

# Capitalism's General Crisis and the Gleam of Socialism — Build the United Front Against War and Austerity!

Resolutions of the 58<sup>th</sup>  
Congress of the  
Communist Party

14 - 16 November 2025  
Wortley Hall, Sheffield



[communistparty.org.uk](http://communistparty.org.uk)

**The aim of the Communist Party is to achieve a socialist Britain in which the means of production, distribution and exchange will be socially owned and utilised in a planned way for the benefit of all.**

**This necessitates a revolutionary transformation of society, ending the existing capitalist system of exploitation and replacing it with a socialist society in which each will contribute according to ability and receive according to work done.**

**Socialist society creates the conditions for the advance to a fully communist form of society in which each will receive according to need.**

**Only a socialist Britain co-operating with all other peoples of the world in close, friendly, free and equal association will be able to develop and plan the use of all Britain's material, productive and scientific resources, where every citizen will be guaranteed security, the right to work and leisure, a steadily rising standard of living, full democratic rights, and equal opportunity to enjoy a full and happy life.**

**The Communist Party is guided by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and its members are united in working for the achievement of socialism. Believing that socialism can be attained only by the will and action of the majority of the people, led by the working class.**

## **Article 2 Aims and Constitution of the Communist Party**



# Capitalism's general crisis and the gleam of socialism

## Build the united front against war and austerity!

**Resolutions of the 58th Congress of the Communist Party  
14 - 16 November 2025 Wortley Hall, Sheffield**

# Foreword

As delegates met for the Communist Party of Britain's 58th Congress in November 2025, world imperialism, the system of US hegemony over our planet and its peoples, exhibited all the signs of profound economic, military and ecological crisis.

This crisis took the immediate form of a breakdown of the rules and institutions of world capitalist trade and investment, constructed by the United States in the interests of US monopoly capitalism over the previous half century. The corollary to the disruption of US-led capitalist globalisation is revanchist US military aggression, either directly through its bombing of Iran and Yemen, or via its state proxies and mercenaries in Ukraine, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and elsewhere.

Britain stands at the apex of this emerging crisis in the capitalist world order. As US imperialism's most obsequious ally and with a financial sector dominated by US banking and commercial interests, British monopoly capitalism arguably constitutes the weakest link in the chain of US (and therefore of world) imperialism.

As events of the past decade have shown, Britain's ruling class cannot rule in the old way. The popular vote to leave the European Union in 2016 presaged a collapse of their political authority with six prime ministers (soon to be seven) in Britain in less than 10 years. By contrast, our trade unions the mass organisations of the working class in Britain are intact and under increasing pressure from workers to resist the Labour government's cuts to jobs, wages and public services.

In 2022, the Communist Party led the call for a united front of the working class to defeat attacks of employers and the Conservative government in Britain. The class character of the current historical moment is a vindication for Britain's communists who insisted on class analysis as central to political action.

Today's Communist Party is a guide and a reference point on the nature of the capitalist system and the necessity for revolutionary change. As Lenin wrote in 1902, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement". The Communist Party applies the lessons of scientific Marxism-Leninism, the highest theory, to the prevailing conditions of our time. Our 58th Congress Resolutions set out how we will build a united front against war and austerity.

Build the Communist Party,  
the Marxist party of Britain's labour movement!

Unite the working-class  
against racism, sexism and imperialism!

For socialist revolution  
against capitalist barbarism!

**Alex Gordon**  
General Secretary,  
Communist Party  
February 2026

# General Secretary's address to the 58th congress

## Robert Griffiths

15 November 2025

Comrades and Friends,

The two years since our 57th Party Congress have seen events and developments that could determine the shape of the future for two decades and more.

In July 2024, Keir Starmer was propelled into Ten Downing Street to lead a Labour government with one of the biggest majority of MPs in British history — and one of the smallest shares of the popular vote of any majority government.

I want to highlight six critical events and developments since then that could determine the direction of our society.

Firstly, the election of Donald Trump and the Republican Party to office on November 5, 2024. On that same day in 1605, Guy Fawkes and his confederates tried to blow up the Westminster parliament. Four centuries later, President Trump and his rabid regime are taking a wrecking ball to the US Constitution and its Bill of Rights, to international agreements on human rights, arms control, trade and — as though symbolically — even to the White House itself.

The United States is dismantling the old world order and marginalising its institutions and treaties — the United Nations, UNESCO, the World Trade Organisation, the Paris Climate Accords — by economic and military brute force. The constraints placed upon rampant Western imperialism by the Soviet Union and the socialist states of eastern Europe no longer exist. Even the pretence of "military intervention with a human face", deployed by Tony Blair, Clinton and Bush, has been discarded.

