

THESES OF THE CFB(M-L) FOR THE CONFERENCE OF MARXIST-LENINISTS.

1. A conference to found a new revolutionary Communist Party is premature. There is still no Party programme and no Party rules and there is still no single leading centre.

2. However a conference that has the following limited but definite aims will be useful:

a. To clarify and win unity of thinking on major questions of ideological and political line, internationally and nationally.

b. To agree on what organizational steps towards Party-building are correct and should be taken at the present time.

3. Therefore the CFB(M-L) submits the following theses on the main questions to be discussed at the conference.

The crisis - international.

4. The principal contradiction in the world today is between the oppressed peoples and nations of the world and the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

5. The Soviet Union is the more dangerous superpower and the most dangerous source of war.

6. The international working class and oppressed peoples of the world must resolutely unite, and in so doing, must build the broadest possible united front against imperialism, especially the hegemonism of the two superpowers.

7. The main force in the struggle against the hegemonism of the two superpowers are the countries of the third world.

8. An intermediate vacillating force in the struggle against the hegemonism of the two superpowers are the countries of the second world, the minor imperialist powers such as Britain.

9. In the present international struggle against the superpowers, the existence and enlargement of the EEC is primarily positive.

10. War is inevitable and Europe will be the main battleground of the next world war. Only a people's war can defeat the Soviet aggressors; the working class will have to struggle with the bourgeoisie to win the leadership of any people's war of national resistance.

The crisis - national.

11. In Britain the principal contradiction is between the working class and the imperialist bourgeoisie.

12. The working class must overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by socialist revolution, smash the bourgeois state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

13. The struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie must be combined with the struggle against the hegemonism of the two superpowers. Revolutionary Communists must struggle to make the British government line up with the third world.

14. The basic contradiction is between the social character of production and the control of the means of production by the members of the monopoly capitalist class. This basic contradiction gives rise to economic and political crises which the bourgeoisie are unable to solve.

15. The monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie try to solve their crisis by loading it onto the backs of the working people; mainly by trying to stepping up the rate of exploitation of the working class through increased productivity, inflation, wage restraint, unemployment and taxation.

16. British monopoly capitalism is being wiped out by competition from rival imper-

ialist powers; the means of production in Britain is being destroyed by imperialism.

17. The third world's struggle for national liberation and a new international economic order is striking relentless blows against British imperialism.

18. The crisis of British imperialism compels more and more state control of industry. Nationalization and 'government assistance' represent merely the general tendency to extreme concentration and centralization of capital under monopoly capitalism.

19. The working class must fight all attempts by the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie to shift the burden of their economic crisis onto our backs. We must make the bourgeoisie pay for their crisis!

20. The fundamental political problem for the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie is how to maintain an efficient state which protects the class interests of only a small minority of the population while disguising its true nature from the great majority of the people.

21. The so-called two party system is but a device for maintaining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The two main political parties are two wings of a single bird of prey. Both unite in trying to soften the working class and keep it trapped and exploited under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

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

23. The bourgeoisie prefer to conceal their dictatorship under the mask of bourgeois democracy. But increasingly, as their rule is threatened and whenever it is in their interests to do so, they will attempt to prolong their rule by introducing fascism and fascist methods.

Towards a class analysis.

24.. Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution.

25. Our enemies are the monopoly capitalist class and all those in league with them.

26. The leading force and the main force in the socialist revolution in Britain is the working class and in particular the industrial working class.

27. The petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia form a large body of middle strata of working people most of whom can become the close friends of the working class in the struggle for the socialist revolution.

28. The small and medium bourgeoisie is partly oppressed and exploited by the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie, but in general it lines up with the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie. Our aim with these sections of the bourgeoisie is to neutralise them in the struggle for the socialist revolution.

On ideology.

29. The British monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie would long ago have been overthrown, but for the existence of bourgeois ideology and of opportunism within the working class.

