

Covering Note:

The following is the EC's revised draft. If there is substantial agreement on the draft we will call for a vote at the NC.

The subject is of great importance. Also the struggle for a correct formulation has taught us a lot about contradiction. Nevertheless it is idealist to try to make this statement absolutely perfect and spend so much time on the subject that we hold up other essential work in Party building. Comrades must definitely treat this document as secondary in importance to the draft Founding Statement.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN THE ORGANIZATION

THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION IS THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE WORLD OUTLOOK OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE WORLD OUTLOOK OF THE BOURGEOISIE.

AN IMPORTANT BUT SECONDARY CONTRADICTION WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION IS THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE WORKERS AND THE INTELLECTUALS.

As Mao Tsetung pointed out:

"in the matter of world outlook, ... today there are basically only two schools, the proletarian or the bourgeois world outlook. It is one or the other, either the proletarian or the bourgeois world outlook. The Communist world outlook is the world outlook of the proletariat and of no other class." (SR, 1971, p486)

The contradiction between the world outlook of the bourgeoisie and the world outlook of the proletariat is the principal contradiction within the organization. This is the contradiction which has played the leading and decisive role. This is the contradiction whose existence and development have determined or influenced the existence and development of the other contradictions within the organization.

As we deepen our understanding of the tasks of the British proletarian revolution, at each step we have to choose more and more clearly between the world outlook of the proletariat and the world outlook of the bourgeoisie.

Struggle between correct and incorrect ideas occurs continuously within the organization. But this is not a question of correct or incorrect ideas in the abstract, detached from classes and standing above classes. On the contrary, within class society every kind of thinking without exception is stamped with the brand of a class. In the great majority of cases contradictions within the organization between correct and incorrect ideas are successfully resolved non-antagonistically by firm comradely struggle, criticism and self-criticism. But when a comrade subjectively and stubbornly persists with incorrect ideas and digs himself into an incorrect position, he is inevitably and automatically adopting the world outlook of the bourgeoisie. If he is unrepentant for any significant length of time he objectively becomes an agent of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the working class, whatever his subjective feelings are and however right he feels himself to be. He becomes someone diverting the working class from the proletarian revolutionary road, and diverting them instead down the bourgeois road leading straight back into the marsh. He becomes an invaluable friend of the bourgeoisie and a most dangerous enemy of the working class.

This is why, in the struggle between correct and incorrect ideas, in the struggle to integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the con

-crete practice of the British revolution, we must choose at each step more and more clearly between the world outlook of the proletariat and the world outlook of the bourgeoisie.

The Party of the working class must have the world outlook of the working class. It is also important that it has a high proportion of working class members and has deep roots in the working class. But these last two points themselves are not the decisive factors. What is decisive is that the Party must be deeply imbued with the ideology of the working class, the world outlook of the working class.

The contradiction between the world outlook of the proletariat and the world outlook of the bourgeoisie has played the leading and decisive role in the history of our organization. It has determined and influenced the existence or development of all subordinate contradictions. We have made what progress we have, to the extent that we have grasped this principal contradiction.

But how should we handle this principal contradiction? We handle it correctly by taking a firmer and firmer proletarian ideological stand. At each step forward we must ask the question, "For Whom?": we must ask whether a line, policy or tactic serves the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. We must train ourselves at each step to recognize more clearly the proletarian line, and fight resolutely for it against "left" and right opportunist deviations - both of which serve the bourgeoisie. We must also continue to arm ourselves by learning to identify and hunt down particular types of bourgeois ideology, what we call bourgeois errors, such as liberalism, subjectivism etc. In these ways we raise the ability of more and more comrades to take a firm, clear-cut and accurate proletarian stand on all questions we meet in the course of the proletarian revolution. In other words we build the Party ideologically in the course of struggle.

There has been another important but secondary contradiction within the organization: the contradiction between the workers and the intellectuals. This particular contradiction largely accounts for the particular form taken within the organization by the contradiction between the world outlook of the proletariat and the world outlook of the bourgeoisie. This is because the intellectuals, who have been relatively numerous within the organization have provided the main social roots for a specific range of bourgeois errors characteristic of the intelligentsia. (See Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol III, p 164 about social roots). The imperialist nature of British society fosters the existence of a privileged section of workers such as the intelligentsia, who provide the social roots of bourgeois ideology within the working class movement. Although all comrades within the organization, including working class comrades, carry and spread bourgeois ideology to some extent, the intellectuals are a special danger and it is essential to handle correctly the contradiction between the worker comrades and the intellectual comrades within the organization.

