.

21 Engaging that external class enemy will lead to further ideological advance, a virtuous circle of raising our level in order to be able to fight, leading to the fight itself raising our level. Taking on that enemy will promote advance and stimulate confidence in our ranks. At present we have not a virtuous, but a vicious circle; one where lack of clarity on our part leads to diminution of

confidence, which leads in turn to extreme unwillingness to take on the enemy which then leads to further erosion of belief that we can.

22 The level of what passes for thinking is indeed parlous. Consider the foolishness of following the foolish advice of government in March to panic buy fuel when the word 'strike' was breathed; who was more stupid, Maude or those who acted on his advice?

23 First, we should consider our strength. As capitalism moves through history the number of capitalists shrinks. That fact and the concentration of capital are both economic laws. As a proportion of population there are fewer capitalists now in Britain, far fewer, than when they began the industrial revolution. At the beginning a manufacturer worked in his manufactory, along with his two or three hundred workers at most, but usually with far fewer. Now capitalists are so rare that most of us have never met one.

24 There are more than 1,200 billionaires in a world in which around one-third of people exist on the edge of starvation. We should not forget that the richest 1% of Britain's population take home in what are called 'earnings' more than the total pay bill of the health service, schools & local government combined. In 2008-9 the wealth of the richest 1,000 capitalists rose by £77 billion; half the amount of the entire so-called deficit in that recession year. Of course there are thousands of small businesses in Britain employing tens of thousands of workers. But the owners of them are as much captains of industry as we are. Controlling destiny now are those whose faces we never see, in banks here and in other countries. We need to deal with decisions made here, but also with those made abroad. How to do this?

25 As this economic system ages the number of those running it diminishes. It is the dialectic that leads to the numerical predominance of workers. And not just in Britain. It looks now as though new capitalists are being created throughout the world willy nilly. In fact from the high point of capital completing its taking of power in any one country the proportion, then the actual number of capitalists drops. This is integral to the absolute nature of capitalism's decline. Capital will become concentrated in fewer and fewer hands in China just as surely as it has been in Britain. But capitalists will not just melt away like snow in spring. There are proportionally fewer and fewer capitalists, and more and more workers, more and more gravediggers of capital; the quandary is – when will they pick up their shovels?

26 Second, we should consider how weak our enemy is. Their economy is bankrupt, literally, their politic unheard, and their aggression pathetic. Not being Marxists, they don't understand how their 'system' works. They don't understand that it is unmanageable, then they panic when their attempts to mend it fail. So then they turn to their default setting; attack the one thing that might save them, the working class, thereby making things worse still.

27 Marx described 'never ceasing encroachments of capital', and these encroachments will eradicate all of our advances, and breach all of our defences, including our unions, if we fail to resist them. Their class-rooted instinct to take from us that which can sustain them, our labour power, will be the eventual cause of their demise. It must not become the cause of ours. This is the ultimate description of a vicious circle. Their sole strength is in our backwardness. Our lack of desire to assert. Our desire to leave it to others. To cross our fingers behind our backs, or even to put a cross on a ballot paper, and hope evil will go away. Well it won't. "Have we eaten of the insane root that denies us reason?"

28 This is indeed a pathetic government, barely deserving of the name. We could consider as significant the first action taken by any government acceding to office: the first act of Thatcher was of exceptional importance, the lifting of exchange controls. The first act of Blair, to sever the Bank of England from government control and give it to the City, only marginally less important. This coalition's first act? To pass legislation keeping them in office for five years! Is that the height of their ambition?

29 Banning elections for as long as they can is indeed instructive, and indicative of a profoundly anti-democratic trend that will lead to fascism growing out of parliament if we don't halt it. Surely a working class that swept away Heath, he who aimed at the legal eradication of trade unions and imprisonment of their members, can deal with a crew whose objective seems merely to have access to parliamentary expenses for as long as possible? The truth of course is that it is not the same working class. Those who fought and achieved limited success in the 1970s are not in the ranks today. Those who are must deal with this convocation of politic worms in parliament.

30 What is a revolution? It is those at the bottom coming to the top. Those oppressed ending their own oppression. Doing it themselves. That's why it won't come through voting.

