

RED STAR



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EDITORIAL

It is now five years since the death of Comrade Mao Tse tung and the swift counter-revolutionary coup which followed his death. Since that date we have seen China once again dragged into the poisonous embrace of U.S. imperialism and the consequent attempts by the counter-revolutionaries to degrade and besmirch Comrade Mao's powerful revolutionary legacy.

This enormous setback brought about a polarisation within the International Communist Movement. As Comrade Mao said 'one divides into two' and this universal truth has made itself evident once more. The International Communist Movement divided into two parts: the camp of revisionism and the camp of revolution. For some people this split was more than they could bear, they also adopted a counter-revolutionary stance; that of hopelessness and despair. Now, five years later, the world has not stood still, the international crisis of imperialism has sharpened and the possibility of major inter-imperialist war now looms on the horizon.

In this country the divide between the camp of revolution and reaction was also very apparent. The Marxist-Leninist forces here have never been very strong, for a number of specific, historical reasons. The camp of counter-revolution, not fundamentally caused by events in China, but brought to light by them, soon manifested itself. This left only a tiny fragment of genuine revolutionaries, mostly working in isolation. This month we publish a joint document from the Nottingham Communist Group and the Stockport Communist Group "Build the Party!" This document is the result of struggle between our two groups on the question of party-building

building. It is now our joint view that the key task in party-building is the development of a proper revolutionary programme which gives a definite strategy for the conduct of the revolutionary struggle in this country. We appeal to all genuine Marxist-Leninists, even those who are operating in an individual capacity, to give serious consideration and study to our joint document. The task of bringing into being a real Communist Party is not one that can be left to some indefinite, future period, on the contrary, it is a task of real urgency.

In connection with this, we also publish "Self Criticism Of The Stockport Communist Group With Reference To Its Line On Party Building". Here, in an open and honest way, the SCG analyse the errors of their previous position on party-building and the ideological roots of their erroneous line. This is a good example for all Marxist-Leninists in this country; the method of self-criticism is one we have all paid formal lip-service to but rarely practised.

In this issue of "Red Star" we publish extracts from an underground pamphlet produced by Communists in Shanghai, dated August 1981. This pamphlet is a response to the behaviour of the counter-revolutionary clique at the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPC, particularly with reference to their 'analysis' of Mao. We reproduce the last sections of this pamphlet which deal some hefty blows at the "theory of the productive forces", a theory which is still causing some confusion in this country. The pamphlet ends with a rallying-call to all those genuine elements which still exist in China. We salute our Chinese comrades and hope that their call does not go unheeded.

Finally, we review "Imperialism and Revolution in Uganda." by D. Madada Nabudere. During the summer the author gave a talk in Nottingham which briefly outlined the content of his book and which stimulated a lively discussion. Now, in greater detail, he analysis the development of Uganda as a colonial state, its present neo-colonial status, the machinations whereby British imperialism kept its hold during the Obote and Amin regimes and the emergence of the Ugandan National Liberation Front which has now begun armed struggle.

BUILD THE PARTY!

To the Marxist-Leninists in Britain

Comrades,

The international crisis of imperialism is intensifying. Throughout the world the capitalist countries of both the US and Soviet blocs are in the midst of major economic depression and, directly related to this, the contradictions making for a major inter-imperialist war are becoming sharper every day. Here in Britain, the economic depression is particularly severe, the class struggle is beginning to take the form of physical confrontation, the bourgeois political parties are in disarray, the national liberation struggle in Northern Ireland is intensifying and there is growing mass awareness that major war is a very real possibility in the near future. Yet despite these objectively favourable conditions, a genuine proletarian revolutionary movement and party does not exist in Britain today.

The fledgling Marxist-Leninist organisations which emerged during the nineteen sixties have been thrown into complete disarray by the world wide political developments of the last few years. The triumph of revisionism in China following the death of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung and the confusion caused by the reactionary 'Three Worlds' international line have wreaked havoc among Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations around the world. Yet, while the counter-revolution in China and its international repercussions are undoubtedly an enormous setback for the world revolution, there is a positive side to these developments as well.

This consists of the clear lines of demarcation which have been and are being drawn between the revolutionaries and revisionists among those who call themselves Marxist-Leninists. The upsurge of revisionism in China has not been the cause of the outright reaction propagated by such organisations as the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain and the Workers Party of Scotland (NL) but rather the occasion which made it manifestly clear that most of the Marxist-Leninists had never made a decisive break with revisionism in the first place. During the last few years it has become clear in Britain, as well as in other countries, who upholds the proletarian revolutionary outlook and who does not. The former are lamentably few in number, although, as a result of recent struggles, ideologically strengthened.

The Nottingham Communist group and the Stockport Communist Group hold to the view that the main task of Marxist-Leninists in Britain is to build the communist party and that the key to achieving this objective is to develop a proper revolutionary programme elaborating a strategy for the conduct of revolutionary struggle in Britain. Earlier attempts to win support for this correct view found little response from most of the other so-called Marxist-Leninists who, in one way or another, adhered to the revisionist 'snowball' theory of the RCLB which essentially saw unity among the Marxist-Leninists and the formation of the party as an organisational rather than a political problem. As a result of a protracted two-line struggle in their ranks, the SCG, who until recently had an opportunist line on party-building, supported the 'Theory of the Three Worlds' and gave implicit support to the Chinese revisionists, have overthrown these serious errors and are now able to wholeheartedly support the proposals contained in this document. More recently the NCG, together with

the Marxist-Leninist Collective, participated in the international conference of Marxist-Leninist organisations held last autumn. The Joint Communiqué issued at this conference drew clear lines of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and was the first step towards the reconstitution of the Communist International.

Here in Britain the period of struggle to clearly separate the revolutionaries from the reactionaries is drawing to the close of its present phase. Some of the new revisionist organisations seem to have simply disappeared, while others, especially the RCLB, are in great disorder as a direct result of their reactionary political line. Comrades, the time has come for a conscious, concerted drive to rebuild the revolutionary movement and the party. Not only do the aforementioned objective conditions make this a matter of extreme urgency but subjective conditions are favourable at last for us to begin to win significant numbers of class conscious workers and other people to the communist movement and to begin to win a communist leadership of the class struggle. In particular we are referring to the ideological crisis of social democracy in both its Labour Party and Trotskyist forms. The hegemony of social democratic ideology over the working class in Britain is fast collapsing. Working class support for the Labour Party has steadily declined during the last three decades and one important consequence of this is the growing antagonisms within and the resultant disintegration of this bourgeois political party. At the same time, during the last decade, it has been the various Trotskyist organisations which have had the opportunity, thanks to the opportunism of the Marxist-Leninists, to take advantage of this substantial change in political conditions. The fact that they have failed to do so, which is hardly

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surprising given their inherent tendency to tail after the Labour Party, is part of the reason for their noticeable decline during the last few years. This growing ideological vacuum within the working class constitutes both a great opportunity and a great danger. It is a great opportunity in the sense that the weakening hold of social democracy means that workers are potentially more receptive to revolutionary ideas than in the past. It also constitutes a great danger in the sense that if we fail to stimulate the development of revolutionary class consciousness the way is left open for the most extreme type of reaction, fascism, to fill this ideological vacuum.