Second, the perpetration of genocide in Gaza, live-streamed into our homes despite Israeli

efforts to assassinate Palestinian journalists and prevent all media access to the scenes of crime. We cannot see the thousands of dead civilians lying beneath the rubble, but we can see the rubble itself, and the corpses of those scores of thousands of defenceless Palestinian women, children and men destroyed by the Israeli mass murder machine.

Third, militarism has been revived to spread like a cancer through the US, Britain and the European Union (with the notable exceptions of the Irish Republic and — until recently — Spain). Driven by Trump and NATO, countries are ramping up their military spending, much of it to the profit of Trump's backers in the US military-industrial complex.

Meanwhile politicians, mass media, think-tanks and institutes whip up war-fever, aimed not only at Russia but ultimately at China. They claim to be defending so-called "Western values", democracy and human rights.

Tell that to Palestinian victims of Israeli genocide! The same champions of Western imperialism have long failed the test of upholding human rights in Africa. The current genocide in Sudan is the product of Western and Middle East intervention to supply local anti-democratic and sectarian forces with arms and finance in order to promote their own economic, geo-political or ostensibly religious interests.

We salute the Communists and their allies in Sudan who continue their courageous fight for human and democratic rights, for unity and for popular sovereignty! The rash of Western military bases across the central belt of Africa — from French and US bases in Senegal, Burkina Faso, Niger and Gabon in the west to mostly American bases in Congo, Uganda and Kenya in the east — are not there by accident or tradition. They are there to challenge China in the competition for vital mineral resources and to restrict South Africa's progress as a regional power.

Where Chinese transnational corporations — most of them in public ownership by the way — build roads, railways, schools and clinics in developing countries, the Western powers build military bases.

Where developing countries produce their own governments determined to pursue their own path of people-centred development, US-led imperialism organises trade embargoes, subversion, sabotage and military coups.

Just two days ago, US Secretary of War Pete Hegseth announced the start of “Operation Southern Spear”, a major escalation of military action to remove what he and Trump call “narcoterrorism” from the Western Hemisphere, which — Hegseth informs us — is in fact “America’s neighbourhood”.

It used to be called “America’s back-yard” and comprises North, Central and South America and the Caribbean, including the Canada, Greenland and the Panama Canal — all territories Trump has threatened to annex.

But we should be under no misapprehension about what the so-called “war on narcoterrorism” is really about. It’s much more than the illegal obliteration of small fishing vessels off the coasts of Venezuela, Colombia or Nicaragua.

The real aim of Operation Southern Spear is the overthrow of anti-imperialist governments in Latin America, beginning with President Maduro’s government in oil-rich Venezuela, no doubt cheered on by Maria Machado, this year’s war-mongering winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Comrades and friends, Let me make one thing clear. The Communist Party of Britain condemns the attempts to deprive the Venezuelan Communist Party of its legal identity, assets and its rights as an electoral party. We have expressed our solidarity with the Venezuelan Communists in words and actions.

But we also recognise the place of the Maduro government as an ally of Cuba, oil-rich Brazil, Chile

and other left and progressive governments in the struggle against US domination, and for human dignity, self-determination and social justice.

That’s why we say: Viva Cuba! Viva Venezuela! Fourth, with the “new imperialism” of the post-Soviet “New World Order” — remember that? — has gone not only a resurgence of militarism in place of the short-lived “peace dividend”. Drawing upon the legacy of older imperialisms, we are witnessing also the resurgence of racism and national chauvinism in societies built not only on labour exploitation at home, but also on the slave trade, slavery and colonial plunder: Britain, France, the United States, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Italy ... I could go on.

In these countries, parties of the “New Right”, the far right and the self-styled “postFascist” right are on the march, their ranks swollen in Europe by millions of working-class people who see no hope of a better life in the promises of professional politicians.

In particular, the promises of the old social-democratic and labour parties have turned to ashes in the mouth as these parties have embraced neoliberal policies of austerity, privatisation, deregulation and marketisation.

But instead of attacking these policies at their source — capitalism and its desperation to reverse the long-term decline in the corporate rate of profit since the early 1950s — millions of electors have turned to the far right, influenced by anti-socialist political and media interests to blame immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees for low wages, poor housing, rising crime and shrinking social services.

The sixth feature to highlight is the inability or refusal of the major capitalist powers and the giant corporate polluters to accelerate — or even maintain — the drive to curb carbon and other greenhouse gas emissions.

