

**REPORT**  
**to the 2nd Congress**  
**of the Revolutionary**  
**Communist Party**  
**of Britain**  
**(Marxist-Leninist)**



**Michael Hamilton**

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

**MICHAEL HAMILTON**

**REPORT  
on the work of  
the Central Committee  
of the Revolutionary  
Communist Party of Britain  
(Marxist-Leninist)  
and the tasks for  
the coming period**

**Submitted to the Second Congress  
of the Revolutionary Communist Party  
of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)  
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## Publisher's Note

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## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	9
THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY .....	14
THE WORKING-CLASS AND PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS .....	23
THE PARTY AND ITS TASKS .....	30
Defence of Democratic Centralism .....	31
Defence of the Party's Tasks and Positions .....	34
The Communist Outlook and Spirit .....	35
The Party Has Advanced its Work .....	38
The Party's Tasks in the Coming Period .....	40
THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION .....	43
THE PARTY'S INTERNATIONAL TASKS .....	51

**REPORT  
TO THE SECOND CONGRESS  
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN  
(MARXIST-LENINIST)**

Dear comrades,

The four-year period since the First Congress in 1983 has been for our Party a period of strengthening and stabilisation in the face of considerable difficulties.

Almost immediately after the First Congress, within six months, the Party suffered the great blow of the death of Comrade John Buckle, its General Secretary. The Party overcame this blow. It turned its grief into strength. Inspired by his memory it marched forward and defended in an all-round way the principles and tasks laid down by the First Congress, a Congress held under the leadership of John Buckle and bearing his imprint. It has faced and has fought the pressures of the stepped-up capitalist offensive and all the pressures of revisionism and opportunism. The Party has overcome the pressures which have come in the form of inexperience, linked primarily to the stage of development of the Party, in the form of alien manifestations, and in the form of the activities of a handful of degenerated elements, claiming to be the "most loyal" to

the memory of John Buckle, who tried to turn the Party into a Party of factions, of opportunism and of bourgeois spirit and outlook. The Party has faced and fought all these pressures and has become strengthened and more united in the process.

In this four-year period, which has coincided with the Thatcher government's second term of office, the offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working class and people has stepped up markedly. The situation for the workers and all the working people has become even more difficult, and the dangers that they face have become even more grave. In the face of these problems the working-class and people's movements show a contradictory tendency. With the leadership of these movements in the hands of social democrats, revisionists and opportunists and the labour aristocracy, whose tendency is to split and capitulate, and with these forces acting as a channel into the working-class and people's movements for the bourgeois politics, the appearance is that the capitalist class is able to impose its will and views on the people, that the working class and people can only accept the attacks made on them, as is claimed. But, at the same time, with each capitulation by the labour chieftains and the opportunists, the anger of the working class increases. Each infamy gives rise to more indignation and contempt on the part of the working class. Each defeat is responded to by the working class with greater resolve, militancy and determination. The fact is that there is a deep and growing anger and militancy among the working class and a growing awareness of its interests and tasks. And among the broad masses of the people too there are increasing sections taking up struggle. There is a very widespread and growing concern about the situation in the country and a desire to do something about it. This is the other side of the reality and the main tendency.

This situation puts great responsibilities on the Party, which is the key to advances, which alone can unite and show the way forward to the working-class and people's movements.

In the period since our last Congress, our Party suffered the tragic loss of its General Secretary, Comrade John Buckle. John Buckle led the work of the Party from 1978 until his death on November 27, 1983. His memory is strongly with us on the occasion of this Second Congress.

John Buckle died too young. Like Comrade Cornelius Cardew before, he was cut off in his prime, with his best years to come. But, under his leadership, the period of vacillation was ended, culminating in the further strengthening and reorganisation of the Party in 1979. Under his leadership, the Party was strengthened and built according to the Leninist norms and revolutionary style. It established a presence in all the main regions of the country, it carried out revolutionary actions such that it became a party tested in struggle. Under his leadership the Party was consolidated and the First Congress prepared. What John Buckle did was to build the Party and the Party will live. This was his achievement. Our Party will always uphold his name and work. We shall always remain true to Marxism-Leninism, to the cause of the working class, and to the highest ideals of mankind, as John Buckle did to his last days.

Speaking of Comrade John Buckle, we note that this year marks the 20th anniversary of the founding of the English Internationalists, when the unbroken work began which culminated in the reorganisation of the Marxist-Leninist party in 1979. John Buckle was one of the earliest of the English Internationalists, and truly embodied their spirit, which was the spirit of the youth of the time. This spirit of boldness, of purity of motive, of seriousness, of the willingness to storm heaven, characterised the English Internationalists.

This spirit, the opposition to the modern revisionist betrayal of the working-class movement in Britain and of proletarian internationalism, its loyalty to the basic positions and the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, its upholding of the working class as the revolutionary force in society, provided a red spine which, whatever the complications and zig-zags of development, ran through all the

work of the Marxist-Leninists in re-establishing the Party and bringing it to its present position.

We acknowledge on this occasion the assistance of the fraternal parties over the years, both those with whom we fought shoulder to shoulder over 20 years and those with whom we have become acquainted and strengthened our ties more recently. It was our closest fraternal comrades, and in particular Comrade Hardial Bains, now First Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), whose work and initiative organised the Necessity for Change Conference held in Britain in August twenty years ago, whose analysis and calls created the conditions in which the revolutionary forces in Britain – youth, students and young workers – were enabled to come forward to take up the work to rebuild the Party, as they did with the founding of the English Internationalists.

We pay tribute on this occasion also to the glorious Party of Labour of Albania which, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, led the Albanian people to triumph in the national liberation war and from victory to victory in building socialism and defending the independence of the homeland. It has led the Albanian people in creating the most advanced social system existing, the only genuine socialist country in the world today, has staunchly defended Marxism-Leninism, has led the struggle against modern revisionism, and opposed revisionism and opportunism of all hues, and has always given consistent proletarian internationalist support to the Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary forces throughout the world.

We acknowledge our great debt to the treasury of the works of Enver Hoxha, which have summed up this experience and enriched Marxism-Leninism. Our Party has drawn great inspiration and profound lessons from the 9th Congress of the PLA, a Congress which was a great victory for the Albanian people, the Marxist-Leninist parties, and the progressive people of the world. It showed that the PLA led by Comrade Ramiz Alia is continuing without deviation on the path set by Comrade Enver Hoxha, smashing all the speculation about which direction Albania would take, and

continues to provide a focal point for the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. Defence of the PLA and socialist Albania is a matter of principle for all Marxist-Leninists.

In the present troubled world situation, which has its source in the hegemonistic policies of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, the peoples are rising in struggle for their rights, for their independence, for freedom and sovereignty, for national and social emancipation.

Our Party is a contingent of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement which fights shoulder to shoulder with the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary forces throughout the world. And our contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement, to the victory of the struggle for national and social emancipation, revolution and socialism throughout the world, is by organising the working class and people in struggle for their rights, for the victory of revolution and socialism in Britain and supporting those same struggles in every country.

In the preparations for this Congress, the entire Party has summed up the achievements and the difficulties overcome in implementing the tasks set by the First Congress and has drawn the necessary lessons from this experience. It has taken stock of the situation, analysed the level of the movement and the stage of the Party's influence. We come to the Second Congress in order for the Central Committee to render account for its work and the measures taken, and to receive a mandate for the tasks set for the coming period.

We come to our Second Congress united and confident that this Congress will accomplish its tasks and will be an important and significant event in the life of the Party and of the class.

## I

## THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

The present situation in Britain, as in the rest of the capitalist world, remains one of serious all-sided crisis with economic crisis at the base. The bourgeoisie claims that the economic crisis is over, that Britain is leading the world out of recession. But the reality is that though there has been a temporary and partial recovery there is clearly no solution to the chronic illnesses of the state monopoly capitalist economy in Britain.

During the years 1979 to 1981, industrial production collapsed, with manufacturing output falling by some 16%. But the nature of the crisis is that today, after six years of recovery, manufacturing output has only just recovered to the levels of 1979. Britain, a nation which has thrived on trade, ran a deficit in trade in manufactured goods in 1983 for the first time since the industrial revolution, and this has since widened to a massive £6 billion in 1986. Capital investment in industry remains below the level of 1979 and even below that of 1970.