31 The reason racism is rife in parts of the USA is because slaves did not end slavery. The reason fascism stalks Spain is because it was never

defeated in Spain. The reason we are insecure in our gains in Britain is because we have not come to the top, not revolted. Not for more than 350 years anyway. Perhaps our revolution came too soon. It's now so long ago we pretend we haven't had one.

32 Great courage resides within our class, ingenious cowardice also. We British pioneered modern migration, and not for economic but political reasons (insofar as there's a difference). In the 1630s the 'Great Migration' took place, in which between 20,000 & 80,000 people, a greater proportion of population than in any other migration, left Britain to avoid the disgusting Stuart monarchy. In leaving they avoided fighting the disgusting Stuart monarchy. Had more stayed and fought then the successor monarchical regime, weakened though it was, would not have been restored in 1660. The brave stayed, and fought, and won. But their victory could have been complete had those anti-Stuart patriots been patriotic enough to stay and fight in their own country. Britain did very well without a monarchy for a generation, it could easily have continued. Imagine what change that would have wrought in the world. We should recall this amidst modern royalist celebrations; we should always remember that they lost, we won.

33 In 1844 this was repeated in migration of Chartists, who were thereby absent and unable to contribute in Britain when revolution swept Europe four years later.

34 In addition to leaving the country, workers over the years have left job, city, and trade in a valiant bid to avoid struggle. Modern migration has led 600,000 east European workers to Britain since 2004, since when 600,000 young British workers have become unemployed. We are told that to draw the most obvious of parallels is racist. The fact that all the east European migrants are white and probably getting on for half the young British workers rendered unemployed are black is an inconvenient fact which should not be allowed to get in the way of a good deception.

35 An increasing number of these itinerant workers now have children in our schools, and have need of health care. The lack of accurate statistics, or any control over the process, means that effective planning in these and other areas of need is entirely lacking. This, together with the wilful fragmentation wrought by the chopping up of schools into academies and free schools run by private and sectarian interests places the education of coming generations in great jeopardy; what great obstacles have been placed in the way of children who are being taught creationism in schools run by second hand car dealers. As if they didn't have enough on their plates.

36 Education used to be run collectively on our behalf by Local Education Authorities, LEAs. We've got the last Labour government to thank for removing the word 'Education' from their title. It looks like the current crew will complete the job by seeking to remove education from schools altogether.

37 The ruling class has never advocated education for the children of workers and it is at least being consistent in the person of the odious Gove. His so-called free schools and academies are the Sunday schools of today, but with perhaps more religion.

38 In higher education tuition fees are primarily a means of controlling access, not of funding the system. An increasing number of institutions now tout for foreign students in a new and enervating export drive. We will soon be at the point where some Universities are only in existence in order to educate the offspring of a foreign ruling class.

39 Fees and especially student loans are also integral to the assiduously fostered culture of debt now foisted on the young. A generation which benefited from the struggle of their parents and who were themselves beneficiaries of student grants and the paying of fees by LEAs has allowed these assets of struggle to be filched from their children in a shameful betrayal of collective parental responsibility.

40 In health our ruling class approaches its goal: the eradication of what it has always considered an anomaly, that most long-lasting of wartime victories, the NHS. Ever since it was wrung out of a weak government by a working class in part under arms in 1945-48 the NHS has been constantly under attack.

41 The most recent assault is the most dangerous yet. Amid the clamour, justified, against privatisation, the involvement of foreign companies seeking profit and the supposed handing over of budgets to GPs (would that it were so simple) many have missed a salient fact; from April 2013 there will be no Health Authorities in the NHS. This is the first time since 1948 that the NHS will not be planned. Its needs will be determined instead by commissioning, by the 'market'.

42 Strategic Health Authorities replaced District Health Authorities which replaced Regional Health Authorities which replaced Area Health Authorities. In April 2013 Strategic Health Authorities will be replaced by…nothing. There

will be a commissioning board, in process of establishment, whose functions will be to oversee the 'purchase' of healthcare, not its planning. One crucial step closer to their aim of wrenching back the control of our health which we had partly established in 1948.

43 Science lies at the heart of progress, the two concepts are synonymous. They advance together or decline together. A definition of progress is 'the advance of science'. When the concept of progress for the people is under attack, as it has openly been since Thatcher, then science too is denigrated, underfunded, undervalued by capitalism. This in turn retards social progress, and creates the vacuum into which superstitious sloppy thinking is sucked.