Much of the cost of developing green energy alternatives has been dumped on workingclass

customers and consumers, as the conservative, New Right and far-right parties remind them. Forgotten is the motivation for this very approach: namely, the desire to protect company profits instead of making the polluters pay.

Added to this is the well-funded propaganda campaign to deny the reality of global warming and its specific effects today and tomorrow, beginning with the dire impact of climate change and weather chaos on some of the world's poorest and most defenceless communities.

So why is all this happening now: the turn towards the far right in major capitalist countries, the tariff wars, the resource wars, the militarism, the resurgence of racism, the failure to combat climate change? The Communist Party's main congress resolution explains how these are all aspects of capitalism's General Crisis. They arise from the need of monopoly capital and its state power to halt and reverse the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. This can be done in various ways, but their effects are temporary and will in time restore that tendency with a vengeance, until a calamitous war or a deep economic depression destroys capital and labour values on a massive scale.

But such outcomes are not inevitable. The forces exist, with the working-class and labour movement at their core, that can be organised, mobilised and politicised to resist and fight back. And not only that, but they could — armed with a strategy, a programme, a clear line of march — open the road to the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of a new, socialist society.

Here in Britain, in today's conditions as they actually are and free from wishful thinking, we need to understand at least the following realities — and help win millions more people to that same understanding: Firstly, this current Labour government has forfeited any right to expect the loyalty or support of the working class and progressive-minded people. It has betrayed those

who voted for it 16 months ago. Not because this is a weak or cowardly government, but because it is politically and ideologically committed to the interests of big business and the City of London, to the NATO alliance of imperialist powers led by the USA (and whoever is its president), to massive conventional and nuclear rearmament.

These come first for the Labour leadership, and this explains why we have seen the Labour government's partial withdrawal of the Winter Fuel Allowance for pensioners; the refusal to lift the two-child benefit cap; the attack on disability claimants; the deep cut to overseas development aid; the reliance on "military Keynesianism" to boost industry (shovelling yet more public money into Britain's corrupt and wasteful military-industrial complex); the capitulation to US demands to buy US weapons and participate militarily in Israel's war of extermination; and its surrender to right-wing media and Reform UK demands to demonise, exclude and deport refugees.

How can we ask anybody to support such a grotesque parody of a Labour government? Can the Labour Party be reclaimed, even if only as a social-democratic party? The immediate prospects are remote, although we should never say "never" for as long as the trade union link survives. But any cosmetic change of government policy now or in Chancellor Reeves' forthcoming Budget cannot be regarded as anything other than sham opportunism.

That does not mean that we stop supporting those Labour MPs and candidates who share many of our own party's aspirations and policies.

What about the Green Party under its new leader Zack Polanski? One new star does not a constellation make. His own party has not fought to defend the sex-based identity, status, rights and separate facilities for women. Its turn to NATO undermines its support for unilateral British and multilateral nuclear disarmament, and its support

for re-entry to the EU means support for “free market” big business capitalism and for the EU’s extensive militarisation in tandem with NATO.

Again, there may still be dissident Green candidates that would strengthen the voice of the left in the Scottish, Welsh or Westminster parliaments.

What of the new left party, whose name cannot yet be spoken? Many socialists will join it, despite the chaos attending its recruitment and financial arrangements so far. But what will its position be on NATO, the EU and nuclear weapons, and on the question of women’s rights? How will it deal with the ultra-leftist and disruptive activities of sectarian groups and factions? This is not to say, once more, that some or many “new left party” candidates cannot be supported at election time. The same is true of other candidates standing for Plaid Cymru, the SNP and smaller left-wing parties.

Tactical voting might prevent Reform UK victories at the polls, although it is difficult to imagine how an anti-left LibDem, Labour or Welsh or Scottish nationalist MP would do anything other than let down the electors and drive even more of them into the arms of Reform UK.

In any event, a deeper and wider offensive is needed which exposes the class character of that party’s multimillionaire leadership and its pro-big business, pro-City of London, proprivatisation and anti-trade union, anti-workers’ rights and anti-Scottish and Welsh devolution policies.

Building a united front of trade union, working-class and progressive movements and parties is the only solid basis on which a sustainable alternative to both Reform UK and this Labour government can be built.

And that will require a much stronger, better organised Communist Party, armed with its Marxist-Leninist perspectives and its revolutionary programme for peace, progress and socialism.

Comrades and friends, This is my last speech to a Communist Party congress as the Party’s general

secretary. After 27 years, I will be standing down at the first meeting of the new EC which you will elect tomorrow. That’s long enough, although my commitment to this party and the cause of communism is as strong as ever.