Throughout the 1980s, unemployment has remained of massive proportions both in the depths of the crisis and throughout the period in which economic activity has invigorated to some extent. Thus, for example, unemployment soared by over 1½ million from 1979 to 1982 according to official government statistics. And since then, the official figures showed the level of unemployment continuing to rise steadily until the end of 1986.

More than two million jobs were lost in manufacturing from 1979 to 1987 and this trend is continuing with

thousands more job losses predicted for this year by the CBI. Officially, unemployment remains around the three million mark. In reality it is above five million.

Unemployment affects the youth and the national minority workers especially badly. Among young workers the official level of unemployment is around 20%, though this is greatly distorted by the plethora of cheap labour schemes which remove so many from the jobless total. Among national minority workers rates above 30% are the norm, rising to 40% in some cases for national minority youth.

Whilst millions have been thrown onto the streets, factories closed, industrial estates laid to waste and entire communities devastated, the profits of the capitalists have skyrocketed, rising from £23.5 billion in 1979 to £53.7 billion last year, an increase of 128%, with the profits of the biggest monopolies rising by even more than this. The continual expansion of new technology and automation, the technical and scientific revolution, far from providing jobs and prosperity for the people, as was promised, has further exacerbated the contradictions of capitalism and led to further hardship, more job losses and greater threats to the jobs of those in work.

The capitalist offensive has continued and intensified. The working class and people have suffered immensely as a result of the policy which the bourgeoisie has pursued to unload the full burden of the crisis onto their backs in order to increase its profits and safeguard its system.

The exploitation of the workers has been greatly stepped up: the demand for a greater and greater pace of work, the attempts, as for example in the mines at present, to lengthen shifts, the attempts to cut down on tea breaks, for example; the capitalists have sought to wring more and more production from fewer and fewer workers to achieve their demands for increased productivity; and continually there is the demand for "flexible working", which has already been forced onto hundreds of thousands of workers.

The bourgeoisie has sought to hold down wage increases, whilst the increases the workers have won are devalued

through inflation. The levels of benefits and pensions have been cut in real terms. For the youth there are few jobs, no training and bleak prospects for the future; while apprenticeships have been all but wiped out, the cheap labour schemes are being expanded and extended, and are now being made compulsory with benefits denied if the youth do not accept a place on YTS.

Savage cutbacks have been carried out in all areas of need to the people – in health, in education, in council house building, in local government services, etc. Some 36,000 hospital beds, for example, 10% of the total number, have been removed from service since 1979, while five hospitals were closed in London in 1986 alone. The Education Secretary is planning to close around 600 schools in the next five years. The number of new house starts in the public sector fell in 1986 to a record low for recent years of 31,600, only 18% of the number started in 1975. Homelessness has doubled in recent years and all the prospects are for this to worsen as well.

The period of the 1980s, the years of the Thatcher government, has been one of a major offensive by the bourgeoisie against the workers and people, of attacks on their jobs and their rights, on sovereignty, on the traditions and concerns of the people, an offensive against the entire human spirit and all civilised values.

Major assaults have been launched on the rights of the workers and people by the Thatcher government. Through the Employment Acts and the Trade Union Act, and through the massed assaults by the police on picket lines, the court injunctions and the seizure of trade union funds, every attempt has been made to strip the workers of the long-standing rights which generations of workers gave everything, including their lives, to establish. Under the false slogan of democracy the Thatcher government has sought to restrict and remove democratic rights; under the fraudulent pretext of defending individual freedoms it has sought to remove the collective rights of millions. The bourgeoisie has sought to crush the resistance to the

shifting of the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers.

A major example was the heroic year-long miners' strike of 1984/5, a battle of titanic proportions, a confrontation which had been sought and long prepared for by the bourgeoisie which saw it as a decisive step in its offensive against the working class and people. It aimed to defeat and crush the miners, one of the most militant, advanced and self-sacrificing contingents of the working class, which had always been in the front ranks of the workers' struggles. But the strike did not develop as it planned, and despite the fact that the state sequestered the miners' union funds, set into motion its sophisticated plans for the deployment of police, launched vicious attacks on picket lines, arrested and jailed miners, cut the benefits to miners' families and swamped the mining communities with police, nevertheless the miners persisted for a whole year in their struggle. The bourgeoisie, aided and abetted by the labour traitors at the head of the TUC, eventually drove the miners back to work, and has since the strike stepped up its drive for closures and its other attacks on the miners.

During the year-long print workers' struggle also the full force of the state was directed against the workers who at every turn were faced with the brutal attacks of the police, the court injunctions banning any action which could effectively advance their struggle, and then the sequestration of union funds. Here too the bourgeoisie could not have succeeded without the assistance of the labour aristocracy.

As well as this, the means of the state to suppress the people's resistance has been greatly strengthened; the special squads of police, including the establishment of the riot police; the CS gas, rubber bullets and armoured vehicles; the prison-building programme; and the strengthening of the police powers. The Public Order Act has given to the police formal powers to control or ban, re-route or disperse demonstrations.

For all the Thatcher government's talk of "giving people greater control over their lives", central government

control has been strengthened, as, for example, in the rate-capping and other measures to ensure that the cuts in spending and services are carried through at local level. There have been increasing attempts to control the media, as for example with the censorship of news reporting from the Malvinas during the Falklands War, and the attempts to control reportage by different newspapers and journals, as well as TV stations. In these, in the denial of the workers' rights through the trade union laws, the no-strike deals imposed on the workers, the strengthening of the repressive state apparatus, the emergency powers measures, and the activity of the nazi gangs which are organised and nurtured by the state, can be seen the growing danger of fascism.

The American domination of Britain, and the major violations of sovereignty which this entails, are increasing. In Britain, not only are there nearly 30,000 American troops and over 130 US bases, but the American cruise missiles are stationed here, the American nuclear submarines come and go from Holy Loch, the American secret services operate with impunity in Britain, and the Thatcher government is planning to make Britain's airborne radar system dependent on the United States by purchasing the AWACS system as well as buying the American Trident system for Britain's so-called independent nuclear deterrent.

Foreign ownership of British manufacturing industry has risen to 16%, most of this being ownership by the American multinationals, and a massive \$32.1 billion of American capital was invested in Britain by the end of 1984. The Thatcher government has shown its willingness not only to sell major British companies such as BL to the Americans, but even the military industries, as with the Westlands affair. The seizure of key points and major sectors of the British economy paves the way for the realisation of the American political aims, the strengthening of the American dictate and control.

Britain is bound to US imperialism through the warmongering NATO military alliance. This is not a relation-

ship between equals, but one in which Britain dances to the American tune, something so vividly confirmed by the treacherous action of the Thatcher government which in April last year put the British airfields at the service of the American planes which bombed Libya. The extent of the American dictate over Britain is that under the secret agreements through which the British governments have granted it the right to launch its missiles from Britain without British consent, they have ceded to the American government the right to decide whether Britain is at peace or at war.

The ceding of British sovereignty to US imperialism has been characteristic of all the governments since the second world war, but of none has it been more so than the Thatcher government. Its submission to the US dictate on the economic, military and political fronts is more and more turning Britain into a vassal state of the United States, restricting its economic and political independence, and this is becoming a very important issue facing the people. The government labels the opposition of the people to this treacherous policy as anti-Americanism, but it is not opposition to the American people but to the American domination of Britain and to the subservience to US imperialism on the part of the Thatcher government. Britain's sovereignty is also violated through British membership of the EEC, the club of big European monopolies and multinationals for the exploitation of the workers and people of Europe and the rest of the world.

The economy is being militarised at a rapid rate as part of the drive of British imperialism towards war on the side of US imperialism and its warmongering military alliance, NATO, in rivalry with Soviet social imperialism and its equally warmongering Warsaw Pact military alliance.