44 The recrudescence of religious thought is the Janus face of a decline in the pre-eminence of science. As a class, as a people we must assert our confidence in the scientific method in all we do, including in political economy. All so-called theories must be tested with scientific rigour to see that they will work in practice. Lessons must be derived from failures and new plans developed.

45 Science must be at the centre of planning a new future for Britain in which all our resources, human and material, will be used for the needs of our people and not used to make profit for capital. In turn this means we must invest in science, teach it more thoroughly in schools and extend those world-beating University departments the government is so keen to undervalue.

46 A revolution is only needed for one reason; so we, our class, can control our own affairs. To obtain power. And we need power only for two reasons. One is to meet our material needs, to feed ourselves. The other is to prevent war. If we don't control our lives we can never be sure that we will survive. Our savings could be eradicated overnight. If we've got any. Our pensions, we are told, will be worthless when the FTSE 100 falls below 4,000. That is if we've got pensions. Our children will be unsafe and unemployed if things remain as they are; because things will not remain as they are, they will become worse.

47 War will get closer and closer to our shores. When socialism existed in Europe we were safer. There were no wars in Europe in those years. Within a year of socialism's collapse there was war in Europe, in Yugoslavia. That twenty-year anniversary should be marked this year, not that of the predatory Malvinas war. Yugoslavia now is entirely destroyed as a country.

48 In the 1990s alone more than 4 million civilians were killed in post-Soviet wars. Iraq now has the largest army in the world, proportional to population. It will no doubt to be used as a military cat's paw for the yanks, who yearn for others to do their dying for them.

49 Then there was war against Libya. Libya was guilty of two things; proposing to establish a currency independent of the dollar, therefore independent of the USA, and it was then guilty of dropping its guard by trying to be an ally of the west. It could have survived doing one of these things, but it could not survive doing both. In both provoking and allying with America they invited attack.

50 In contrast Cuba neither provokes nor allies itself with the USA & thereby resists attack. There is the lesson. As a country we render ourselves vulnerable precisely because we are the USA's closest ally. The day after the Olympics were awarded to London we saw the effect of that alliance.

51 And now Syria, where reaction has got a real job on its hands. A people stronger because more revolutionary. Gaddafi posed more but fought less. The Syrians, with hundreds of thousands of secular, revolutionary Palestinians on their soil, are a different kettle of fish.

52 It is the Syrian government alone, backed by a majority of its people, that has prevented a wider war. It has stood alone, and forced the supine Chinese & Russians, negligent in regard to Libya, to block an escalation in the U.N. The Syrian people face a hard winter. It is the bitter fruit of the so-called 'Arab Spring', which was never about aging and ineffectual rulers in Tunisia or Egypt, but about destroying sovereignty and the remnants of 'Arab Socialism' in Libya and Syria.

53 Africa is a mighty continent bled by capitalism. With the assistance of the USSR the Organisation of African Unity was established in order to assist those countries and those liberation movements fighting colonialism, fighting for sovereignty. Since the collapse of socialism this organisation has transformed itself into the African Union, a pale imitation of the European Union. From that point on, its work less than half done, social liberation on that great continent has stalled, and imperialist interference has grown in proportion.

54 The attempt of Libya to create an independent AU currency received a revealing response; the overthrow of the sovereign government in that African country and the murder of its leader. No one now is proposing such opposition to the use of the dollar as the staple currency for Africa, so for the USA it was a case of 'job done' in seeing

off Gaddafi. And of course there was Libya's oil too…

55 But we should always look here at home. Millions demonstrated against war in Iraq. None did against war in Libya. Why? Was it because the demonstrating failed? Was it because people thought, 'we must support our boys' once it's kicked off? Probably both, but our cowardice over Libya & now Syria is an invitation to our enemies, their enemies, to attack us. Their plan is to attack Syria until it capitulates. Attack other countries on their death list: North Korea; Iran; Cuba. Attack workers everywhere. Attack us.