I want to thank you for allowing me the honour to serve what Nikolai Ostrovsky called the “finest cause in all the world — the fight for the liberation of humanity”.

In particular, I must express my gratitude to those comrades who have chaired the Communist Party while putting up with me as General Secretary: the late Richard Maybin, and Anita Halpin, Bill Greenshields, Liz Payne and Ruth Styles. During that time, through your efforts and those of several thousand other comrades, the Communist Party of Britain has grown stronger, more influential and — believe it or not — better organised.

## The general crisis of capitalism

Since the Communist Party of Britain's 57th Congress in 2023, capitalism's general crisis has intensified on every front: economic, environmental, social and political. US imperialism has adopted a strategy of aggression, confrontation and subjugation to: (1) restructure its economy at the expense of its main competitors, notably the EU and China; (2) increase its access to vital natural resources; (3) extend control over strategic international transport routes; and (4) use its domination of NATO to contain or confront China, Russia and other countries unwilling to accept the diktats of US and Western imperialism.

This approach has — with the support or capitulation of British and EU ruling classes, state and monopoly media, and politicians — fanned the flames of reactionary nationalism and racism, aggravated instability and accelerated militarism and the drive to war. Institutions such as the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies are being marginalised and undermined. The prospects for international cooperation and solidarity to overcome the challenges of global warming, climate chaos, hunger, disease, poverty and social oppression have worsened.

## From crash to depression

The third long depression in the history of capitalism began with the 2008-09 financial crash. Since then, the G7 economies (the US, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, UK) have tried and failed to restore growth to its levels of the 1980s and 1990s. The benefits from the neoliberal surge of the 1990s are exhausted. Globalisation, financialisation, deregulation, privatisation, marketisation, and super-exploited migrant labour may have boosted profits temporarily, but they now confront capitalist society with formidable problems.

Recovery has been prolonged and made more unstable by the continuing expansion of 'fictitious' capital in the financial and commodity markets, which produces no real value in the economy while its owners claim a bigger share of society's output.

In the G7 and Eurozone, the ruling capitalist class is engaged in a desperate struggle to raise their system's rate of profit.

The World Bank, the OECD and the IMF have all downgraded their forecasts for economic growth, as inflation and a debt-driven financial crisis threaten the fragile post-COVID recovery — even before the scale and full impact of President Trump's tariff hikes are known. The same reports estimate that China's economy — with its socialist state power, central planning and extensive public ownership — is likely to grow twice or three times faster than those of G7 countries.

In 2025, the share of the G7 capitalist powers in the world's economy fell to 28%, down from 51% in 1991. The original BRICS economies (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) now account for more than 40% of global output. BRICS has expanded to include Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran and the UAE. The inclusion of both Cuba and Vietnam as 'partner countries' should assist their struggle for peaceful development. Despite contradictions in BRICS+, it offers developing economies an alternative to Western imperialist domination and dependency.

The major imperialist powers, on the other hand,

are in sharper competition with each other, while also collaborating to restrict Chinese investment and trading opportunities around the world.

Thus, US imperialism has turned on its Western allies. Trump threatens to annexe Canada and seize control of the Panama Canal and of Greenland from Denmark. His sweeping inflationary import tariffs are intended to benefit monopoly capitalist supporters in the energy, real estate and key manufacturing sectors (armaments, automobiles, chemicals) — not US workers and consumers. Trump's gamble on economic protectionism also exposes the impotence of the EU, WTO, OECD, World Bank and IMF.

Nor will workers and consumers in Britain benefit from US and anti-China tariff wars. Higher tariffs on our exports and imports would jeopardise investment, jobs and living standards, especially in the light of Britain's trade deficit, its relatively small industrial sector dominated by foreign ownership, and British capitalism's chronic record of under-investment in technology, labour skills, education and training. A US-UK free trade agreement would, like the abortive US-EU Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP, 2013-16), favour privatisation and slash labour and consumer standards.

Today's long depression is a crisis of capitalism as a mode of production, distribution and exchange. It is a core component of capitalism's all-round general crisis that was masked by collapse and counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and European socialist states and by the orgy of neoliberal profiteering that followed.

Another aspect of that general crisis is capitalism's continuing inability or refusal to combat the worsening threat to life on Earth presented by fossil fuel emissions, global warming and climate chaos.

## **A planet to save**

As the main imperialist states embark on the biggest rearmament campaign since the beginning of the Cold War in the 1940s, they also abandon key targets and pledges in the battle to save our planet's very existence.

The struggle to prevent catastrophic climate change is a class issue for workers in Britain and throughout the world.