In the conditions of the crisis, the war industry guarantees big profits for the monopolies, of which increasing numbers are shifting their capital to war production in pursuit of maximum profit. Britain's monstrous arms spending, approaching £20 billion per annum, is the biggest among the European NATO members,

second only to the United States within NATO. More than half of government research and development (R&D) is military R&D, and in 1984/5 the Ministry of Defence spent £2,177 million on R&D, of which nearly half went to a small number of major arms monopolies. The government proclaims each new defence contract as a boost to the economy and as an act of job creation. But in reality the militarisation of the economy leads to a deepening of the crisis and to further hardship for the people, not to mention the catastrophic consequences of the war for which the superpowers and their allies, including Britain, are preparing.

The nuclear catastrophe at Chernobyl brought home the dangers to which people are exposed by the nuclear industry, while evidence is mounting as to the continual harmful effects on people's health. The government has no concern for the people's health or even their lives; it is expanding this industry, as have all the governments since the second world war, because it supplies the plutonium for the nuclear warheads of British imperialism, and produces it in such quantities that it is exported to assist the war preparations of US imperialism and NATO as well.

The bourgeoisie is increasing its attempts to create divisions amongst the people on every conceivable basis, including for example its use of racism. While the bourgeoisie, through its politicians and the media, claims to be against racism, by every possible way it exploits differences to put people at loggerheads. Thus, for instance, it finances its agents both in the national minority community and in the working-class and people's movements to promote the divisive theories of "positive discrimination" and "multiculturalism" which play on legitimate concerns but exacerbate divisions. Through the infamous Nationality Act the bourgeoisie uses the legitimate worry about the question of the nation to incite hostility between the people of different racial backgrounds, deliberately mixing up the question of nationality and citizenship, rejecting the just position that citizenship should be given, and given

only, to all those resident in the country whatever their background, while respecting and safeguarding the rights and traditions of people of all nationalities in the country. By all sorts of innuendo and suggestion it denigrates the people of other countries and their culture.

It uses racism to divide the people, to set them at loggerheads. This policy has been revealed most starkly in the state's response to the disturbances in Brixton, Tottenham and Handsworth in the autumn of 1985. It was the bourgeoisie which was responsible for these events; only the bourgeoisie and its system can be held responsible for the dreadful social conditions in these estates, the poverty, unemployment, homelessness and destitution; the situation of the youth, with no work and no hope for the future; and the racist police attacks which aroused such anger amongst the people.

The disturbances, in which were reflected the just anger of the youth, resulted from specific police provocations in each case, and ended with still more attacks against and more repression of the people. They were used to create divisions between the people, to try to alienate the national minorities from the working class as a whole, to isolate the youth, and to generate vicious racist propaganda to set the people at loggerheads; and they were used to justify the further arming and strengthening of the police for further attacks on the people.

At the same time as working to create divisions the bourgeoisie openly discriminates against national minority and immigrant workers, the low wages it pays providing a source of increased profits. It operates a racist immigration policy, violating the rights of immigrants, keeping families apart, and under the immigration laws carries out attacks and continual harassment of the national minorities and immigrants in Britain, and in reserve it nurtures and protects the nazi gangs which carry out vicious and often murderous racist attacks.

The bourgeoisie, a parasitical and decadent class, is launching a major assault on the culture and values of the

people, their traditions and way of life, against the spirit of the people, against the arts and the sciences, against learning itself. It is trying to corrupt the people and pacify the youth with the promotion of drugs, of the cult of mindless violence and militarism, with culture promoting the most reactionary trends, particularly those emanating from the United States. Attacks on women and abuse of children; child labour and even child prostitution; gangsterism, pornography, drugs and violence – this is what the bourgeoisie is foisting onto the people. It creates industries around them to make multi-million-pound profits out of the degradation and suffering of the people it has created. Absolutely every sphere of life, including even exploitation of the most sensitive social problems which the people have, is seen by the bourgeoisie as a legitimate area for profit-making. It is trying to turn back the clock and destroy everything that is decent and that the people hold dear. In the drive for profit nothing is sacrosanct and civilised values are thrown out of the window.

The Thatcher government is demanding that water supply and sanitation, health care, transport and even some higher education courses and increasing areas of the arts must be run on the basis of profit. It says that the health services must be run by business methods, that school heads must see themselves as heads of businesses and is moving in the direction of turning education also into a saleable commodity. The universities are being increasingly forced to run on the basis of winning contracts from industry, and this is leading to more and more military research on behalf of British arms monopolies, the MoD and even the Pentagon, taking place within university departments.

The situation in the country confirms that in the conditions of the continuing capitalist crisis, the bourgeoisie has stepped up its offensive against the people on all fronts, that it is continuing its attempts to unload the full burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers and people.

## II

### THE WORKING-CLASS AND PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS

During the period since 1983, the working class has waged fierce battles for its rights and interests, the broad masses of the people have gone into action against the danger of war, on the question of sovereignty and on many other issues.

Those forces which hold sway in the working-class and people's movement, the opportunists and revisionists, social democrats and labour chieftains, have shown a tendency to capitulate, to disintegrate and to split. They have shown all the signs of hysteria and panic, and splits amongst themselves of the bourgeoisie itself.

They have either put forward policies which amount to complete capitulation – which is the position of the TUC, who with their doctrine of "new realism" argue that the working class can do absolutely nothing, it simply has to accept the situation and the attacks, that if the miners can be and were beaten, then there is no point in other workers fighting – or they put forward various positions which have the effect of splitting the working-class movement and the broad people's movement on some sectarian and unprincipled basis. There are many examples of this, and it operates on every front of struggle.

For instance in the democratic struggle they reject the unity in action of all the forces fighting for the same ideal, but instead raise such issues as class – not from the point of view of the working class participating and taking the

lead but in order to split the working class from other sections. They raise the question of socialism not to give the movement perspective but as a means to split those who consider socialism to be the ultimate aim of the struggle from those who have not necessarily come to that conclusion.

In the anti-racist struggle, they put forward various policies such as "positive discrimination" and "multiculturalism" which have the appearance of opposing racism but which have the effect of splitting the people's movement and in fact exacerbate racism. Another example of the opportunist policies was seen at the time of the disturbances which occurred in 1985 in Brixton, Handsworth and Tottenham. These followed a deliberate campaign of stepped-up harassment in those areas by the state, a deliberate heightening of tension to provoke a situation where the state could attack the youth in a low state of organisation, isolate sections of the youth, especially national minorities, and cause divisions among the people. This was a very dangerous situation. In these circumstances, and with the youth in a state of just anger at their circumstances and the harassment, the various "left" forces attempted to lead the youth down blind alleys, gave such misleading slogans as "from riot to revolution", encouraging the youth in a direction which would leave them open for attack, but with no clear demands or way forward. The right opportunists condemned the youth. Thus they both fuelled divisions.

In the anti-war movement, the revisionists and opportunists try to split the movement, for example, by claiming that only from the US superpower comes the danger of war and not equally from the Soviet Union, or by asking the people to support the Labour Party's policies on defence and put their dependence on the Labour Party, or they try to split the movement on the basis of some pacifist position to the exclusion of any other position.

On the question of support for the right of the Irish people to run their own country, for freedom, and defence of the Irish community here, they put forward various

positions which make support dependent on agreement or non-agreement with some particular organisation in Ireland or some particular course of action. They do not raise that the demand which people should unite around is that Britain should withdraw from Ireland unconditionally, and that such withdrawal would serve the interests of the British working class. They detach the question of Ireland from the working-class movement and split the support movement on a sectarian basis.

It is the same on every front, on the questions of art and culture, even on the most sensitive social questions which demand the most mature and careful handling, where they put forward sectarian positions which cause splits and create even more difficulties. On all fronts they do the work of the bourgeoisie.

In all these things the revisionists and opportunists, social democracy and the labour chieftains echo the bourgeoisie itself by promoting pessimism, by saying that the working class is finished, that it has to put up with things as they are, that the various sections of the people can do nothing and are in fact moving to the right. They claim that the victory of Thatcher in the general election was a setback for the labour movement, that the Tories have a mandate to carry out their policies against the people's rights and interests, that the people can do nothing.