56 Their aggression abroad led directly to the terrorist attacks on London in 2005. Remember that photograph of Aznar & Blair fawning before Bush on the Azores in 2003? Within a year of it being taken Madrid had been bombed. Within two years so had London. That's where an aggressive foreign policy takes you. Waging war abroad will lead to more attacks at home. Fascism and aggression abroad bring fascist aggression to our shores.

57 Those murderous young religious men who caused such pain & trauma in July seven years ago were British, let us not forget. How had it happened that such inhumanity could be planned and executed with no-one knowing enough about it to stop it? If indeed no-one did know.

58 Our country is being steadily militarised, in spite, perhaps even because, of the reduction announced in army numbers. A 20% reduction in the number of soldiers (if it happens) is not a 20% reduction in the presence or profile of the military. There has been a 20% actual, not proposed, reduction in the number of nurses; has there been an increase in the profile of the health service in the same way that there's been a raising of the military's profile? There has not. Soldiers in uniform present sporting trophies and march with Olympic flags. Roundabouts have 'help for heroes' floral displays. How long before those not applauding our boys are given white feathers? Or worse?

59 It takes a lot to turn a war into a civil war, and wars internal to a country are the least civil of all. This though is our task. Workers must prevent this escalation of hatred against countries which have never harmed us & never will. We must see how we can turn the weapons to hand against our class enemy. We are not conscripted (yet) and so are not armed. Our weapons are those of propaganda, of talking with our workmates. We must turn these weapons against our enemy in a new kind of civil war.

60 The standard of broadcast news journalism now is at an all-time low. The line of our enemy is slavishly parroted, even by the so-called 'balanced' BBC, which doesn't show half the images of NATO-led slaughter in Iraq, Libya or now in Syria which television viewers across the globe see.

61 Our enemy has certainly learned its lessons from Vietnam, and taken its lead from over the pond. Since Vietnam the bloody predatory wars capital wages have never been shown on TV as news. Now war news is shown as a combination of blockbuster & video game, where you the viewer are always behind the gun sight, never in front of the barrel. 'Smart' weapons for the twenty first century white man's burden.

62 If our country is under attack then the aggressor is the European Union, conducting its business huggermugger behind the backs of the citizens of its member states. It has become clear that the EU's, and therefore capitalism's, attack on workers involves laying waste the economies of the countries of Europe, in a kind of scorched earth policy aimed at making it impossible for countries to have the wherewithal for national survival.

63 First Greece, then Spain have been effectively bankrupted. Who will be next? It matters little, because all, with the possible exception of Germany, will be bankrupted by the EU if they remain in the EU. Germany, whose population barely use credit cards and whose banks have only one real global competitor, the banks of China. Germany, the imposer of Thatcher's policies on the countries of Europe. Germany, with 3401 tons of gold in reserve compared to Greece's 112.

64 National sovereignty rests on the capacity of a country's economy. Destroy the economy of a nation and you undermine, possibly fatally, the ability of a country to be a country. It can then become a region of the EU (and as with all 'EU Regions', these ultimately largely derive in geographic area from the diocesan boundaries of the Roman church, in turn inherited from the Roman Empire; progress there then!). National identity is a brake upon capital and so it must go.

65 It might be noted that in the case of both Greece and Spain tourism is the main single generator of both foreign currency and arguably GDP. Any country reliant upon tourism in this way has an unreliable economic base, dependent on the whims of others. In both countries tourism was created under the auspicies of fascist governments attempting to eradicate the economic need for workers. That Franco and the

Greek colonels came up with tourism as an attempted magic wand to create wealth without the need of industrial workers should be a salutary lesson to other countries attempting the same trick.

66 The EU is aided and abetted by quislings in our class who would rather supplicate in Brussels than struggle in Britain. There are those in Scotland who wish to see themselves as an EU region with all the prestige of Estonia. Because let's get one thing clear; Scotland is not, and will not be again, a nation. In the pre-industrial past, in feudal times, it was, with a separate monarchy. Unless they intend to bring back the line of Bruce, or perhaps crown Salmond, 'independence' is outwith the laws of Britain, never mind those of the EU. A dual monarchy? Pull the other one.

67 In Yugoslavia in order to create war Germany recognised a non-country, Croatia. In Britain Scotland will receive de facto recognition of separate status if a referendum is held which excludes the rest of Britain.