Given these considerations, it is the duty of all genuine Marxist-Leninists to unite in the task of rebuilding the revolutionary movement and party without further delay.

'THE MARXIST-LENINIST PROGRAMMATIC COMMISSION AND ITS TASKS.

In 1976, in Hey! It's Up To Us, the Communist Workers League in Britain (ML) put forward the view that the key to building a genuine revolutionary communist party is to develop a proper revolutionary programme by means of setting up a programmatic commission. Despite some errors of idealism and metaphysics in Hey! It's Up To Us, this basic proposal for a commission was correct and should be upheld despite the CWLB's subsequent capitulation to the new revisionism.

Accordingly, the NCG and the SCG propose that the remaining Marxist-Leninist organisations should establish a programmatic commission, the sole task of which is to develop a revolutionary programme embodying a thorough, scientific analysis of the character of contemporary British capitalism and on the basis of this scientific-

ic knowledge to elaborate a strategy for the conduct of revolutionary struggle in Britain. The programmatic commission would carry out this work in a highly disciplined manner and according to a definite time scale. Here, we must emphasise most strongly that the programmatic commission would not be another loose federation of local groups or an ad hoc committee to organise joint meetings and demonstrations. The work of the commission would be entirely confined to the thorough, detailed study, investigation and analysis necessary to produce a proper revolutionary programme specific to the particular conditions prevailing in British capitalism. If this aim is achieved then the political basis would exist for the formation of a national organisation of a pre-party kind which would be guided by the programme. Such an organisation would then engage in the class struggle with the primary aim of winning a real base of support within the working class. Only then, in the light of this higher level of knowledge gained from the practise of the revolutionary struggle, would the appropriate conditions exist for the further development of the programme and the formation of the proletarian party.

The exact nature of the schedule of work of the programmatic commission could only be collectively determined by its participants. However, the NCG and the SCG have a definite view on the tasks which need to be carried out and we briefly indicate those for the consideration of comrades. There are four main tasks of the programmatic commission:

1. To carry out a thorough, scientific analysis of the particular, concrete character of the contradictions of modern British capitalism and its relationship to the rest of the world.

2. To systematically sum up the experience of the International Communist Movement in the struggle to promote proletarian revolution and socialist transformation.
3. On the basis of the above scientific knowledge to elaborate a definite strategy for the conduct of the revolutionary struggle, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist transformation of society in Britain.
4. To take the resulting revolutionary programme as the political basis for the formation of a national Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organisation of the democratic centralist kind.

In order to make clear the general character of the sort of work which needs to be done, we present some short comments on each of the above tasks. However, we again emphasise that the precise scheme of work of the commission could only be collectively determined by the participants:

1. It is not possible to conduct systematic revolutionary struggle to overthrow British capitalism unless one has thoroughly grasped its concrete particularity. In the view of the NCG and SCG it is at least necessary to carry out a thorough analysis of contemporary monopoly capitalism, the existing classes and strata, the state together with the bourgeois parties, the national question within the British state and the contemporary international situation particularly with respect to the position of British imperialism. Although various organisations and individuals have from time to time outlined positions on these matters, none have ever carried out the systematic, scientific analysis necessary for the formulation of an overall revolutionary strategy.

2. Both of the major proletarian revolutions have now succumbed to bourgeois counter-revolution. It is the duty of all Marxist-Leninists to closely study the rise of revisionism and the triumph of reaction in the USSR and the PRC in order to learn from past mistakes and thus be prepared to struggle against revisionism in all its various forms.
3. The revolutionary strategy would consist of a delineation of the key areas of the class struggle and provide general guidance for the conduct of this struggle as a unified whole. It would also specify in general terms the appropriate form the dictatorship of the proletariat would take in Britain and outline the steps to be taken as the first stage of socialist transformation. In the struggle to facilitate the growth of revolutionary consciousness it is not sufficient simply to expose the oppression and exploitation of capitalism but it is also necessary to put forward a vision of the socialist future as a definite, concrete goal worth fighting for.
4. A revolutionary programme combining the above elements can only be developed in the course of disciplined scientific investigation and political struggle to seek the truth to serve the people. The most severe criticism and self-criticism will be necessary to achieve this breakthrough. It is likely that in the course of its work a programmatic commission will reveal irreconcilable differences amongst its participants resulting in the parting of the ways. This is not a bad thing but a good thing because the effective aim of the commission is to bring about a decisive split in very concrete terms between the

camps of revisionism and revolution amongst the Marxist-Leninist in Britain. While the work of the commission should be made public as it proceeds, so as to act as a rallying point for people of a revolutionary inclination, it is nonetheless likely that on the completion of its work the number of conscious, committed revolutionaries will still be very small. In fact it is only when we have the proper programme which will provide the necessary guidance for us to engage in the class struggle at an altogether higher level that we will begin to make a significant impact on some sections of the working class. This is why it would be incorrect to form a party solely on the basis of the programme. The programme must be tested and developed in the course of the day to day class struggle and only then in the light of some actual advances in the struggle and the establishment of a real base in the working class would appropriate conditions exist for the formation of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party. This is why initially the programme would only provide the political basis for the formation of a pre-party type of organisation.

LINES OF DEMARCATION

The aim of the programmatic commission would be to unite the genuine Marxist-Leninists in Britain by the method of studied, detailed investigations and ideological struggle resulting in a qualitatively higher level of revolutionary consciousness as expressed in the revolutionary programme. All participants in such an exercise must approach it in the self-critical spirit of admitting that our political accomplishments to date, both in theory and in practice, are slight and that our primary task is not to dwell on each others past errors,

although these should certainly not be overlooked, but to bring together our combined knowledge and experience in the struggle to achieve the political clarity we have hitherto all too obviously lacked. However, if the Commission is to have any chance at all of achieving its objectives there must be a certain minimal agreement on political principles at the outset. In the view of the NCG and the SCG the course of the international class struggle during the last twenty years has given rise to a number of very definite, clear lines of demarcation between the camp of revisionism and the camp of revolution. These are as follows:

1. Upholding the achievements of the international proletarian revolutionary movement under the general leadership of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.
2. Acknowledgment of the fact that the USSR has now a social imperialist character and that, together with its satellite states, including Cuba and Vietnam, it is engaged in aggressive, expansionist policies.
3. Open opposition to the new revisionist regime in China and complete repudiation of the reactionary Theory of the Three Worlds propagated by this state bourgeoisie and their followers elsewhere.
4. Opposition to the incorrect assessment of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese revolution put forward by the Party of Labour of Albania and rejection of the erroneous international line propagated by them.
5. Recognition of the fact that Britain is an imperialist state and that in the event of a new inter-imperialist war Marxist-

Leninists must uphold Lenin's line of revolutionary defeatism and reject any defence of the fatherland.

6. Clear and unwavering commitment to the goal of proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Britain by means of protracted revolutionary struggle under the leadership of a revolutionary party of the Leninist type.
7. Recognition that at present the principal task for the Marxist-Leninists in Britain is to develop a revolutionary political programme as the basis for political practice which can lead to the formation of an authentic proletarian revolutionary party.