While this may appear so in the circumstances where revisionists and opportunists dominate the working-class and people's movements and act as a channel for bourgeois politics into these movements, this is not the reality of the situation. We know that all this clamour about the working class's being beaten is not a sign of the bourgeoisie's strength but of its fear and weakness. We know also the great fighting traditions of the working class in Britain, which the bourgeoisie does its best to bury, and of the very deep polarisation in the society.

Experience confirms that among the workers there is a very deep and growing anger and an awareness which has grown over this period, an awareness of the nature of the

capitalist system, and of the treacherous role that the labour aristocracy plays.

A great lesson of this period has been the miners' strike. It made the miners and other workers more aware of the nature of the capitalist class and its system, of the state as an instrument of the capitalist class to suppress the people, of the need for radical change in society; it made them more aware that there is no limit to the viciousness of the capitalist class, nor to the lengths it will go in bringing the arsenal of the state to bear against the workers and their struggles, nor to its demagoguery and its calling black white, and white black, as it condemned the workers' resistance as "violent", "anti-democratic", and so on, nor to its attempts to split and divide the working class. The heroic miners faced the full onslaught of the state, which sequestered the miners' union's funds, set into motion its sophisticated plans for the deployment of police, launched vicious attacks on picket lines, imposed virtual police control of mining communities, arrested and jailed miners, and in many other ways sought to intimidate and undermine the morale of the miners and their families, to starve the communities into submission, to restrict their movement around the country. The miners saw the TUC doing everything to undermine their struggle, as did the Labour Party. But despite all this the miners persisted in their struggle for a whole year. They united to solve very difficult problems in the face of great hardship and difficulty, and saw great bravery in their ranks; they experienced the great swell of sentiment and action in their support from other sections of the workers and from workers in other countries, despite every effort of the trade union chieftains and the bourgeoisie to sabotage this by condemning the miners for "picketline violence", by trying to isolate the miners with instructions to other workers to "continue to work normally", and so on.

These experiences for the miners themselves and for the working class in general are unforgettable.

In this period also there was the year-long struggle of the printers, who were faced with the stepped-up attacks

on their democratic rights, the rights to strike and to picket, the sequestration of union funds. The experience of applying the legislation gained during the miners' strike was utilised by the bourgeoisie against the printers. The open connivance of the electricians' union's leaders with the bourgeoisie, the legacy of faith in compromise from their own trade unions, the difficult situation created by the fact that they were sacked in such a way that they were deprived of the effective power to strike and to picket were features of this struggle. Yet still the print workers had the dignity to throw Murdoch's £50 million back in his face.

These, and other sections of the working class, rather than being beaten, are continuing to fight, and in their growing anger and awareness can be seen the seeds of a new level of struggle. They are beginning to face the question that it is not enough to fight in the old way, to fight the day-to-day struggles, many times with great self-sacrifice and even with heroism, but then to find themselves back in the same situation. They are beginning to question the limits which the revisionists and opportunists, the social democrats and the labour chieftains, put on their struggles, the confinement to day-to-day matters. They are beginning to look at the long-term aims of the movement, to consider the question that it is the system itself that must be changed, and that they must wage their struggles with this perspective.

Among other sections of the people, more and more are taking up action, of which the teachers are an example. The teachers have persisted in their struggle in the face of every effort by the unions to compromise it, in the face of attacks and slanders by the state, and in a situation where they bear the whole brunt of the devastation of the youth. Who could say that they are not angry and militant?

Among people generally, there is a very widespread and growing concern about the situation in the country, especially on some particular questions. There is a very great concern about unemployment. There is worry about the danger of war and the encroachments on sovereignty,

especially by the US. There is concern about the decay in the society and the terrible effects this has, and particularly about the situation and the bleak future of the youth, the lack of opportunities, education, jobs, about the moral situation, and so on, about the sort of society they are growing up in and the future they face. There is, too, worry about the harm done to the environment, and about the dangers from the nuclear industry. There is worry about questions such as terrorism. And while the bourgeoisie does its best to keep it right off the agenda of political life, there is deep worry about the fact that the situation in the north of Ireland continues with no apparent solution. People worry about the role that Britain plays in the world. There is growing disillusion with the political process, which was shown in the recent election when no claims of the capitalist parties could disguise the fact of the low opinion the people have of the parliamentary politicians. There is no way that it can be said that Thatcher has a mandate, there is no way it could be said that people think that their affairs are in good hands, that their concern for the future is allayed.

Around such questions the forces are gathering. As the objective situation deteriorates with the deepening of the crisis on all fronts, people are drawing conclusions, consciousness is becoming radicalised, more and more people see the necessity for unity in action, for building the united front of the working class and the united front of the people. More and more people are uniting to take up the fight for the just positions.

With the youth, in particular, however much the offensive is against them, as always their spirit is not crushed, the youth still look to the future with hope, willing to be active, eager to learn things, to contribute to creating a better world. This is a natural phenomenon.

The position that the working class is beaten, that there is nothing that the people can do, that the people are moving to the right, that there is no force for change in society, taking up these questions or on the threshold of taking up these questions – this position is not realistic.

The fact is that the class and the people are looking for answers, are demanding solutions to all such problems, wish to have some say in the life of the country, to make some contribution to changing society.

The situation cries out for a new lead to be given, both in dealing with these particular problems, taking them up, and also as far as meeting the long-term aspirations of the working class and people for a better society is concerned.

This is the actual situation, this is the reality.

### III THE PARTY AND ITS TASKS

This situation puts very great responsibilities on the Party.

It becomes more and more clear that it is only such a Party, a Party with the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory, a Party built on Leninist lines, a monolithic Party, which acts as a single united political force, it is only such a Party which can unite the workers and other sections of the people and guide them in their struggles, both in taking up the particular problems and to meet their long-term aspirations, to bring together all the strands of the various fronts of struggle into one torrent with the working class at the head, to prepare the conditions for the overthrow of the capitalist system, suppress the exploiters and achieve a socialist society which will guarantee the things which people so desire: freedom, independence, a decent society, a country which plays some decent role in the world.

The Party comes to its second Congress prepared and ready to take up its responsibilities and advance its work, extend its influence and play a role in the political life of the country.

We mark this year the 20th anniversary of the founding of the English Internationalists. Right from that point 20 years ago, when the work began which has carried on unbroken to this point, whatever the ups and downs and zigzags, there has been a definite revolutionary spirit right the way through, a red spine which is unbroken from 1967 through the reorganisation of the Party in 1979 to its First Congress in 1983 and since.

Our First Congress made clear that the Party of the

proletariat was firmly re-established, a Leninist Party, a Party with presence and growing influence in all the regions of the country, tested in struggle, with basic Marxist-Leninist positions on all questions, national and international.

Since the First Congress, we have come through the great blow of the loss of the General Secretary, Comrade John Buckle. Rather than this halting us, the Party has marched on inspired by his memory, and has fought for and carried on upholding those things which John Buckle so well represented.

In the course of this period, and in the face of very great pressure and added vulnerability, in defending the principles and tasks laid down by the First Congress the Party has strengthened its democratic centralism, strengthened its line, and strengthened its spirit. In the developing crisis, the bourgeoisie and revisionism tries to impose upon the class and its Party its own methods, direction and spirit. The Party has faced and fought this pressure. It has purified itself by eliminating a handful of factionalist elements whose interest was to turn the Party into a Party of factions, of opportunist positions, of bourgeois spirit and outlook.

#### Defence of Democratic Centralism

In the four-year period since the last Congress the Party has defended, reaffirmed and strengthened the democratic centralism of the Party, which is well known and has been elaborated in the Party's Constitution and at its First Congress. The Party has successfully opposed all tendencies to deviate from these democratic centralist principles and norms.

Our Party has never permitted and will never permit the existence of factions or attempts to impose factionalism. Factionalism has always been an absolute anathema to the Marxist-Leninist parties, particularly those types of

factionalism where elements operate in secrecy, away from the bodies of the Party and try to impose policies on the Party by plots and manoeuvres. As Stalin says in "The Foundations of Leninism", factionalism is incompatible with the principles of democratic centralism.