The continuous valorisation of capital only takes place because of the exploitation of labour power and the environment. Both have been considered inexhaustible. The consequences — except where held back by trade union action — have been a wastage of workers and the despoilation of nature.

Global warming, caused by greenhouse gases from fossil fuels and the anarchy of capitalist overproduction, represents a major threat to the stability of the world as we know it. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reports that global surface temperatures reached 1.1°C above the 1850-1900 level in the decade 2011-2020. The global surface temperature has increased faster since 1970 than over any other 50-year period in the last 2,000 years.

The UN Climate Change Conference (COP21) in Paris in 2015 agreed to pursue efforts 'to limit the [average] temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels'. Crossing that threshold risks unleashing severe impacts, including more frequent and severe droughts, heatwaves and rainfall and floods, and the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives. The world is close to several tipping points, including the complete melting of the Arctic and Greenland ice sheet, the release of greenhouse gases from the permafrost, a further slowdown of Atlantic circulation and changes to monsoon cycles. These could, respectively, raise sea levels by 7m, add another 0.3°C to global warming, plunge Europe into a new ice age by 2050, and threaten food security across the world.

Rising temperatures, pollution and habitat loss threaten the biodiversity that is essential for all life on Earth. Healthy ecosystems depend on a wide range of animals, plants and microorganisms. Pollinators contribute to approximately one-third of global crop production, while invertebrates support soil health. Ocean ecosystems are vital for animal protein sources, while trees and plants clean the air and mitigate climate change by absorbing carbon dioxide. Together with biodiversity loss, rising temperatures will destroy much of the world's important food crops.

2024 was the warmest year in global temperature records, reaching 1.6°C above preindustrial levels.

The internationally agreed policy of replacing fossil fuels with alternative energy sources, and achieving net-zero carbon emissions by 2050, is being openly discarded by the imperialist powers, hand in hand with the takeover and destruction of the UN climate talks by fossil fuel interests supported by the G7: COP28 in Dubai and COP29 in Baku were presided over by current or former oil company executives.

A fair route to net-zero by 2050 requires states like Britain and the US, which have historically contributed most to carbon emissions, to reduce theirs at a greater rate. But at current levels, Britain's 'fair carbon budget' from 2015 will run out this year.

Leading voices in US imperialist circles now say that the energy transition cannot be achieved, while US transnational corporations are racing to abandon energy transition and net-zero programmes. President Trump has pledged to 'drill, baby, drill' for oil and gas and to remove US government support for clean power.

In Britain, BP has abandoned its green renewable power ambitions and is growing oil production to more than 2.3 million barrels a day by 2030. Likewise, Shell is retreating from renewables and doubling down on fossil fuels.

Both Tory and Labour governments have failed to tackle the urgency of a green transition because they are committed to private ownership in the economy, and particularly in the energy sector. Both have aimed for a slow approach to net-zero by 2050, which is insufficient and can easily be derailed without binding targets on emitters. The issue of road and air transport emissions has barely been addressed, which suits the big oil companies. The car-centric infrastructure in our cities, towns and countryside — driven by capitalist interests and a culture of individualism — is responsible for almost one-third of Britain's carbon dioxide emissions.

Labour's 'Clean Power Action Plan' aims for 100% 'clean' electricity by 2030 and includes the publicly-owned Great British Energy company. However, it will only co-invest alongside private companies in 'clean' energy technologies and includes an ongoing role for nuclear power, which is expensive, far from 'clean', and strategically linked to the production of nuclear weapons and submarines to sustain Britain's imperialist role.

The central government's National Wealth Fund, as an investment in the industries of the future including green steel, hydrogen production, battery technology and port infrastructure, aims at a 3:1 ratio of private to public funding. Yet already a 2024 manifesto pledge to invest more than £7bn in Treasury funding has been slashed to less than £6bn.

Avoiding catastrophic climate change is essential for all people in Britain. But workers in the energy- and carbon-intensive industries must not be the victims of this transition, as were the steelworkers at Port Talbot. There needs to be a Green New Deal with full trade union involvement in which workers' skills, pay and communities are respected. It is difficult to see both the avoidance of catastrophic climate change and the achievement of a Green New Deal without a major challenge to the capitalist mode of production.

Internationally, a progressive British government would promote sustainable development using green and clean energy technologies via peaceful international cooperation including through the UN and its agencies. This particularly includes working on fundamental issues with global south peoples and nations on the basis of equality and mutual respect, and also supporting the recent Global Governance Initiative from the Chinese President announced at the Shanghai Co-operation summit on September 1, 2025.