We are only prepared to work in a programmatic commission together with organisations and individuals who uncompromisingly accept these lines of demarcation. In our assessment there has to be a minimum ideological and political level of agreement if the commission is to effectively carry out its vital work. Certainly, we are prepared to engage in ideological struggle with any organisation and individual who are genuinely unsure and confused on these matters. It is our duty as communists to do so. Nonetheless, we insist that it is of cardinal importance that only those who unreservedly uphold these basic lines of demarcation should be admitted to the programmatic commission.

SEIZE THE TIME

We know, from past experience, that there are various objections raised by comrades to the proposal to set up a programmatic commission.

Perhaps the most common objection is that the

Necessary level of ideological clarity needed for the development of a proper programme will not come about until such times as the various local groups and circles have, as a result of the involvement in the day-to-day class struggle, established some real basis in the working class by winning over some workers to the revolutionary outlook. In fact, past practice has shown that however protracted and dedicated the work of comrades is in the economic struggle, the anti-racist struggle, etc. this results in few workers being won over to the revolutionary outlook. On the contrary, it is precisely our lack of developed theory that limits our involvement in the class struggle such that it is conducted in a somewhat piecemeal and empirical manner and is thus not very effective. Only when we have raised our theoretical development by developing an all-round strategy for the conduct of revolutionary work will our practice become more effective and thus result in more people being won over to the revolutionary cause. Oddly enough, it is our impression that those who adhere to this erroneous position are often comrades who are the least involved in the day-to-day class struggle.

Closely related to this erroneous position on party-building is the one that holds that a necessary precondition for any serious joint theoretical work is joint work of a practical kind. This approach has been tried a number of times during the last twenty years, the last occasion being the best forgotten Joint Action Committee formed around the time of a large scale defection from the Communist Party of Britain (ML) in 1976. In actual practice these enterprises tend to be short-lived precisely because of the theoretical errors and confusion of their participants. Even when, as rarely happens, these set-ups manage to agree on a joint course of action these tend to simply repeat the empiricist and dogmatist errors of their

constituents but on a larger scale. Yes, correct theory does arise out of practice but only as a result of deliberate, conscious effort. Moreover, this approach ignores the importance of indirect experience, summed up in revolutionary theory. To ignore this hard and bitterly won experience is to condemn the revolutionary movement to repeat the mistakes of the past. Theoretical clarity does not miraculously appear simply because comrades decide "to do something together". Joint action can only proceed from a clear, agreed and correct theoretical perspective on the matter at hand and thus on the revolutionary struggle as a whole.

Yet another incorrect approach to party-building is the snowball method of the RCLB which advocates that Marxist-Leninist organisations should engage in bilateral struggle so as to resolve their political differences and then unite. This approach gives primary place to organisational fusion over theoretical clarity. Simply because two or more organisations have reached the point where they have no political differences is no guarantee that their common position is a correct one. On the contrary, this approach of putting organisation above politics tends to result in increasing political error as is very evident in the case of the RCLB itself. Indeed, the illusory attraction of being part of a larger organisation has resulted in at least one group, The Birmingham Communist Association, abandoning an essentially correct position on party-building in order to become absorbed into the RCLB's melting snowball. Organisational structure are the means for the implementation of political policies and not vice versa. Real, enduring political unity can only arise on the basis of a proper programme and not through the opportunistic formation of larger organisations.

There are some other comrades who claim that the Marxist-Leninists in Britain are not yet developed enough to be able to produce a proper revolutionary programme. They try to support this contention by pointing to the lack of solid theoretical analysis so far produced by the Marxist-Leninists in Britain. This is a criticism which has been levelled at the NCG. In fact the NCG has carried out a certain amount of

analysis of some of what they consider to be important theoretical questions and they have published material on the class structure and the international situation. The SCG have also published work on the latter question. However, we also know, as a result of our own experience and that of others, that small groups lack the resources in terms of experience, knowledge and personnel to carry out the comprehensive programme of theoretical work necessary for the elaboration of an overall strategy. Inevitably the members of small, isolated local groups tend to develop a common position on many matters, very often incorrect and inadequate positions, but because of their isolation from other comrades with different experiences and knowledge they are limited in their ability to overcome these errors and develop further. Direct, sincere and concerted investigation and struggle with other comrades can quickly result in the discarding of incorrect ideas and the arrival of new insights which might not otherwise be achieved even over many years. The level of political development of communists is to a considerable extent dependent on whether or not they are willing to do what is necessary to improve their grasp of theory and practice.

Lastly, there are those rather pessimistic comrades who point out that an attempt to form a programmatic commission was made before, back in 1976, by the CWLB(M-L) and failed to get off the ground. Why, these comrades ask, should a

commission be successfully established now? Conditions in the world as a whole and among Marxist-Leninists in Britain have changed enormously during the last five years. The confusion and chaos precipitated, but not fundamentally caused by, the Chinese and Albanian revisionists, have resulted in most of those in Britain who used to call themselves Marxist-Leninists simply dropping out of political life, some others sinking into the quagmire of the most open, blatant revisionism and a few others battling against all this pessimism and reaction with the result that we are now better tempered to take on our revolutionary party-building mission.

Comrades, we remind you of the great responsibility that the remaining Marxist-Leninists bear at the present time. We now find ourselves in the position where the objective conditions favouring an upsurge of revolutionary consciousness and action are becoming more favourable while, at the same time, the continued existence of Marxism-Leninism in this country as a conscious, organised political force is in serious doubt. Already the hour is late and if we do not seize the initiative to formulate a proper programme and build the party, then the opportunity to make socialist revolution in Britain may well be lost for a generation or two.

Comrades, we appeal to you to join with us in the task of developing the revolutionary communist programme. If you really do uphold the revolutionary outlook of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought then it is your duty to do so.

We urge all genuine Marxist-Leninist organisations to contact us immediately with a view to participating in the work of the commission.

We urge those members, who still adhere to Marxism-Leninism, of the new revisionist organisations such as the CPB(M-L) and the RCLB to work to quickly split those organisations or to leave them, depending on the concrete conditions and to join us in the work of the commission. How much longer will you support the social-chauvinism of those organisations and their support for the attacks on Mao Tse-Tung?

We urge all individual Marxist-leninists to come forward and take part in the work of the Commission. While the Marxist-Leninist movement has been tempered in the struggle against the new wave of revisionism it is still very small and it is urgently necessary that all the available forces take part in the work of the commission.

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COMMUNIQUE FROM COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

V. USE THE UNIVERSAL REVOLUTIONARY TRUTH OF MARXISM-LENINISM, MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT TO TEST THE CONTRABAND "PRACTICE" OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CLIQUE FOLLOWING THE CAPITALIST ROAD.

Given that the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road is attempting to use the distortion of Marx's materialist view that "practice is the criterion of testing truth" to attack those comrades who have truthfully upheld Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the line of Chairman Mao, and furthermore if the clique thinks that its sinister plot is succeeding, then it is necessary for us to seek to use the general truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to test exactly what brand of "practice" the clique has managed to carry out during this period of counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. This is of profound significance to us in sweeping away confusion and resurrecting truth and exposing the true face of counter-revolutionaries.