The unity of will and monolithic character of the Party does not preclude that there may be differences of opinion, in fact it presupposes this, but once a thorough discussion has taken place and the decision is made there is absolute iron discipline in carrying those decisions out. The existence of factions or any division of authority is incompatible with the achievement of this unity of will and iron discipline. Factionalism is anathema not just to the Party but is against the whole traditions and spirit and sentiments of the class. To try to introduce these things into the Party is an attempt to introduce the methods of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, who operate by manoeuvres and plots, by hiding the facts, and so on. It is the method of trotskyism.

The Party has not permitted and will never permit any form of hooliganism, attempts to impose policies by pressure, by creating panic and hysteria, by arrogance and abuse against the other Party members, by wholesale trampling on the spirit and norms of the Party and even the norms of relations between parties. This also is against the whole tradition of the Party and the class. Our Party opposes even the smallest seeds of these things.

The Party has no truck with those elements who demand that everyone else conform to the democratic centralist norms of the Party but that they themselves are exceptions and are above the norms. Such elements in fact have no interest in or loyalty to the programme and line of the Party but have their own programme and line which they dare not reveal because of the strength of the Party. These elements, who invariably claim to be the best upholders of the Party's line, do not defend the positions of the Party. They put themselves above the Party, they intrigue and conspire to impose their own programme and line on the Party. They respond to criticism by resentment and

attacks on individuals, by claims of being unfairly treated. Such individuals attempt to impose their own conclusions on the Party in contradiction to the collective summing up by the proper bodies.

Our Party has always fought to defend its democratic centralist norms and principles and to educate the Party on them, not as defence of some arbitrary rules or regulations but for the future of the Party. The struggle to defend the democratic centralist norms and principles is a class struggle. The democratic centralism which the Party upholds is based on the characteristics of the class, of which the Party is the vanguard, in that the class is a collective and the Party operates according to all the ways in which the class operates, but brought to their highest form and elaborated into a science.

Workers are gathered in vast factories with thousands all working on one integrated operation; by necessity they unite to operate as a collective; the conditions, the common struggle against the common enemy, the common aims, educate and strengthen the class in this characteristic collective approach to solving problems. The Party brings these characteristics, this unity of will and purpose, to their highest organisational form.

The bourgeoisie and revisionism attempt to impose the splittism, the self-interested aims and the degenerate spirit which to them are a way of life. It is the democratic centralist norms and principles which preserve the spirit of the Party and safeguard its Marxist-Leninist line, which are an integral part of its line, the guarantee of its future. It is the violation of the norms of the Party which more often than not is the first stage in leading to the introduction of opportunist and revisionist politics and to the eventual liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist Party. When we talk about defending the norms, we are talking of a life and death struggle, of the whole future of our class and of mankind. It is with such seriousness and vigour that we defend the democratic centralism of our Party.

### Defence of the Party's Tasks and Positions

During this four-year period, the Party has defended and reaffirmed the basic Marxist-Leninist positions put forward at its First Congress, and that the main tasks and policies of the Party are those set by its congresses. It has opposed all deviations from this.

In this period the Party has opposed any aloofness or detachment from the struggles of the working class and people, any tendency not to build the Party in the womb of the class, to develop its links with the class and with the progressive sections of the people, but to take the Party in the direction of being simply a propaganda outfit, which stays on the sidelines of the people's struggles, lecturing the class with general Marxist-Leninist theory, with general slogans for socialism. We have opposed the tendencies to put dogma and phraseology above the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. We have defended the position that theory develops from practice. We have opposed such tendencies as standing to the side of the struggles and giving the so-called "pure" positions, remaining aloof from the struggles, refusing to work and fight for the just positions and principles inside the movements at present dominated by the bourgeoisie and revisionism and opportunism, thus leaving the masses at the mercy of the bourgeois ideology. The Party works wherever the masses are, and fights for unity in action around the just positions, opposing those who obstruct unity, obstruct progress, and obstruct the just demands. At the same time the Party responds to the demand of the people for militant organisations, beginning the work of building the revolutionary mass organisations. Thus, for instance, the Party works in the trade unions but also begins the work to develop the Trade Union Revolutionary Opposition (TURO), not as a parallel trade union but in order to create conditions for the character of the trade unions to take on the character of TURO.

Wherever possible the Party works to develop the united

front of the working class and the united front of the people.

In all this work the Party never surrenders its independence or allows anyone to still its voice. This can never be permitted; the voice of the Party is the voice of the working class, speaking for its interests, putting forward the scientific Marxist-Leninist view. The Party fights on all the democratic, anti-imperialist issues, on all questions of the interests of the working class and people, their freedoms, the independence and sovereignty of the country, as well as supporting the struggles of the people of other lands for their rights and interests. It fights on these issues not as a manoeuvre but because the communists are genuine upholders of democracy and freedom, and have always been in the forefront of the struggle for these. But the Party works to give perspective to these struggles, to make clear that only with the overthrow of the capitalist system and the imperialist policies will such rights and freedoms be guaranteed.

We have opposed leftist and sectarian tendencies to go against the Party's well known positions on, for instance, the question of terrorism, on the sovereignty of the nation, on judging the stand of any political force by the touchstone of its stand against imperialism, on waging continuous struggle against the revisionist and opportunist line and methods, and so on.

The Party has also opposed all rightist deviations and tendencies, such as failure to give priority to the political struggles, and narrow trade unionist and social democratic positions.

### The Communist Outlook and Spirit

The Party has also reaffirmed and strengthened the question of the communist spirit and outlook. This has been done in the face of a very definite offensive against the whole human spirit in the society – the attempt to foist

onto the people the most backward activities and thinking, and to attack all the civilised values.

As Ramiz Alia in his report to the 9th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania says:

"In the course of its development human society has waged a great struggle in order to pass from the stage of savagery and fatalism to that of civilisation and conscious activity, from that of violence and oppression to that of freedom and democracy. Capitalism, in which there is nothing left from the progressive impulses of its beginnings, wants to take human society backwards.

"Today we are witnessing a general offensive against democratic rights and individual freedoms, a real aggression of the bourgeois ideology and propaganda in order to destroy the fine traditions, the progressive culture, the spiritual world of people and to turn them into simple producing robots."

We communists fight for the scientific approach, the revolutionary approach, the Marxist-Leninist approach on every front of life. We fight for advanced positions on every question, for the highest ideals of mankind. We fight for the liberation of mankind from all oppression and exploitation, for a break with all the fetters of backward practices and theory, including those concerning the family, social relations, and moral behaviour.

The Party has fought for and encouraged its comrades to take advanced positions on every front, not just ideological, political and economic, but also on questions of integrity in social relations, on questions of the family, especially concerning the fate of children, their sound education and upbringing in a principled environment. We are against any abuse and taking advantage of children and young people. We are against all forms of oppression such as father right in the family, male chauvinism, the oppression or abuse of women in the family or outside the family. We are for relations which are based on the stand and activity of the individuals in life, as opposed to relations based on self-seeking and exploitation, on property or on some abstract ideal, on sentimentality.

The Party does this not in an idealistic way, but in a realistic way, recognising that we are the products of society too, not saints, starting from where we are, but at the same time opposing all backward, exploiting and unjust thinking, attitudes and practices which hold people back and damage their spirit – judging everything from what is in the interests of the working class and the broad masses of the people, the interests of the class struggle and its advance.

The Party acts maturely and in a dignified way on these questions, but it is not indifferent or liberal on them. It upholds and fights for definite principles on this front of human affairs. If it did not it would not fulfil its duty as the vanguard of the class, as the embryo of the new society, as the forefront fighter against all exploitation and oppression. Thus it upholds and fights for these principles in its own ranks and among the people. It considers the communist quality of its members a very important thing. It does not accept the argument that there are preserves of life which are not touched by the Marxist-Leninist science, which are not to be considered alongside political questions, on which the Party has no right to give views let alone make suggestions or objections.

It opposes directly those who follow a self-serving course on these fronts, who follow self-interest without a care for the effect of their behaviour on others, the damage done to children, to parents, to the dignity and prestige of the Party among the workers and people.

The assault on the human spirit, on human relations and on the civilised values is in many ways the most devastating side of the capitalist offensive, the one which most cruelly disorientates and debilitates the people and renders them incapable of fighting for their rights and interests, particularly in a country such as ours where deception has played such a key role in holding back the struggle of the working class.