68 Even a gerrymandered referendum confined to Scotland must return a 'No' vote. Unless it does, the clock is turned back far more than 300 years. It would not only dismember our country but it would create an ideological back door to Britain through which the EU would be invited. This would be similar to the military back door to Britain the Scottish monarchy represented in the middle ages, periodically inviting invasion by the French. Salmond as Mary Queen of Scots & Cameron his Darnley. The auld alliance writ anew, with the EU the modern doppelganger of France. One country two currencies? Two time zones?

69 Devolution, and now the threat of separation are both products of only one thing, and that is de-industrialisation. When the working class in Scottish industry was numerous & active it often led the British working class. The SNP & all its works were laughed out of town as the 'tartan tories'. The SNP, one of whose founders was a man with the distinction of having been both a revisionist and a fascist as well as a separatist. The decline, destruction of industry drags a class down, and no clearer example is extant than that of Scotland.

70 This Party called at May Day in 2007 for any referendum on the break up of Britain to be held throughout Britain, and not just in Scotland, and we reiterate that demand now.

71 We salute the unprecedented resistance there is in Europe to the EU, especially in Greece, led by Greek Communists. Workers must join that resistance, not leave it to fight without us. It seems sometimes as though the only organisations in Britain not discussing the EU are the trade unions. Sometimes they even offer to act as policemen for the EU in imposing EU rather than national law; this must end.

72 We must declare our intention to leave the EU; our intention as a people not as a Party. We should be clear that this is the greatest opportunity in a generation to effect world-shattering change. British withdrawal from the EU would fatally wound the project, damage the vessel below the water line. It would at a stroke shift the balance of force away from those who would both break up Britain and launch war. It would mean that we would have to come up with answers to some questions we don't want to face. How to survive by taking responsibility principal among them.

73 We did not as a people heed the call we as a Party made in 1996 to use the breathing space we could see ahead with a change of capitalist government. We would have to use the greater breathing space we would create by withdrawal from the EU if we could achieve it. We would have to plan for Britain: how to allocate resources; how to train skilled workers; how to educate the young (& the not so young); how to defend ourselves as a country. How to pay for it all.

74 The EU represents all that against which we fight: the dictatorship of finance capital our economy has evolved into; foreign domination; the bleeding away of our capacity to take responsibility for ourselves. It encapsulates the very thing against which Britain has fought throughout history; rule from abroad. The EU is the continuation of the Roman Empire, the Roman church, the armada, Hitler. Workers must support any measure which weakens it.

75 The Eurozone is in effect greater-Germany, with an ever-growing list of vassal states in tow. If we do not leave the EU it will truly destroy our economy as surely as it has that of Greece, and bring us to war as surely as it did Yugoslavia. Opposition to it may soon be illegal, and if we don't leave soon the repression will escalate. A fight against EU membership is the struggle for national and for social liberation. Within the EU is national and social oppression.

76 We must never cease to explain the role of Britain in establishing, nurturing and leading the EU. Most of the Maastricht, Nice and Lisbon Treaties were written by British civil servants, and their provisions are more heartily applied here than anywhere else in Europe. A fight to destroy the EU is a fight to destroy that British capitalism which is transformed from erstwhile imperial might to

shameful comprador. We must consign the EU and our own ruling class to the flames of history.

77 There has always been a yearning for a return to a golden age, or should that be A Golden Age. That there was a period of plenty now usurped. For the religious it was the age before the Fall. For Victorian do-gooders it was the age before the Norman Conquest. For Engels it was the age of primitive communism. But in truth there never was such an age. Humanity has been divided into ruled and rulers since it has existed, and all injustice and most poverty stems from this simple fact.

78 The twentieth century saw brave and ingenious attempts to create societies in which the majority were the rulers, not the minority. Attempts to elevate humankind to a higher level of human development, to be achieved in collective effort to meet collective need, which is another way of describing Communism. That many of these brave efforts failed must not deter anyone. Failure is intrinsic to progress. We can only move forward through analysing and correcting failure.

79 In any event the failure was not total. Pioneer countries on this road have survived against inconceivable odds and remain true to the highest ideals humanity has created. We admire them and learn what we can from them. Lessons though have to apply to where we are, not to where they are.