Marxists have always held that the development of productive forces cannot be separated from the changing of the relations of production and the superstructure. Therefore, only through grasping revolution can production be promoted. When the relations of production are adjusted, it clears the way for the development of productive forces. Under conditions of socialism, when proletarian politics is in command, people's socialist initiative will be sufficien-

tly unleashed and brought into play. This will promote the rapid development of production to improve people's livelihood, especially raising spiritual life and morality under the socialist system. The counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road, however, is dizzied and blinded by capitalism's last glow before its death and the mirage of capitalism's temporary advances in economics and technology. Aiming to throw itself into capitalism's embrace it has instead fallen head first into capitalism's mud puddles. Now it crawls and tumbles in the mire, creating a sickening spectacle.

With a disgraceful "anti-left" posture, the capitalist readers openly cry out, "No need for class struggle, no socialist transformation of the superstructure and production relations." With the slogan "Four Modernisations" in hand, they raise the sinister flag of the theory of the productive forces, whipped up the evil wind of "white cat, black cat", boasted confirmation of their so-called "guiding principle" of emancipating the mind, using the brain, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one to look forward to the future," and formulated their "strategic decision" "to shift the focus of work to socialist modernization". But in reality, all they have done is to try any trick to steal away away a few broken twigs from the scrap heap of capitalism to use as the conductor's baton for their activities. Therefore one moment it is "readjustment", another moment it is "reform", one moment the call is to use capitalism as a teacher, and still another it is studying "the experience of Rumania and Yugoslavia". Like a chicken with its head cut off, the clique adopts one after another the policies of Bukharin opportunism, the reactionary revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky, and even the comprador bourgeoisie's nakedly anti-Party, counter-revolutionary political and economic activities of "looking toward money".

Lenin pointed out: "Capitalism must establish its often-broken balance through crisis". Ever since the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road began to carry out the theories of its counter-revolutionary line, it has brought China in full the inevitable economic crisis of capitalism. The clique itself has admitted its "blunders" and the country is on the brink of danger and is sick to the core. In the first 27 years of new China, through the implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of public ownership of the means of production, the contradiction between socialized production and private ownership of means of production was basically eliminated. The organic mutual links of various sectors of the national economy got strengthened as well as the overall balance of the proportion of social reproduction which can be completely planned and adjusted by the state. Within a few short years, all these were totally destroyed by the counter-revolutionary clique, and, as a result, the entire sphere of national economy has been one big mess. The rate of productivity is deteriorating, investment returns are taking a nosedive, and the amount of industrial raw material is insufficient to maintain the existing industrial enterprises. Means of livelihood are inadequate to maintain people's lives. The counter-revolutionary clique recklessly accumulates foreign debt, thereby subjecting the labouring masses of our country once again to brutal exploitation by imperialist and capitalist countries. Their disregard for objective economic laws, failure to conduct study and investigation, and callous and blind introduction of foreign equipment have not only created a huge deficit for the first time in our country's treasury, but also created serious monetary inflation and frightening skyrocketing of prices. This is plunging the masses into historically unprecedented depths of misery.

What stands out in the so-called "extension of decision-making powers of enterprises" and the carrying out of "economic integration" which spans different industries, regions and forms of ownership, is "profit in command". Based on the amount of profit, a new privileged class and a new exploiting class is being created out of management personnel in these enterprises. In running the so-called "special economic zones" and in the sphere of foreign trade, they push a series of reactionary policies which promote each out for himself, squeeze the masses of people in order to export more products, and allow individual enterprises to keep a percentage of the foreign exchange. This has helped the foreign bourgeoisie to open up bases of colonial exploitation in socialist China, and has also helped a handful of counter-revolutionary granddaddies, grandmas, gentlemen, ladies and misses to set up a paradise of special privileges and upstart rich where they can hoard, speculate, smuggle, exchange the Chinese people's means of livelihood for imported goods, wear fancy clothes and jewelry, drink and eat, and put on the airs of a stinking bourgeoisie.

In the vast countryside they have whipped up a hurricane force wind of restoring the old order. From "divide the land up to each household" to "calculating payment according to output", the People's Communes, which had been an effective form of organisation for the 300 million peasants in the march towards socialism, have been basically toppled. Under the guidance of the counter-revolutionaries line of going down the capitalist road, cadre who are wavering ideologically and lack a firm stand, along with the landlords, the rich, counter-revolutionaries, bad and rightist elements, all who certainly have not reformed, are conspiring together. Seduced by "power, position and reward" they are showing their true colours, plotting all kinds of schemes and uprooting the foundations of

socialism. On one hand a section of capitalist rich families are nurtured; on the other hand, the overwhelming majority of peasants are in fact stripped of their right of "to each according to his work" under the socialist system. No matter how hard they work, they cannot get the bare necessities of life, thereby creating a polarisation between the rich and the poor in the countryside.

The question of which class holds the reins of leadership determines the nature of ownership. The appearance of widening gaps in the system of distribution further reflects the reality of class exploitation. After the counter-revolutionary coup in October of 1976 inside the Party, the socialist system of public ownership transformed into ownership by the clique of capitalist roaders and counter-revolutionaries. Through the combination of power and the capital they ripped off, they secretly and openly plunder the public wealth of society without even batting an eye, squeezing the blood and sweat of the labouring people. Precisely because the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road has seized state power belonging to the proletariat, the constant harangues about the "production" and the "four modernisations" that they have "developed" all have become a material force oppressing and enslaving the proletariat and the labouring people.

V1. WHEN WOLVES ARE RUNNING RAMPANT WHY BOTHER "HU'LI?."

"You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right inside the Communist Party - those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." In making this brilliant analysis, Chairman Mao had in mind not only a general warning to

be vigilant, but especially targeted these unrepentent usurpers as a prime example. Precisely because those unrepentent usurpers are thieves afraid of being caught and understand that their reversal of correct verdict goes against the will of the people and a rightist group would not last long, they are forced to wear the mantle of "four persistences" (persist in socialism, dictatorship of the proletariat, Mao Tsetung Thought and the Party) in order to carry out their "four antis and two usurps" - anti-Party, anti-socialism, anti-dictatorship of the proletariat, anti-Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought; and carry out usurpation of the Party and state. This despicable performance was confusing to the people at first; but no matter how they tried to cover themselves up, through repeated self-exposures not only did their hairy tails become completely exposed, people began to see through to their reactionary essence!

The counter-revolutionary line of pursuing the capitalist road internally will inevitably degenerate externally into a shameful line of selling out and capitulating to all imperialism, revisionism and reaction. This is determined by their reactionary class nature. The current counter-revolutionary clique is exactly like this. In order to persist in opposing the whole Party, army and the people, and to hold onto power, they have committed innumerable crimes, kissed up to foreigners while suppressing the people, knowing no shame in conspiring against the people.