Humanity cannot afford to carry on with 'business as usual'. Capitalism's progress is measured in GDP growth, but we need a different measure, based on human social progress and a sustainable relationship with nature. People's China, while still developing its economy, is showing the way forward with its active pursuit of an 'ecological civilisation', radically curbing coal production, building new eco-cities and pioneering green transport, agricultural and waste treatment policies.

The ongoing climatic changes are compounded by capitalism's disregard for the environment generally — a consequence of nearly 200 years of industrialisation. While industrialisation has brought great progress, it has also inflicted severe environmental damage, including: persistent chemical pollution of the soil, water and air; agricultural practices that poison wildlife and destroy ecosystems; and sewage discharge into rivers and seas. These environmental issues are interconnected with the climate emergency, representing aspects of a unified problem.

In Britain, our priorities must include:

- Statutory price controls on household and business water, gas and electricity supplies, followed as soon as possible by renationalisation of the energy, steel and transport sectors.
- Massive investment in non-nuclear green energy technology, production and storage including tidal, wind and solar power.

- Significant investment in public transport and cycling infrastructure to encourage and facilitate alternatives to car use.
- The extension of energy-saving and energy-generating measures to all new residential and commercial building projects, backed by fresh investment in green technology training programmes.
- Central government support for the introduction of household waste recycling schemes to reach 70% efficiency by 2035, with higher penalties for illegal disposal of commercial and domestic waste.
- Full disclosure of the levels of Britain's greenhouse gas emissions from military production, training and deployment at home and overseas, with monitoring and targets applied to each category and all major projects.

## **Militarism and war or solidarity and peace?**

Recent events confirm that US-led imperialism poses an unprecedented threat to the future of humanity.

NATO's destructive role in the new world disorder includes active involvement in the genocide in Palestine, conflict in the Middle East and the war in Ukraine. NATO members' supine response to Trump means at least 5% of their GDP would 'turbocharge' military spending and production by 2035 in order to confront Russia and China.

NATO remains what it has been since its formation in 1949, six years before the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact: a US-dominated Cold War, anti-socialist and anti-communist alliance dedicated to promoting and protecting the interests of the West's monopoly capitalist corporations. In the European Union, anti-migrant and pro-rearmament strategies are reinforcing the reactionary character of 'Fortress Europe'. The US-EU trade cooperation agreement in July 2025 included not only huge EU job-destroying concessions on energy, pharmaceuticals and motor cars, but also an EU commitment to boost arms imports from the US still further. Yet many social-democratic and 'new left' parties remain committed to the EU project, having abandoned policies to control capital and promote social justice. In Britain, EU supporters at the top of the Labour Party, the Liberal Democrats and the SNP champion NATO, the Ukraine War and European rearmament as reasons for reviving the cause of ever closer union with the EU, in the service of Western imperialism.

The American continent remains in turmoil, economically and politically. Cuba, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Haiti, Panama and Greenland face intensified US attacks on their sovereignty. Left and progressive forces — many of them in government — in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Guyana, Honduras and Mexico strive for social progress in the teeth of US-backed aggression, subversion and

sanctions. In Argentina, the new regime is desperate to court the US by imposing vicious neoliberal economic and social policies.

But the threat to democracy in Latin America is not only from the north. In August 2023, the Venezuelan Supreme Justice Tribunal imposed a new leadership on the Communist Party of Venezuela (PCV) against that party's wishes, enabling former members to misuse its name, symbols and electoral franchise. The Communist Party of Britain (CPB) condemned this judicial overreach and noted the United Socialist Party-led government's unfortunate support for the Tribunal's ruling. Britain's Communist Party recognises only the historic PCV (which now differentiates itself as the 'PCV Dignidad') and not the false claimants to its identity.

The African peoples continue to fight for the democracy, freedom and justice denied them for generations by their brutal colonial occupiers and corrupt, pro-Western, post-colonial regimes.

The Sahrawi people pursue their 50-year struggle against occupation by Morocco. In Kenya, a former British colony, a mass working-class and peasant movement against neoliberal government is developing, strengthened by the Communist movement and its growing influence there.

The peoples of Mali, Niger and Senegal in the Sahel region are throwing off the legacy of European colonialism and US imperialism. Resisting attacks by religious fundamentalists, they seek to establish progressive governments that address people's needs and provide stability. In the mineral-rich former French colony of Burkina Faso, the government of Ibrahim Traore is striving to use this wealth for the benefit of its citizens, rather than allowing it to be syphoned off for capitalist profit. The anti-imperialist Alliance of Sahel States has taken decisive action to throw the exploiting, capitalist French state from their backs and take back control of their own economic and financial policies.