80 The Olympic Games have taken place in our capital city. In 1980 Thatcher called for a boycott of the Games as part of her campaign against foreign troops being stationed in Afghanistan. The Games that year were in Moscow & the troops in Afghanistan were Soviet. Those troops were seeking to shore up Socialism & national sovereignty in Afghanistan. In this Olympic year there are still foreign troops in Afghanistan. The Games this year were in London & the troops in Afghanistan are British. Grounds for a boycott surely? In 1980 Sebastian Coe defiantly led the campaign against Thatcher, went to Moscow and won medals as a result. He subsequently turned his coat and joined Thatcher in parliament, pursuing a less noble cause, despite his elevation to the peerage.

81 And what are British troops shoring up in Afghanistan exactly? A good question, and one which an increasing number of bereaved families is asking. There is of course a great difference between the eras of the Games of the 22nd Olympiad and those of the 30th. The Soviet Union shared a massive land border with Afghanistan, within which the US-created al-Quaeda was being used by the US & Britain in a proxy invasion of that sovereign Socialist nation. Britain & the USA are thousands of miles from Afghanistan, whose proxies, that same al-Quaeda, now attack those countries only because of the presence of their troops in Afghanistan & elsewhere in the so-called Islamic world.

82 Troops out now, should be our demand! And an end to the hypocrisy of Olympic boycotts. As brave Najibullah, the last Socialist leader of his country, said nearly twenty years ago, “If fundamentalism comes to Afghanistan, war will continue for many years. Afghanistan will turn into a centre of world smuggling for narcotic drugs. Afghanistan will turn into a centre for terrorism.” Weeks later he & his wife were torn to pieces and the rest, as they say, is history.

83 The Olympic ideals of amateur competition, internationalism & peace are honoured more in the breach than in the observance. But they are ideals to which capitalism and its media do not wish to give publicity. Many countries, Socialist Cuba amongst them, cherish those ideals & scrupulously abide by them. In countries where capital reigns the ruling class use the Games, as they seek to use everything else, for profit and nothing more.

84 In Britain we should assert those Olympic ideals, not denigrate them. What we denigrate is the profit motive, that incubus sucking our life dry, polluting principles and violating attempts to bring the youth of the world together to build a better future.

85 The 2012 Games were unique; every language spoken by competitors from every nation was already spoken on the streets of the host city - that is a first, it can happen nowhere else in the world & it may never happen again. Such cosmopolitanism has been held up as a wonder; in fact this modern babel represents the importation of workers working below the rate in flight from problems unresolved in their own countries. Workers here should have been able to welcome our brothers and sisters to the Games in the greatest expression of international solidarity ever known. The opportunity for real internationalism sank beneath sponsors, and the grubby search for filthy lucre.

86 Our opposition to capitalism though must not fray into opposition to the Olympic ideal, although there will be those who proclaim that a naïve view. In the event, British workers imposed their culture to turn the Games into an expression of Britishness derided by left and right alike.

87 Hundreds of millions of workers from around the world watched the Games, and hundreds of

thousands came here. They applauded not just the athletes but also the acumen and planning which was often described as ‘typically British’. Quite right; it is typical. We had perhaps forgotten what we are capable of.

88 We should be especially proud of the assertion of Britain and industry represented by the Games’ opening ceremony, and in particular of its subtle defiance. It should be required viewing, and will reveal layers of ingenuity that moaning Thatcherite MPs have missed. The best use of £27 million for a long time.

89 We have what we need here in Britain to survive, and to thrive; raw materials & the skills to use them. What we don’t know we can learn. What we haven’t got we can buy from others in equal trade. We have confidence in our future and we stand against the insidious and widespread attempts to sow dismay and impotence. We have left the young a mess to clear up, yet we have confidence in our collective ability to do the job. We lack nothing material, only the determination to be our own masters. That dependence upon others is the ideology it is still our task to change.

90 The Congress of our Party calls our working class to arms.

- Out of the European Union, enemy to our survival!
- No to the breakup of Britain, defend our national sovereignty!
- Rebuild workplace Trade Union organisation!
- Fight for pay, vital class battleground!
- Regenerate industry, key to an independent future!
- Make our line that of our Class, that our workmates may join our Party!

“There is a budding morrow in midnight.”