In the counter-revolutionary "Sixth Plenary" that unrepentent usurper knew his crimes were great, and so too was the wrath of the people, so he used the tactic of a "turtle sticking his head inside the shell". He dared not occupy the "first chair" but appointed himself the "third chair". Using the most devious

methods, he controlled the "first" held the "second" in check, used the "fourth" and conspired with the "fifth" in order to attack the "sixth" and "seventh". Through such behind-the-scenes backstabbing and struggle, he pursued his wild ambitions of a one-man dictatorship. But the usurper is full of fears and contradictions - the turtle head will not stay tucked in too long and will re-emerge before long. Our country and Party now face this tragic and unfortunate situation of "the wolves are running rampant, why bother with the foxes?". "You're the Zhongshan wolf, when you've achieved your way, you'll be even bolder". During the Cultural Revolution, the hopes we placed in repeated expressions of tolerance and kindness did not stop him from viciously biting back today. This was our big mistake, and it is also an unexpected catastrophe for our Party and state. It is a painful historical lesson we must bear in mind in order to not repeat it.

That unrepentant usurper on the capitalist road formed cliques in the Party for his own ends. In order to achieve his goal of rigging up "Deng & Co", he brandished the so-called "collective successors", "eliminating lifelong tenure of cadres", and selecting cadres according to the criteria of youth, knowledge and professionalism. He also plans to totally exterminate countless old, middle-aged and young cadres who, in the past half century and more, have gone through bitter struggle, shedding blood and sweat, and made contributions that can never be wiped out.

As everyone knows, a Marxist-Leninist party, particularly the Communist Party of China which was built up in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, is founded, developed, consolidated and is made powerful by professional revolutionaries. From the first day of joining the

Party, each one of us Communist Party members have made the commitment to persevere till death and contribute our entire life to the Party's revolutionary cause. Therefore, unless one is like the counter-revolutionary capitalist road elements who have chosen the path of becoming enemies of the Party, state and the people, a communist enthusiasm for serving the Party, state and people is a sacred duty and right that cannot be stripped away from them.

On the question of social division of labour, Marxists recognise that due to limitations in the level of productive forces and ideological consciousness, we cannot rid ourselves of the phenomenon of social division of labour for a certain period of time under conditions of socialism. But every feasible method must be applied in order to break down the limits faced by each individual in his or her overall development. Engels said on this question that: Through education, help them understand theory in order to grasp the overall situation, expand the field of vision, open up their thinking and gradually overcome and get rid of the one-sidedness that modern social division of labour imposes on everybody. Chairman Mao developed this further with his wise instruction: In order to create the conditions for overcoming the limitations arising out of the social division of labour in the socialist period, we must choose the best elements from the workers, peasants and soldiers to participate in the leadership of the Party and state, as well as strengthen demands on cadres to study and grasp the policies in an overall way. From Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung's wise instructions, it is not hard to see that selecting cadres for advancement definitely cannot be restricted by the criteria of "youthfulness". There are also no ready-made "knowledgeable" people ready to be picked up. The so-called "professionalization" will only further widen

the scope of the social division of labour. Carrying out "experts in charge of a factory" and other such garbage is to refute the Party's leadership and call for a leadership by Deng & Co, to call for leadership by the counter-revolutionary bunch of "collective successors" hand-picked by that usurper.

That unrepentant usurper who persists in the capitalist road and who is going full steam in his activities against the Party, revolution and the people, once boasted he did not fear being knocked down for a third time. But actually this historical capitulator is scared to death of the force of revolution and the strength of the people. Within China, he moves about very guardedly in order to protect his dog life. He's even learned well the true spirit of that book "How to be Thick-skinned and Sinister at Heart" (A book popular in the Kuomintang) and in fact has become quite good at it. It does not bother him at all to suck people's blood and sweat, and pour it toward the opposite shores of the Pacific. He kneels before U.S. imperialism, especially that bunch of ultra-reactionary bigshots on Wall Street, and kowtows like crazy; he also pays sky-high prices to buy off America's political garbage and cultural thugs, cooking up all sorts of schemes and unfolding a disgusting display of kissing up to those inside and outside the U.S. government. That usurper wants his imperialist masters to see that in the midst of the continuing fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and the two lines, he is not only the commander of the forces "opposing Mao" and "belittling Mao", but furthermore that his counter-revolutionary troupe is the only one that is really willing to embrace U.S. imperialism wholeheartedly and "improve" relations with America. This lobbying effort only emphasises the important point that the counter-revolutionary, gangster-led clique is facing an extremely unfavourable situation, and that there exists a constant possibility that he will be overthrown.

It's because of such a situation that he must plead with the U.S. to show some compassion and prop him up, so that he will not be toppled and leave the U.S. with one less running dog on the leash. In human history, there will always be the despicable few who will stoop to this kind of prostitution, selling out a country for a few bones of glory. But one would be hard-pressed to find another that is as sinister, thick-skinned, lowly and ugly as that usurper. He does not even see his own pitiful position, but instead thinks he is a "real find" to U.S. imperialists!

That such a renegade, hidden traitor, scab and sell-out has appeared within our Party and state makes for the darkest page in the 60-year history of our Party and the 32-year history of our country. But for the members of the whole Party, the commanders and fighters of the entire army and the people of various nationalities of the whole country, this stormy period can be the starting point for our awakening and revitalization. Towards this end, we solemnly make this call:

All revolutionary comrades loyal to Marxism-Leninism, loyal to Mao Tsetung Thought must unite even more firmly under the united command of the Marxist-leninist Party Centre and raise the level of leadership, link up with the broad masses and wage an unbending, vigilant and resolute struggle against the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road.

The troops of the People's Liberation Army, the militia, the people's police and revolutionary soldiers on active duty, demobilized and retired, must remember the great teaching of Chairman Mao to be good fighters for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to be good students carrying out Chairman Mao's thought. We need to promote the spirit of the Revolutionary War

period, especially the spirit of "three supports, two militaries" (1) of the Cultural Revolution period. We must persevere in the struggle to the end against all reactionary forces and capitalist-roaders, freaks and demons. We must make certain to suppress these forces and never allow them to bring their plot to betray Chairman Mao, against the Party and revolution, to completion.

Young friends and Communist Youth League members fighting in the three big revolutionary movements and in the battle fronts in industry and agriculture; we must turn our hearts toward the morning sun and welcome tests. We must be determined to be standard-bearers in building socialism, not running dogs of the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road. We must strive to bring glory to Chairman Mao, Comrade Chiang Ching, Comrade Chang Chun-chiao and numerous revolutionary martyrs, not be fooled and seduced by the counter-revolutionary capitalist roader clique and end up as mere scraps on the ground along the big, bright road towards socialism.

As for all those comrades whose stand is not very firm, whose understanding is not very clear, and who stood on the wrong side in the past, whether they are at this time still forced to remain within the counter-revolutionary clique to act as mere props, or have already stumbled and been kicked out to be used as teachers by negative example; they need only to recognise these mistakes and change, to recognise the real enemy. We still welcome them to return to the big family of Marxist-Leninists, throw away their past baggage, wash off the dirt and put on battle fatigues again, and join us to wipe out the traitors and sell-outs.