The African continent is of existential importance to Western capitalism, its natural resources such as cobalt, lithium, graphite and rare earth minerals being vital for emerging technologies and the energy revolution. Control of these, and their denial to competitors including China, is fuelling resource wars — exacerbated through the promotion of racism, fundamentalism, and sectarianism — which threaten stability and block development. Currently, 32.5 million people are displaced by wars in Africa, disproportionately women and children. The overwhelming majority are from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia and Sudan. At the same time, movements are advancing against poverty, corruption and war, for a democratic, stable and peaceful future determined by the African peoples themselves.

In South Africa, the SACP continues to fight against the legacy of apartheid, for the success of their country's national democratic revolution and for justice across the world. It faces difficult decisions in its relations with the ANC, but can count on Britain's Communist Party for solidarity.

The CPB also stands in solidarity with the Sahrawi people and the peoples and Communist parties of Egypt, Algeria, Sudan, Kenya, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

In June 2025, the second China-Central Asia Summit agreed to 'deepen substantive cooperation' in areas profoundly affecting people's daily lives. This reflects the growing view in central, southern and eastern Asia that the region must build institutional frameworks independent of the Western powers, assisted by a softening of anti-China rhetoric from political leaders in Japan, South Korea and elsewhere. Such developments should be strengthened by the election of Communists to a new power-sharing government in Sri Lanka and by the continuation of Communist rule in Laos, Nepal and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

However, the danger of war between nuclear powers India and Pakistan has returned, as the reactionary regimes in both countries back their belligerent proclamations with expanding military budgets. Yet many millions of their citizens live in poverty, deprived of basic social services and utilities, but often rising up in mass struggles led, especially in India, by Communist parties and their affiliated federations of trade unionists, peasants, women, students and youth.

Meanwhile, economically and socially, China goes from strength to strength, not only advancing the interests of its own people but also as a source of hope, cooperation and solidarity for countries seeking their own path of development and social justice.

Other socialist states, including Vietnam and Cuba, are striving to improve the technical and productive base of their economies. China and Vietnam exchanged high-level delegations in 2025 on the 80th anniversaries of Vietnam's 1945 Revolution against French colonial rule and the Chinese people's war of resistance against Japanese aggression in the world antifascist war. Britain's Communist Party is proud of its support for Vietnam's victory over US aggression (1950-73) to establish the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1973 and the progress it has since made for the people of Vietnam.

Today, China is also working with Cuba to set an example of solidarity and cooperation between socialist developing countries. The Cuban people, their Communist Party and government need solidarity as much as ever in the face of a fresh wave of sanctions from the Trump administration and the reinstatement of Cuba on the US list of 'state sponsors of terrorism'. Breaking the US commercial and trade blockade must remain a top priority for all who believe in international law, justice and the sovereign right of nations to self-determination. More and stronger links are needed between business, academic, cultural and

municipal bodies in Cuba and their counterparts in Britain. To these ends, Communists will seek to escalate their work in support of the Cuba Solidarity Campaign and its national affiliates in Scotland and Wales.

Vietnam, too, wishes to strengthen relations of every kind with the peoples of our three nations, and the Communist Party of Britain will prioritise efforts to help put friendship and solidarity activities on a more organised, systematic basis.

Around the world, trade unionism remains active in defence of working-class economic, social and democratic gains. Communist and workers' parties resist imperialism's plans and offensives. The Communist Party of China is strengthening its links with communist parties around the world and enhancing its work in the international Communist movement. Antiwar, anti-imperialist, anti-racist and pro-planet people's movements have been mobilising increasingly on every continent. Objective circumstances are becoming more favourable for a militant fight-back, as capitalism confirms its unwillingness and inability to serve the interests of humanity.

A new historical era has opened in which the material basis exists for peaceful development on a world scale — but under socialism, not capitalism. Capitalism is incapable of using human labour power, advanced technology and society's enormous productive capacity to provide a peaceful, sustainable and fulfilling life for all.

## **Proxy war in Ukraine**

The Communist Party of Britain considered Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 to be a dangerous escalation of a conflict with its roots in the eastward expansion of NATO since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. The proxy war of American imperialism against Russia via Ukraine is part of a longstanding US strategy of global hegemony. In 1992 the Project for a New American Century envisioned a world where no nation will ever be allowed to develop economically where it might challenge US Imperialism. The Maidan coup — backed by US and EU representatives and Ukrainian neo-Nazi paramilitaries — to remove Ukraine's elected president in 2014, followed by Ukraine's military bombardment of pro-Russian enclaves in eastern Ukraine, triggered further warnings from President Putin. He authorised the forcible return of Crimea to Russia, supported by the pro-Russian local population. The Communist Party reiterates the main positions set out in its statement of February 25, 2022, which have been vindicated as the proxy war in Ukraine has developed. Pro-NATO forces in Finland and Sweden seized the opportunity to push those countries from neutrality and into NATO. Plans to admit Ukraine into NATO, and thereby multiply the number of Western bases on Russia's borders, were judged a provocation too far by the Russian Duma.