The communists fight for the proletarian morality, and the proletarian ethics, that science concerned with moral conduct and principles. Morality and ethics are class

questions, deriving from class interest and the class struggle. The proletarian morality and ethics is new, it is different from that of other classes. The proletariat is the first class in the history of mankind which provides the possibility that the whole mass of working people, the millions-strong majority, can take over and run the society. All previous classes who have run society have been oppressive, minority classes. The working class, however, is not an exploiting class. It is characterised by large-scale production, by thousands and even tens of thousands of individuals coming together in socialised production and having to work together, to operate as a vast collective. They act as a collective having a common struggle against their common oppressor which is the bourgeoisie. They have common aims and interests. What is moral to the proletariat is different from what was and is moral to other classes. Clearly there are human decencies and principles which progressive people have fought for throughout history, but the proletariat brings this to its highest stage because the proletariat in order to continue its fight for its interests has to unite and operate as a collective, it has to put the interests of the collective above the interests of some particular individual, and its morality, its ethics, derive from that need and thus have a character different from that of any other class, past or present. The Party is the vanguard in upholding and fighting for these values.

### The Party Has Advanced its Work

Over this period our Party has made definite advances in implementing the line set by the First Congress – putting the Party more and more in the leading role, developing its influence – and this is true on all the fronts of struggle.

In the working-class movement the Party's line is having a growing influence and the class character of the Party has been further strengthened. On the questions of sovereignty, of opposing the danger of war, the just positions put forward by the Party are gaining influence. There have

been advances in the anti-racist, anti-fascist work, in defending the interests and rights of national minorities and immigrants, there have been advances in the work amongst the youth, particularly among the student youth. There have been advances in the work among the intelligentsia and among women. In the Irish support movement too the Party has done significant work.

In the course of implementing the tasks of the First Congress the Party has strengthened itself. The Party has paid attention to strengthening the basic organisations in the collective method of work, where full discussions take place on the tasks set by the Party, where very clear objectives are set for the work and individual responsibilities given, where the work is checked according to the objectives set, and the serious summing up is carried out, serious discussions of the strengths and weaknesses, measures taken and new objectives set to take the work to the next stage. In the basic organisations the members put the interest of the collective above the interest of the individual, and their main concern is the problems of the masses. They do not capitulate in the face of difficulties, in the face of the savage offensive of the bourgeoisie, the confusion, the splittism and the doubtism spread by revisionism and opportunism, and they put aside unworthy and subjective stumbling blocks, in order to carry out their mission. They loyally defend the Party, humbly follow the norms, keep their agreements, and put their words into deeds.

By necessity the advances made demand greater professionalism in all the work; the rejection of amateurish attitudes, and non-serious, unconcerned, detached attitudes. Over the period the work has been professionalised, and will continue to be. Hard work and a serious attitude are the overall characteristic. In this way, the spirit of comradeship, of co-fighters in the common cause, of the collective spirit of the Party, is strengthened. The ability of the basic organisations to tackle more and complicated problems, to advance their work is developed. More needs to be done on this front.

### The Party's Tasks in the Coming Period

The Party comes to its second Congress not only strengthened and united around the democratic centralism of the Party, its positions and its spirit, and able to march on, but with the experience, stability and further maturity to quite markedly step up its work and to solve some very specific problems which have to be solved for the Party and its influence to advance.

In setting the tasks for the coming period the Party reaffirms all the principles set out in its First Congress. In the coming period there are two key areas where the Party has to extend its influence – and these are the key to the overall advance of the Party's work.

(1) The Party will take up the work to establish factory committees as the main way of strengthening the line of the Party in the working-class movement, improving the class composition of the Party and increasing its ranks. The Party will raise among the workers all the questions facing the nation, educating them, as Lenin says, to respond to all cases, without exception, of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected. It will raise among the working class the questions and demands on all fronts – the struggle against the danger of war, against racism and fascism, the question of sovereignty, of opposing the divisions that the bourgeoisie tries to incite among the people, questions of the attack on civilised values, the arts and sciences, and so on. It will raise in the working-class movement by every means the necessity for the working class to take the leading role in society, the necessity to take up the Marxist-Leninist politics, to see that it is not enough to fight in the old way, to confine itself to the day-to-day struggles, to be bound by the limits to its struggles set by the bourgeoisie and revisionism, by the labour chieftains, but to see further to the whole question of the system itself, the long-term strategic aims of the movement.

(2) The Party will extend its mobilisation of the youth to release their inexhaustible energies in the cause of the working class, of the people's movement, of communism. By nature, the youth are the most active force in society, they are most fresh in their thinking and open to new ideas, eager for knowledge and desiring to create a better society. Without them the struggles of the class and people are robbed of their most potent element.

These two tasks – organising the working class and the youth – are the key to advance on every front.

It is the key to advance in all the fronts of struggle. For instance, in the struggle against the war preparations and the danger of war, to take one example. It is essential for the advance of the growing movement on this front that the just demands of the anti-war movement be raised among the workers and the youth, the demands that both the biggest warmongers, the United States and the Soviet Union, must be opposed; that Britain should get out of NATO; that US bases, troops and missiles be removed from Britain; that Britain should cease its war preparations and remove its troops and bases from foreign soil; and that the nuclear industry in Britain should be closed down. It is after all they in particular who manufacture, transport, and in the main will be called on to use the arms. It is essential that they are mobilised into action on these questions, and the alliances which are beginning to develop with the other strata and with other progressive forces are strengthened. In this respect we have the great lessons of the history of the working-class movement. It was the strength of the workers' movement shortly after the first world war which prevented the bourgeoisie from intervening in Poland and forced it to call off its intervention in the Soviet Union. It was the opposition of the workers to the imperialist first world war itself which in Clydeside prevented conscription from operating there.

Those then are the two key tasks which the Party has to grapple with and work to solve in the coming period, this must be the main preoccupation of the Party. The main

theoretical work of the Party, its main organisational work, its main propaganda work, will all be centred on solving this problem.

It is in the context of these two key tasks that the work of developing the revolutionary mass organisations, the Trade Union Revolutionary Opposition, the Communist Youth Union of Britain, the Women's Union of Britain, as well as the Party's work in developing the People's Democratic Front takes place. In this context too the vital work of the Party among the middle strata, particularly the intellectuals, and the vital work among women will be developed.

In all the work of the Party in the working-class and people's movements, it remains a vital task to expose revisionism and opportunism, especially modern revisionism, both in theory and in practice.

In carrying out the two main tasks of organising the working class and the youth, as well as in all other work, the complicated question of tactics will be worked out in the course of developing the work. There are no formulas. The issue is to build on the work which has already been done. In doing this, we are guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles, we take account of the history of the working class itself, we learn from the experience of the fraternal parties.

These are the most difficult tasks the Party has faced, and it is going to need all the courage and qualities and hard work which have characterised its history. But history demands that the Party take up these problems. It does so confident that it can solve these problems as well, confident from the Party's own experience, confident in the loyalty and commitment of the Party to the cause of the working class, and the capacity of the working class itself.

## IV

### THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The world situation is extremely dangerous, unstable and tense. In all the regions of the world the peoples of different countries face the ever-present danger of armed intervention and interference, the danger of local and regional wars, and the grave threat of a new world war of catastrophic proportions. The main source and cause of this troubled situation is the two big imperialist superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

In the 1980s alone US imperialism has invaded Grenada and is carrying out an undeclared aggressive war against Nicaragua. It has sent its marines to Lebanon and it bombed Libya. The Soviet social imperialists opened the 1980s with their invasion of Afghanistan, and have continued this barbarous war right up the present with well in excess of 100,000 Soviet soldiers on Afghan soil.

The two superpowers have turned aggression and bullying into the main lever of their foreign policy. They carry out armed aggression directly or through third parties, interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, incite and fuel different local and regional wars. They send their navies throughout the oceans of the world and seek to establish military bases in all the strategic zones.