People of the whole country. We must recognise that only a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party can save China. Unless the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road is destroyed, the suffering of the Chinese people will know no end. Marx said "It is best to compare the truth to a flint. The harder it is hit, the more brilliant are the sparks that will fly from it". He also said, "Historical activity belongs to the masses. As this historical mission deepens, the troops from among the masses will surely expand." Today, the truth is in the hands of those who persevere in Marxism-Leninism. The broad masses have also stood on the side of the proletarian revolutionary movement. Therefore, if only we persevere in the struggle to the end, the counter-revolutionary clique rigged up by a handful of wolves, huli, swine and mad dogs must inevitably meet a most shameful and painful fate of defeat!

Central Committee
Communist Party (Marxist-
Leninist) of China. August
1, 1981.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Support leftists, workers and peasants; military control and military training.

STOCKPORT COMMUNIST GROUP: A Self – criticism

The Stockport Communist Group (SCG) has very recently overthrown the liquidationist and sectarian line on party building which had dominated that organisation since its foundation. It has begun a rectification campaign against that line and this article is part of the rectification. The aim of this article is that Marxist Leninists in particular and revolutionary minded people in general should learn from our errors as we have recognised them and begun to overcome them in the course of struggle. The article is a contribution to the present attempts of the Nottingham Communist Group (NCG) and the SCG to win over all who can be won for the task of rebuilding the Communist Movement by means of joint work in a Programme Commission.

In the recent joint call to "Build the Party!" the NCG and the SCG point to the glaring contradiction between the crisis of imperialism, which is objectively favourable to revolution, and the subjective state of the communist movement - it is dangerously close to extinction - which is endangering revolution. Both organisations emphasize that it is the task of rebuilding the communist movement which must be given priority.

Given that imperialist Britain is a class society it is not surprising that our attempts to re-build the communist movement face ideological and political attacks from within our own ranks. The lines of attack can usefully be divided into two. On the one hand the policies put forward by the communists to lead

the working class and people have come under attack from within the communist movement - i.e. the revolutionary proposals for such policies have confronted revisionist proposals. Clearly if the revisionist policies prevail the movement will change and become a revisionist movement. It will then not lead to a Communist Party and to revolution but to a revisionist party in support of the British imperialists. The new international centre of such revisionist policies like the Theory of the Three Worlds is the revisionist Teng/Hua clique in Peking. On the other hand the attempts to re-build the communist movement also face attacks in the form of opportunist ideas about party building itself.

To summarize: the development of the Marxist Leninist Movement has been held back both by revisionist contents - i.e. what political line we put forward to the working class and people - and by opportunist methods of party building - i.e. how we build the party. The Stockport

Communist Group has succumbed to these revisionist attacks on both scores. Self criticism on some aspects of our revisionist political line has been made in our recent document on China - "China: Mao and the 'Gang of Four' against the Capitalist Roaders". The present article concentrates on the other aspect of our opportunism - our previously incorrect line on how to re-build the Communist Party.

IDEOLOGICAL ERRORS: EMPIRICISM, METAPHYSICS, SPONTANEISM

Historically the first fundamental error we made regarding party building was to underestimate it and deny its importance.

After splitting from the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain (RCLB) we published a document entitled "Exposure and Defeat of the RCLB's Social Chauvinism is a Major Task in

Party Building".

In the section of that document entitled "The Party Building Line of the RCLB" we justifiably accused the RCLB of economism and sectarianism. However particularly in our criticism of their sectarianism, correct ideas were mixed up with incorrect and liquidationist ideas. Our statement that

"It is a hallmark of the RCLB's sectarianism that we have to consider their "party building line" as a thing in itself"

amounts to a denial of the need for a clear cut plan of how to build the party. The implication of our disparaging inverted commas around "party building line" is that we should merely pursue correct political lines on all specific issues that arise in class struggle and the party will somehow or other build itself. We were scornful of the very idea of going to the trouble of working out a line on party building, and we did not recognise it as a valid topic of investigation.

From the very beginning therefore of the SCG there was, mixed up with our strong rejection of social chauvinism and our firm commitment to the revolutionary line of smashing the imperialist state apparatus, a line which refused to take party building seriously. This was a line which refused to discuss party building as such. This line manifested itself in a willingness to discuss any particular issue of class struggle but not to discuss our organization's general contribution to the development of class struggle to revolution, i.e. our contribution to party building. This line can be characterized descriptively as myopic.

This liquidationist attitude manifests itself even more clearly where we criticized the

RCLB's statement

"Whether or not to form a single leading centre is a major question for the British Marxist Leninist movement to-day".

We countered the RCLB's statement (which we now consider to be correct) with this:

"We reply; whether or not to strengthen the state or smash it is a major question: whether to struggle for Britain to leave NATO or stay in it is a major question".

At this point in our text we were counterposing uniting the Marxist Leninists against political line. We were saying that we should discuss NATO instead of uniting the Marxist Leninists. We correctly wrote that "the RCL debunks politics and tries to divert party building from questions of line" but what we were doing in that document and ever since was precisely the opposite error: we were trying to divorce questions of line from party building. And in that publication we documented our intention of concentrating only on questions of line (in the sense of specific policies to lead particular aspects of class struggle) and of boycotting the very topic "party building".

This attitude to party building was a manifestation of empiricism. We were mesmerized by each specific question of political line and did not subordinate each partial question to the whole. We did not grasp that a correct political line on some specific issues is of no use to the proletariat if it is not subordinated to building the party. We did not grasp that a correct political line on a particular issue is not in its capacity as a political line already a material force for revolution. Lines have to be turned into material forces. And the process which will enable correct political lines to become material forces is party buil-

ding. It is an objective fact - whether we like it or not - that there is no task at present more important to the British proletariat than party building. And it is an objective fact that inasmuch as the SCG has diverted its energies to other things, it has been wasting its time as far as the interests of the proletariat are concerned.

Our empiricist preoccupation with the specific was a particular form of that general ideological error - metaphysics. Our organisation has from the beginning attached great importance to the fact that it is the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line which decides everything. But we metaphysically misinterpreted this statement to mean: it is enough if we have a correct political line on a particular aspect of class struggle. This misinterpretation meant that we treated each aspect of class struggle individually and separately and could not relate it to the whole process of preparing for revolution, which at present means party building. This left us with lots of static, isolated lines and without a moving strategy of intervention to promote party building and revolution. We saw these lines as if they lived in a vacuum. We were mesmerized by them and did not relate them to the fact that we, the SCG, held these lines, that other Marxist Leninists did not share these lines and that the SCG on its own could not possibly take these lines to the whole working class movement. We thought that the mere fact that these lines were in our opinion correct was enough. The attitude of some people outside our organisation who discussed our publications with us is significant in this context. They often agreed with our lines on this and that question, but they were utterly dissatisfied with and unmotivated by our perspective as a whole. We may on occasions have done potentially useful work on certain issues in isolation but

we had no grasp of our role and our intervention into the whole moving process.

POLITICAL ERRORS: LIQUIDATIONISM AND CIRCLE MENTALITY

The next document we published was entitled "The Way Forward in Re-Building the Communist Party" and the basic stance we took in it was that the SCG should get on with building the party self-reliantly! This line was in fact liquidationist because it ignored the real tasks of party building, and it stank to high heaven of self opiniated and arrogant circle mentality.