As an intermediate stratum caught between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia vacillates in the class war. It has some of the same characteristics as the petty bourgeoisie, for example, individualism and opportunism. Mostly it serves the bourgeoisie. But at times members of the intelligentsia are driven to oppose the bourgeoisie and desire revolution. Revolutionaries from the intelligentsia at first do not take a clear-cut proletarian stand. However revolutionary at first they sound, they bring with them certain particular bourgeois errors, aspects of bourgeois ideology especially fostered by the intellectuals' position within the relations of production, above all the result of the fact that they do mental work.

The intelligentsia are among the ranks of the people, and the contradiction between the workers and the intellectuals is a contradiction among the people. It is a contradiction which is basically non-antagonistic. It only becomes antagonistic if incorrectly handled. In the past history of our organization the contradiction between the workers and the intellectuals was mishandled and at times became antagonistic. This was because the principal contradiction, between the world outlook of the proletariat and the world outlook of the bourgeoisie, had not been grasped firmly, and the world outlook of the proletariat was not in command.

How should we handle the contradiction between the workers and the intellectuals within the organization non-antagonistically?

1. By continuous ideological education on the leading role of the working class for decades ahead.
2. By concentrating at the present time when resources are scarce, on recruiting working class comrades. This will help ensure that the revolutionary Communist Party we are building is the Party of the working class. The policy of concentrating practical work on BB is an aspect of this general policy.
3. By remoulding the intellectuals.

This applies to those intellectuals who are already comrades within the organization and also to the best of those intellectuals who themselves seek out the organization. The whole organization, and particularly working class comrades, must help the intellectual comrades remould themselves.

The essence of remoulding intellectuals is to help them dissect themselves more and more accurately between the world outlook of the working class and the world outlook of the bourgeoisie. Until they have done this they will inevitably and repeatedly "face both ways" - towards the working class on the one hand, and towards the bourgeoisie on the other. They will continue to bring into the ranks of the working class movement their characteristic bourgeois ideological errors.

As Mao Tsetung pointed out on page 151 of the Quotations, ideological remoulding requires long-term patient and painstaking work.

cont.

In order to help comrades get to the heart of the matter and not get lost we need a guiding principle for remoulding revolutionary intellectuals. For this guiding principle we should take the first sentence on p292 of the Quotations:

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

Here Mao concisely points out four errors characteristically made by intellectuals. They often tend to be:

1. subjective.
2. individualistic.
3. impractical in their thinking.
4. irresolute in action.

These four points give comrades a simple guide with which to combat 90% of the bourgeois errors of the intellectuals in a clear-cut and determined but comradely and patient manner.

The second half of the sentences shows the way for intellectuals to join the army of the working class:-

1. to throw themselves into the mass revolutionary struggles of the working class (to transform themselves in the course of mass struggle).
2. to make up their minds to serve the interests of the working masses and become one with them (to integrate with the working class).

Because at this stage of Party building we cannot lead the masses in practical activity in most cases, the first of these two points is not so immediately relevant. But intellectuals should take every opportunity within the work of the organization to transform themselves in mass struggle. Even at this stage of rallying the vanguard, a subordinate aspect of factory work will be leading the mass of workers within the individual factories in practical struggles.

The second point about integrating with the working class is more immediately useful to our present circumstances. The policy of "Plain living and hard struggle" is part of becoming one with the mass of the working class. We must win conviction from intellectuals that they should share the life of the mass of the workers, live plainly and struggle hard. All comrades within the organization must abide by the minimum scale of dues. This policy is an important way of cutting the economic roots, the privileged standard of living, which nurtures the particular bourgeois ideology of the intellectuals.

The question of intellectuals going into industrial work:-

As we deepen ideological education on the leading role of the working class, more and more intellectuals will want to do this work. BC's will assess them

5

for their suitability, and handle problems that may exist. Nevertheless the principle of voluntariness must apply. We must not fall into commandism and order comrades to change their world outlook overnight. If we try to do this and force them reluctantly into factory work, they will be like square pegs in round holes and will not do the work with personal ease of mind and liveliness. Only if an intellectual comrade definitely goes backwards in his or her commitment to the proletarian revolution should he be persuaded to resign and become instead an external supporter of the work of the organization.

These are the three methods for handling the important but secondary contradiction within the organization between the workers and the intellectuals. We handle it by putting proletarian ideology in command, and grasping firmly the principal contradiction, the contradiction between the world outlook of the working class and the world outlook of the bourgeoisie.

By grasping this principal contradiction, and integrating theory with practice, all problems can be readily solved. We will succeed in building the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class, and lead the working class in making the proletarian revolution.