In pursuit of their aim of world domination the superpowers have escalated the arms race between them to unprecedented proportions. The arms race on land, sea and in the skies has even been extended to outer space. Europe, especially, is a region of great strategic importance, and the two superpowers have covered it with hundreds of

military bases, thousands of nuclear weapons and hundreds of thousands of their troops. They have transformed the continent into two armed camps poised for war against one another, a war more horrendous than the last two world wars fought in Europe, a war in which the peoples of Europe would be slaughtered in their millions as the superpowers fight for domination.

This tense situation in Europe is of great concern to the peoples of Britain and other countries. The superpowers try to allay this concern with agreements such as the Stockholm accord on "confidence-building measures", and now the much-talked-of deal for the removal of the Euro-missiles. But the superpowers can never bring peace to Europe as they pretend, because it is they, jointly and individually, who threaten peace in Europe, who have brought their gigantic military forces to Europe for their own strategic purposes of domination and plunder. The superpowers might reach some form of deal over Euro-missiles with the aim of deceiving the people as to their real intentions. But they will never remove their vast stocks of nuclear and conventional weapons until they are forced to by the peoples.

The EEC, the reactionary club of the 12 European member countries in the service of the big European monopolies and multinationals, is more and more ridden with internal contradictions, and more and more comes into conflict with the US, which both tries to impose its economic dictate on its allies, and is increasingly engaging in protectionist trade measures against them. As Lenin wrote, in the conditions of capitalism a United States of Europe is either impossible or reactionary.

In all the main bourgeois parties, elements exist who openly back the US domination of Britain and British membership of NATO. They suggest that Britain can rely on the American "shield" to protect it against Soviet aggression. However, they conceal the grave violations of British sovereignty to which the successive governments have submitted in exchange for this so-called "shield", and they increase the dangers to the people by ensuring that

Britain remains part of the American war machine in its preparations for war with its rival.

On the other hand, the revisionists and opportunists call on the people to rely on the Soviet Union and create every possible illusion about the peace demagoguery of Mikhail Gorbachev, trying to align the anti-war movement with the Soviet revisionists, calling on the people to "support the Soviet peace proposals". But it is equally as dangerous for the people to have illusions about the intentions of one superpower as of the other.

Both superpowers threaten aggression, domination and war; they represent the most aggressive, expansionist powers the world has known.

Britain, along with the United States, is spearheading the so-called "drive against international terrorism". Through this the US-led imperialist powers are claiming to be those who are most opposed to and determined to stamp out terrorism in the world. But the fact is that it is the two superpowers who commit acts of gross terror and genocide against the peoples on a daily basis – as testified to by their war crimes in Vietnam and Afghanistan, to name but two examples. They have turned terror against the peoples and sovereign countries into an instrument of their foreign policy – state terrorism – as in the US attack on Libya and the threats directed at present against Iran.

Terrorism is a phenomenon which worries many people and causes great harm. But the acts of individual terrorism also have their roots in the savage attacks of imperialism and its stooges against the peoples, as with the genocidal attacks of Israeli Zionism against the Palestinian people in the Middle East. The terrorist acts, which result from the blind and desperate acts of individuals who can see no way out of the grave circumstances created by imperialism and social imperialism, harm the people's struggles and are opposed by the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary forces. However, the bourgeoisie and imperialism seek to identify terrorism with the revolutionary struggles of the working class and peoples, and to present the Marxist-Leninist

parties and the national liberation movements as being terrorist organisations. They seek to outlaw the struggles of the peoples and to use the label of terrorism to justify their barbarous attacks on the peoples' struggles and on sovereign countries.

The hullabaloo which the superpowers and their allies are making at the present time about the possibilities for peace, about a future superpower summit, about the removal of the Euromissiles, and all the demagogical and unreal proposals about the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, all of these stem from their great fear of the people and of their struggles which are continuing to mount. The peoples are rising in struggle for their rights, for their independence, for freedom and sovereignty, for an end to domination and plunder, for national and social emancipation. The workers in the capitalist and revisionist countries are fighting against brutal exploitation and oppression, and there is mounting resistance from the people of many countries against neo-colonial domination. The people are fighting to defend their freedom and independence and their national wealth, and the people's liberation and democratic movements are extending to wider and wider zones.

In this complex and troubled world situation, socialist Albania shines like a beacon to the workers and oppressed people. The example of Albania shows that countries can enjoy genuine independence and full sovereignty, that they can exist outside the warmongering blocs headed by the superpowers, that plunder and subjugation are not a fact of life, that countries need not accept foreign military bases on their soil, or foreign investment and "aid", and that the workers and people can win national and social emancipation and control their own destiny.

Socialist Albania, following the Marxist-Leninist path of the Party of Labour of Albania, firmly stands up and denounces the aggressive, hegemonic and expansionist course and activities of the two superpowers and their

blocs; it stands on the side of the peoples and their revolutionary and national liberation struggles, on the side of progress and democracy, and against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and reaction. Albania's prestige is rightly high amongst the progressive people and countries in the world.

In Albania, the only genuinely socialist country in the world, there is no crisis and none of the chronic ills which bedevil the bourgeois-revisionist world. The Albanian people are firmly united in the construction of socialism and are making great advances under the leadership of the PLA, headed for over 40 years by Enver Hoxha, and today by Ramiz Alia.

Britain is intervening in this troubled world situation under the wing of the United States. The bourgeoisie has submitted to the all-round US domination of Britain in pursuit of its own imperialist ambitions, and it acts as the loyal and subordinate ally of the US – its main defender and advocate in the international arena. This has brought shame on Britain's name in the world, as with the granting to Ronald Reagan the use of British bases to bomb a sovereign country, Libya; as with the Anglo-US backing of South Africa, where these two countries are the main props of the barbaric racist white minority regime; as in the Gulf, where the British and American warships are provocatively intervening and the Americans are threatening "pre-emptive strikes" against Iran.

The Thatcher government is held in disrepute for its shameful subservience to the Reagan administration. It is known as the government which can always be relied upon to defend the barbarous acts of aggression of the United States, its bullying and threats, and its economic and political interests. It was the most ardent in backing the American demand to station its Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe, and it willingly accepted the Cruise missiles at Greenham Common and Molesworth. The Labour Party claims that it would follow a different policy, but its leadership too ardently pledges its loyalty to the US and

NATO, as has been the case with past Labour governments. The same is true of the official policy of the Alliance parties.

The British government combines servile grovelling before more powerful countries, especially the United States, with bullying and threats against weaker countries. Britain is playing its part in dragging the people towards war, both the local and regional wars which it like the superpowers incites and inflames, and towards a new world war of catastrophic proportions. It intervenes in conflicts throughout the world, as for example, in the Gulf war, where it, in common with the superpowers, supplies arms to both sides. It supplies armaments to countries throughout the world and the exports of the arms monopolies soared to over £4 billion last year, more even than the Soviet Union and second only to the United States.

Britain, like the superpowers, considers that it has "vital interests" in different parts of the world in which it may interfere at will and may if necessary intervene with armed force to defend "British interests". The Thatcher government launched armed aggression against Argentina in 1982 to ensure that the Malvinas remained a British colonial possession. It sent British troops to Lebanon to back up the American so-called "peace-keeping force".

As well as this, the Thatcher government is continuing the age-old policy of the British ruling classes of maintaining British rule in Ireland, Britain's oldest colonial possession. Britain continues to maintain its annexation of the six counties in the north of Ireland by armed force and terror. In the attempt to give what is a flagrant colonial annexation international legitimacy it has signed with the government of the Irish Republic the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985.

The government spreads the lie that its troops are in Ireland as "peacekeepers", that their task is to "keep the two sides apart", when in reality they represent a colonial force of occupation. It is British domination and rule which has been and is the cause of all violence in the six counties, which is responsible for the death and maiming of

thousands of the Irish people, for the deaths of hundreds of the finest sons and daughters of the Irish people fighting for the freedom of their country, and for the loss of many sons of British workers sent to do the dirty work of the British bourgeoisie.

Britain has no business interfering in the affairs of Ireland or any other country. The Irish people are one sovereign nation, living in their own national territory, a nation whose history can be measured in thousands of years. The Irish people must be allowed the right to independence and sovereignty over their entire territory, the right of any people. They must be allowed to establish an independent and reunified country, and to solve by themselves without outside interference of any form the age-old problems created in Ireland by the British colonialists.