In that publication we documented our intention of in effect boycotting all attempts to unite the Marxist Leninists or to re-build the communist movement. We intended instead to go to the masses independently. We regarded party building as a process between the SCG and the working class and people of Britain. In this spirit at the end of the document we cast off our former name "Communist Unity" with an explanation which now seems ironic, namely that the name "smacked of sectarianism"! In fact the opposite was true: our reasons for repudiating that name were sectarian and isolationist whereas that name really smacked of taking the concrete task of party building seriously, namely the task of uniting the communists.

We justified our decision to go it alone with the statements that

"there is at present no principled basis for unity in the ML movement, or for putting the struggle to achieve such unity foremost" and

"the only unity presently on offer is unity with the mouthpiece of British imperialism in the RCLB".

These statements are obviously not true. In particular the NCG and the Association of Communist workers long ago took up the struggle against the social chauvinism and revisionism of the RCLB. Behind such statements lies nothing but small group mentality. We did not grasp that the unity of all Marxist Leninists on the basis of one revolutionary programme is much more important than our tiny, isolated approaches to the working class movement. We were so tied up with ourselves that we could not see that it would be worth sacrificing some of our local activities if this enabled us to contribute to the unity of the Marxist Leninists who could take scientific socialism to the working class movement on a national scale.

MORE IDEOLOGICAL ERRORS: DOGMATISM AND IDEALISM

After publishing our party building document we added a self critical preface to it which made the correct point that the principal contradiction in party building is between Marxism Leninism and revisionism. This did not however in any way reverse the liquidationist line of the document.

The main point made in the original introduction to the document was that the task of the moment is to fuse scientific socialism and the working class movement. This was a dogmatic transference of a principally correct statement to the wrong situation. We had correctly grasped the essence of party building. But we did not grasp that each fundamental contradiction goes through various phases of development, and that to grasp the essence alone is not enough. To justify our dogmatism we conjured up a false picture of the present situation, writing:

"we also have a Marxist Leninist movement which understands to varying degrees the necessity for socialist revolution and the transition to communism. The main task of the communists at

present therefore is to unite scientific socialism (which they are the bearers of) and the working class movement: and only this process can further the political development and the political organization of the working class."

The above quoted description of the ML movement does not correspond with reality. The NCG analysed the state of the ML movement much more accurately when they wrote that "as a conscious, organized revolutionary movement Marxism Leninism in Britain is in real danger of extinction." And the conclusion they correctly came to was that at present the ML movement in Britain needs re-building and that that is the process we must concentrate on now in order to further the political development and organization of the working class. Our argument at this point was that the ML movement was doing very well thank you so we could happily concentrate on taking scientific socialism to the workers, i.e. we used complacency about the state of the ML movement to justify ignoring it. However in our self criticism we made a complete volte-face. There we wrote:

"From the point of view of party building, the present Marxist Leninist movement is, to put it bluntly, a bad job" and

"Frankly....there is at present no principled basis for uniting the ML movement, or for putting the struggle to achieve such unity foremost".

In other words we had moved from complacency about the ML movement to writing it off. In both cases we retained the position that we would not concentrate on struggling to unite the Marxist Leninists.

Behind this refusal to come to terms with the real ML movement lay dogmatism and idealism.

We were dogmatic in that we wanted to take scientific socialism to the workers immediately, without investigating the conditions that would enable this to be done effectively. We were idealist in that we ignored the real ML movement which, when united around a revolutionary programme, would be the organized bearer of scientific socialism on a national scale to the working class movement. It was also quite idealist of us to think that our tiny, local organization was capable of building the party on its own. Idealism blinded us to the fact that "Inevitably, the members of small, isolated local groups tend to develop a common position on many matters, very often incorrect and inadequate positions, but because of their isolation from other comrades with different experiences and knowledge, they are limited in their ability to overcome these errors and develop further" (as the NCG and SCG have written in their Call to "Build the Party").

Our idealist world outlook undermined any insight we sometimes showed into the need to direct our attention towards the ML movement. On the one hand we wrote very correctly:

"It is a question of struggle against opportunist currents for a revolutionary programme. This struggle must set the ML movement in motion and must result in the formulation of the revolutionary programme."

In the next breath we condemn "those who want to club together, to pool resources...to write the programme" and dismiss the idea of a commission as "premature"! The statement about setting the ML movement in motion is reduced to a pious genuflection to the idea of party building if we immediately reject the means which would bring this motion about. All along we obviously cared more about scientific socialism than scientific socialists, but without people

to develop and propagate it there can be no scientific socialism. We did not consider how to raise the level of the scientific socialists, i.e. the MLs so that there could come about one national organized body of people to propagate scientific socialism and take it to the masses. We could not be bothered with that painstaking but necessary work. This lack of consideration about how this body would come about is a manifestation of idealism.

MORE EMPIRICISM

In the self critical preface to our party building document we correctly stated that the key link in party building at present is the struggle against revisionism for the programme. However our empiricist world outlook managed to undermine even the clarity reflected in that statement. Instead of organizing the struggle of the revolutionaries against revisionism for the programme we introduced an empiricist method of coming about a programme. We described this method as follows:

"The main task which we intend to address ourselves to ... is to concentrate self-reliantly on solving theoretically and practically those questions posed by the objective class struggle and to take the political solutions to these problems to the masses and thereby undertake the work of furthering the political development and political organization of the working class. This task can only be accomplished if each communist circle consciously fights against revisionism in its own ranks with the objective of formulating programmatic demands for the practical class struggle".

Here we have obviously renounced the systematic struggle for the programme and declare instead that we will deal with programmatic questions as they turn up in real class struggle! This is a spontaneist attitude to the programme,

and it is rubbish! If we do not systematically discuss what a programme is, what it must contain etc. then how will we even recognise which issues of class struggle are actually of a programmatic nature?

At another point in the same document we moved yet further away from the systematic struggle for the programme. We actually contradicted our definition of the main task - the struggle against revisionism for the programme - and blithely stated instead that at present the main thing is "to actually get on with the task of propagating and criticising political lines". This illustrates how important it is to fight incorrect ideological lines. Although we had formally grasped the importance of the struggle against revisionism for the programme, our empiricism led us to a position which in the final analysis amounted to spontaneously reacting to daily political events.

SUMMARY

The crux of this self critical document is that the SCG has not subordinated its activities to the task of re-building the Communist Party in Britain. This "error" is severe. In fact the import of this "error" is that it negates the usefulness of any progress we may have made on questions of political line.

In fact the SCG has spent very little of its time on contributing to re-building the CP in this country. What contributions it has made have been half hearted, have not been followed up and have been treated as side-issues or as the activities of individual comrades and not as a conscious effort on the part of the organisation. We have for example published a "Programmatic Statement", but this happened more or less by chance, and we left it to other Marxist Leninists to "take it or leave it!"

It is of course not the case that we openly declared our intention of boycotting party building. On the contrary, subjectively we believed we were contributing to party building. But objectively our attitude to party building was liquidationist. This liquidationist attitude, which reigned until recently in our organisation, was the result of the victory of that line over the revolutionary line.