30. A serious form of bourgeois ideology within the working class is opportunism. The fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism.

31. Opportunists are agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement. The active people in the working class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself.

32. The task of winning over the class-conscious vanguard to a conviction in the

necessity for revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be accomplished without a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism within the vanguard of the working class.

33. Revisionism is the most dangerous enemy in the working class movement because it uses the name and terms of Communism to deceive the working class.

34. Within Britain, social democracy is the most widespread ideological enemy within the working class movement.

35. Fascism is a serious divisive ideological tendency which imperialism uses to split the ranks of the working class. It is the main ideological weapon which the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie use in order to try and bring in fascism, and to justify their increasing use of fascist methods.

On practice.

36. Although in general practice is primary over theory, at the present stage in Britain theory must be primary over practice. However practice is essential and in some specific aspects of work it is already primary.

37. It is essential to grasp priorities correctly on the basis of the two historical tasks of revolution. The first historical task is to win the class conscious vanguard to a conviction in the necessity for revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The second historical task of revolution is to lead the masses in practical activity towards the revolution.

38. At this stage when organized resources are limited we must choose priorities strictly between different classes: we must direct all mass work to the working class, and concentrate particularly on the industrial working class.

39. At the place of work, in the course of struggle against the employer and the capitalist class, we 1) rally the advanced workers around the revolutionary Communist Party, and 2) strive to turn the trade unions into fighting class organizations.

40. Our basic method is the mass line, "from the masses, to the masses". The revolutionary Communist Party will increasingly lead and guide the mass of the people to struggle for their just demands, sum up their experience and raise their ideological and political consciousness and their organizational strength step by step, until they form a giant army capable of overthrowing the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie.

The national question in the British isles.

41. We oppose all national oppression within the United Kingdom in order to strengthen the fighting unity between the working class of the British isles against the British monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie.

42. We uphold the right to self-determination, including the right to separation, for peoples of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

43. We support the demand for regional autonomy within a federal republic for Scotland and Wales, but do not advocate separation for them.

44. We advocate separation of Northern Ireland from the British state, and demand that British troops get out of Ireland. We hope to see the unity of the fraternal people of Ireland gradually grow in the common struggle against imperialism and reactionaries.

45. In order to build the strongest possible proletarian organization to resist and overthrow the united forces of British imperialism throughout the British imperialist state, the revolutionary Communist Party must be built and must rally the working class and working people in the struggle against British imperialism and opportunism in all parts of that British state. This includes Northern Ireland unless and until the struggle to separate Northern Ireland from the British state is successful.

The Way forward.

46. Building the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class is the central task in Britain today. We must arrange all our work around this central task, and to serve this central task.

47. We must overcome the division of the small British Marxist-Leninist movement into a number of parties, organizations and circles. However it is premature to found the new revolutionary Communist Party until we have a Party programme and a single leading centre. The target in the middle term must be to form one single democratic-centralist organization.

48. Federal forms of unification are opportunist because they do not challenge small group mentality openly and they violate democratic-centralism.

49. We must struggle hard to unite all genuine Marxist-Leninists. In uniting Marxist-Leninists, the struggle for ideological and political unity must play the leading role. When ideological and political unity has been won on major questions between different groups it must be consolidated organizationally by uniting in a single democratic-centralist organization.

50. Active ideological struggle is the key link in uniting the Marxist-Leninist movement for Party-building.

51. We must grasp 3 specific tasks to fulfill the aim of establishing a single democratic-centralist Party-building organization.

- I. Ideological struggle and education against small-group mentality.
2. Unfolding of a militant and scientific criticism of the errors of the CPB(M-L) as the first step of a protracted struggle against incorrect ideological and political lines on the British revolution.
3. Forming larger democratic-centralist organizations by uniting smaller organizations. This is the key immediate step on the road to a single democratic-centralist organization.

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS!

The Executive Committee of the CPB(M-L) May 1977.