Britain maintains garrisons in Europe, the Far East, and South and Central America, as well as military advisers in some 30 countries. Its navy roams the oceans of the world. It bullies what it considers weaker countries and interferes on a daily basis in the internal affairs of other countries, as for example with the recent backing by the British government and the British governor-general in Fiji for the coup which overthrew the elected government and brought to power an administration considered more amenable to Anglo-US interests. It maintains the colonial annexations of the Malvinas, which are part of Argentina, of Gibraltar, which is part of Spain, and other territories, in defiance of the just aspirations of the people of these countries for full sovereignty in their own territory. These great-power aspirations of the British bourgeoisie constitute a further threat to the peoples throughout the world as well as to the British people.

Britain is maintaining also its hostility to socialist Albania and to the Albanian people. It continues unjustly to hold the gold which was seized from Albania by the nazis during the second world war and to frustrate Albania's legitimate demand that it be returned. By this stand, it

obstructs the possibilities for the development of normal relations with Albania and the development of closer friendship and ties between the British and Albanian peoples.

## V

### THE PARTY'S INTERNATIONAL TASKS

Our Party contributes to the world-wide struggle against imperialism and social imperialism, the bourgeoisie and all reaction, contributes to the strengthening of the unity of the International Communist Movement, by its work in Britain of organising the working class and the broad sections of the people to struggle for their rights, to fight against all injustices, to prepare the conditions for revolution and socialism and by support, sympathy and propaganda for those forces throughout the world engaged in those same struggles. In particular in this coming period it will do so by strengthening its political line in the working-class movement and improving the class composition of the Party mainly through building the factory committees as well as by extending its mobilisation of the youth. But developing its influence in the working-class movement and mobilising and organising the youth is not a question only of raising economic and political demands related to the struggles in Britain. It is also a question of raising among the people – particularly among the workers and the youth – the tasks on the international front.

Our Party staunchly opposes the two superpowers, opposes the sell-out of Britain's sovereignty and the putting of Britain more and more under the US dictate. It is a staunch opponent of British imperialism's international activities under the wing of the US and of its interference in the affairs of other countries, its holding of territories belonging to other countries.

This work in the coming period must be stepped up.

These issues must be taken deeper into the working class and among the youth, to mobilise these sections into action, and the work of developing the alliances with the other strata around the just positions – of which there are already the beginnings – must be extended.

It is crucial work of the Party to educate the working class and people on the source of the dangerous situation in the world, the source of the grave danger of catastrophic war, emanating mainly from the hegemonic policies of the two superpowers, and bring them into action against this danger. The Party must step up its work to raise among the working class the demands that Britain should get out of NATO, that US bases, troops and missiles be removed from Britain, that Britain should end its war preparations and remove its troops and bases from other countries, that it should get out of Ireland, that Britain should withdraw from the EEC and that it must end its backing of the fascist South African regime.

Our Party supports and will raise among the working class and other sections of the people support for the struggles of the people of Nicaragua against interference and aggression by the United States, the people of Afghanistan against the Soviet occupation of their country, the people of Iran against the interference and aggressive activities of the US, the martyred Palestinian people for the restoration of their homeland, the people of the Indian sub-continent against oppression and the incitement of communal divisions and violence, the Azanian people for the overthrow of the South African apartheid regime, and the struggles of the peoples throughout the world against superpower domination, aggression and interference, against imperialism, social imperialism and all reaction.

It is vital to raise amongst the working class and other sections the question of sovereignty and the increasing sell-out to the US dictate, and of Britain's role in world affairs under the wing of the US. It is important to raise opposition to Britain's interference in the affairs of other countries throughout the world, in Ireland, in the Malvinas, and so on. The British working class will not emancipate itself and the

rest of the working people unless it is conscious of and supports the struggles of the people throughout the world. It is vital that our Party does work to expose what is behind the imperialists' so-called "campaign against international terrorism", and that it persuades the working class to shed all chauvinist attitudes which inevitably affect it after centuries of Britain's colonial domination.

Our Party supports the aspirations of the Irish people for freedom and reunification. We oppose the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which is designed to give Britain's unjust annexation of part of Ireland, the partition of a sovereign country, international legitimacy. It is designed to further institutionalise and consolidate the divisions which British imperialism has itself created. It is designed to enable the British imperialists to step up their violent suppression of the Irish people's legitimate struggle, to further put the police and military forces in the south in the service of the foreign occupier. The overall aim of the agreement is to strengthen the hold of British imperialism over the whole of Ireland, to continue the exploitation of the land, labour and resources of the Irish people by Britain and other foreign powers, to eliminate the resistance of the Irish people and to serve the strategic interests of British imperialism as part of the US-imperialist-led NATO alliance in rivalry with the equally aggressive Soviet social imperialism and the Warsaw Treaty. The Anglo-Irish Agreement is a crime against the Irish people, and will solve none of the problems which exist in Ireland.

The Party has always held dear the close ties which have been built over centuries between the Irish people and the British working class. It has defended the large Irish community which exists in Britain, and recognises the contribution the Irish have made to British political life. It bears in mind what Engels said that a nation which oppresses other nations cannot itself be free. It acknowledges that the British working class must give every kind of support for the Irish people's right to sovereignty and freedom. It recognises the great support that the struggles of the Irish people give to the struggles

of the British working class. It sees that the mutual support of the Irish people and the British working class hits at the chauvinism which is central to British imperialism's interference in other countries. Our Party opposes the colonialist policies of the British bourgeoisie towards Ireland and calls for British imperialism's withdrawal from Ireland as the precondition for the solution of all the problems which beset the Irish people. In this period our Party will continue to step up its work to mobilise the working class and people around this just demand.

Our Party must raise among the working class in particular and the broad masses of the people the demand that Britain ceases its hostile attitude towards socialist Albania, returns the gold belonging to Albania that it has impounded ever since World War II, and opens the way to normal diplomatic relations between the two countries. The Party must step up its work to assist in promoting genuine understanding towards Albania, its people and its social system, and to building ties of friendship between the Albanian and British peoples.

It remains a vital task of first-rate importance for the Party to educate the working class and other sections of the people on the nature of modern revisionism. It must expose the pseudo-socialist nature of the regimes where modern revisionism is in power, in China, in Yugoslavia, in Poland and so on, but most importantly in the Soviet Union. It must expose the fact that the great problems faced by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the former People's Democracies are caused not by the failure of socialism, as the imperialists claim, but by the abandonment of all the Marxist-Leninist principles for building socialism, by the restoration of capitalism and by further developments along this road.

Our Party is a contingent of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement and carries out its responsibilities for the strengthening of the unity of the movement, for supporting the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, on the basis of common struggle in our countries against the common enemies, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and

proletarian internationalism. We stand steadfastly by the side of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of the International Communist Movement, the working classes and peoples fighting for the common cause, the victory of national liberation, the victory of revolution and socialism all over the world. We lend our support for these forces in every way.

We work to strengthen our ties with the fraternal parties, through exchange of experience and other forms of support and cooperation. We participate in the various events and initiatives of the International Communist Movement in order to strengthen the unity of the movement, and participate in the larger gatherings of parties where these are well-prepared and in order to deal with specific problems. We are not for the airing of differences or the waging of polemics within the movement. Polemics are reserved for the enemy.

As stated earlier, we consider that defence of socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania is a matter of principle for all Marxist-Leninists. We acknowledge the support given to us by our fraternal parties, and for our part will spare no efforts in support of their work and struggles.

Comrade delegates,

We are entering a period which for the Party and for the working class will be no less difficult than before, a period in which the crisis of the capitalist system with economic crisis at the base can only deepen, the offensive against the working class and people on every front will increase, the effects of this on society will become increasingly grave, the great dangers of war and other catastrophes will continue to threaten.

The Party takes up its great responsibilities with confidence, recognising the hard work, sober and realistic assessments, the boldness which will be necessary, but confident in the Party's Marxist-Leninist line, the strength and unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist

Movement, confident in the loyalty of our Party to Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the working class, confident in the great strength of the British working class and the revolutionary people of the world.

Onward to victory in the coming period!

LONG LIVE OUR PARTY!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

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