In the course of struggle the liquidationist line in the SCG has been toppled and the following resolution marks our attempts to defeat this line:

RESOLUTION

" Our present line on party-building is left-opportunist. We have spuriously claimed to be struggling to win the leadership of the masses and to be concentrating on their interests. But because we have ignored the present stage of development of party-building - that of re-building the communist movement - and have attempted to jump straight to a stage of party-building characterized by a re-built communist movement struggling to win the leadership of the working class movement, we have liquidated the task of party-building and thus not served the real interests of the masses. The ideological foundation of these errors was idealism and metaphysics, dogmatism and circle mentality. The intellectual class background of our membership was a major contributory factor to these errors.

We repudiate our past line and affirm the following: The key task in party building now is to organise the systematic struggle in the Marxist-Leninist movement for the programme. The result of this struggle must be a clear split between the Marxist Leninists re-organized into one new organization on the basis of the programme for the revolution in

Britain on the one hand and the revisionists and social chauvinists on the other. The organizational basis of this struggle is a programme commission.

Whilst putting to the fore the struggle to rebuild the communist movement, we must take part to the best of our ability in the objective class struggle. "(Adopted 8.6.1981).

BOOK REVIEW

Imperialism and revolution in Uganda

IMPERIALISM AND REVOLUTION IN UGANDA. D. Wadada Nabudere. Onyx Press; London 1980.

This book is a detailed account of imperialist domination of Uganda and the struggle of the Ugandan people to overthrow imperialism written by a Ugandan Marxist-Leninist, whose other works include The Political Economy of Imperialism and Essays on the theory and practise of imperialism. It should be of more than passing interest to those in Britain who are fighting British imperialism, because as Nabudere shows throughout his book, it is British imperialism which has been responsible for the sufferings of the Ugandan people in the past and it is British imperialism which is the immediate principal enemy of the Ugandan people today.

The opening chapters describe and analyse the various societies in Uganda before the impact of imperialist intervention which brought Uganda under the British sphere of interest in the late nineteenth century. The author then examines the ways in which the colonial state transformed Uganda into a colonial economy whose sole purpose was to serve the needs of British monopoly firms and the British state. While there was resistance to imperialism in the period before 1940, this was unsuccessful because it sought to return to the past. In the 1920's for example, there was widespread peasant agitation against the dispossession of clan lands by a few members of the intermediary oligarchy, but as Nabudere notes, the essence of this protest was counterrevolutionary in that it was a protest against the violation of

old communal rights. The anti-colonial struggle for independence which emerged in the period after 1940 was spearheaded by the small Ugandan proletariat in alliance with the peasantry under the leadership of the Bataka movement. It was in response to the general strike of 1945 and the peasant uprisings of 1949, that the colonial state embarked on a strategy of trying to contain the anti-colonial struggle by splitting the forces struggling for independence. After carrying out trade union reforms and allowing political parties to openly operate, British imperialism began to isolate and address the interests of the more articulate and advanced elements of the petty bourgeoisie. This policy of reform began to pay off as a new intermediary middle class emerged and consolidated its hold over the nationalist movement.

In the second part of the book Nabudere shows how after independence, Uganda became a neo-colonial state in the period of multilateral imperialism under US hegemony which was established after 1945. In the chapters on the neo-colonial economy dealing with agriculture, industry, commerce and finance, Nabudere supports his argument that the development of a 'national capital' and 'national industry' is impossible while imperialism exploits the workers and peasants and dominates the Ugandan bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. During the two plan periods after independence in 1961, neo-colonial economic policy, despite efforts to the contrary, merely served to consolidate the hold of the imperialist monopolies over Uganda's production and resources. In the field of finance for example, the rearrangement of the banking institutions only helped the monopolies which invested in Uganda to have local capital resources made available, since by requiring the monopolies to register locally in order to become 'national' companies, they now claimed the use of the local bank resources as nationals. Nabud-

ere concludes that the fundamental aim of the banks, the credit system, state capital and government policy can be characterised as stimulating the inflow of capital to increase reserves, from which the outflow of capital from Uganda could be financed!

In his discussion of the politics of neo-colonialism during the period of civilian dictatorship under Obote, Nabudere begins by explaining the material basis for the petty bourgeois politics which dominated Uganda in this period. Because monopoly capital monopolised all major avenues of investment, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, not having sufficient capital of their own, became engaged in a competitive scramble for credit which came in the form of 'aid', 'assistance' and other forms of capital export by the monopolies as well as from the neo-colonial state in subsidies and other forms of credit. Since credit was more easily assured to a man and his supporters if he was near a position of political power, the struggle for credit necessary for the expansion of the material base assumed the form of struggle for 'political power'. In the absence of anti-imperialist politics, 'anti-people politics' - that is politics which brought to the fore and absolutised contradictions among the people - became the basis on which the various factions of the petty bourgeoisie vied with one another for agency. In its own effort to survive the broadening crisis which imperialism faced during the period 1962-71, these ethnic, religious, racial and intra-bourgeois class contradictions were played on by imperialism in order to divide the people. On this basis Nabudere describes the rivalry between the two main political parties, the UPC and the KY, and the infighting within the UPC which resulted in the right dominating the left and which prepared the way for the fascist military dictatorship under Amin.

Amin's role in defeating the attempted coup in 1966 to oust Obote drew him support from Obote's petty bourgeois opponents outside the party as well as from the monopolists, particularly the US and UK monopolists who were opposed to Obote's 'move to the left' in 1970. Also, Israel was a force within the inter-imperialist rivalries that added fuel to the fire of Uganda's crisis. This proved to be fatal for the Obote regime since the Israeli's were moving towards Amin. Nabudere makes it clear that the 1971 coup was carried out in the interest of the US imperialist bloc which could no longer dominate Uganda with a facade of 'democracy', and in so doing he dismisses the efforts at mystifying the causes of the coup carried out by bourgeois social scientists in the imperialist countries and some African commentators. The mechanisms of British imperialist control in Uganda were clearly revealed following the expulsion of the Ugandan Asians in 1972, for as soon as the businesses were closed and the Asians left, the monopoly banks immediately announced that all the properties had all along belonged to them and not the Asians!

Nabudere has relatively little to say on the Soviet Unions involvement in Uganda and he does not condemn the Soviet Union as 'social Imperialist'. His analysis shows that it was still the monopolies of the western imperialist countries which dominated Uganda during the Amin regime and he exposes the British governments direct military assistance to the Ugandan military regime. Nabudere is also very critical of the attempts by Obote and others to overthrow Amin, on the grounds that they resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Ugandans and played into the hands of imperialism. However, Nabudere does not extend this criticism to the actions of the Tanzanians which finally brought down Amin, despite the widely held view that the Tanzanian invasion was instigated by the US, and despite the authors view that it

was Nyrere who supported the coup of May 1980 which restored Obotes' dictatorial rule and which resulted in the author seeking exile in Kenya. While we consider that the rivalry of the two super-powers for domination in Uganda and the surrounding region could have been more fully exposed and explained, we welcome the authors efforts to reconstitute the Uganda National Liberation Front and the news that the armed struggle for the new democratic revolution in Uganda has begun.

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