The war in Ukraine has provided the main pretext for the German and other European governments to boost military spending and carry forward the Lisbon Treaty commitment to coordinate arms production at the EU level. At the UK-EU summit in May 2025, Europe's 'ReArm' Plan to raise an extra £690 billion for military expenditure was agreed. This will loosen fiscal rules, focus on joint procurement of defence projects and expand the role of the European Investment Bank in funding defence. The contrived

'Russian threat' to invade other countries in Europe after Ukraine has emboldened war-mongering elements such as NATO secretary-general Rutte, EU Commission president von der Leyen, German chancellor Merz and British prime minister Starmer to intensify European integration in military and security affairs, supported by most of Europe's major far-right and 'post-fascist' parties.

Britain and EU-NATO powers are determined to head off peace initiatives, as demonstrated in Turkey in March and April 2022 and again in May 2025. The British government should be using its permanent membership of the UN Security Council alongside China to promote a ceasefire and negotiations for a guaranteed settlement, instead of war-mongering and sending more military forces into eastern Europe and the Baltic states and more armaments into Ukraine.

Britain's Communists reaffirm our commitment to peace in Ukraine and we condemn NATO's attempts to prolong the war. We deplore the heavy loss of life among civilians and conscripts on both sides and the toxic damage done to the infrastructure, nuclear power facilities and the environment. We also oppose sanctions against Russia, which damage the wellbeing of the peoples of Russia, Ukraine and the rest of Europe including Britain, while denying vital grain supplies to the people of Africa and making Europe more dependent on energy supplies from US corporations and the Middle East dictatorships.

Most trade unions have supported the British government's position on the war in Ukraine, reflecting the labour movement's lack of understanding of imperialism. Communists will work to counteract this, exposing the rehabilitation of Ukraine's wartime collaborators with Nazism and the recent history of state and fascist attacks on Communists, socialists and trade unionists in Ukraine.

## **Israeli genocide and the Middle East**

Military actions led by Israel and supported by the United States aim to transform the region's political and geographic landscape and block future challenges to imperialist control. What started with Israel's genocidal destruction of Gaza has been followed by disabling attacks on Lebanon, Iran and Syria.

The so-called Israeli Defence Force (IDF) has killed more than 60,000 Palestinians in Gaza. Israel has seized control of the territory to starve its people of food, water and electricity supplies. The UN has been completely undermined, its aid distribution system supplanted by the privately-owned US-Israeli 'Gaza Humanitarian Foundation', forcing Palestinians to run the gauntlet of IDF bullets and bombs when queuing for food.

The Israeli government operates with complete impunity as it blatantly violates international law, even describing its own state terrorism as 'self-defence'.

While the Communist Party of Israel and its allies in the Hadash alliance oppose this genocidal war against the Palestinians, polls indicate a substantial proportion of Israeli people appear to support it. Dissident voices have been attacked and silenced, yet recent mass demonstrations also indicate that a growing number of Israelis oppose the government and oppose the war.

In the West Bank, unprecedented numbers of Palestinian people have been displaced, killed and injured by Israel and the illegal settlers. The extension of illegal settlements is intended to thwart any attempt at a two-state solution and to 'ethnically cleanse' and destroy the Palestinians as a people, with the full complicity of the British and US governments, the EU and NATO.

The Communist Party of Britain utterly condemns Trump's obscene vision to forcibly displace approximately 2 million Palestinians and redevelop Gaza as the 'Riviera of the Middle East'.

The British Labour government's complicity in

US-backed Israeli genocide leaves an enormous, indelible stain on the Labour Party's record. Hypocritical expressions of concern about the scale of the slaughter will never wash away the reality of Britain's arms supplies to the IDF, nor the use of Britain's bases in Cyprus and RAF fighter jets to supply Israel with aerial intelligence.

Israel's determination to annexe Gaza with US support underlines the urgent need for Britain not only to recognise Palestine as a sovereign state, based on the pre-1967 borders and with its capital in East Jerusalem, but also to support UN and international action to establish it in practice. Likewise, the right to return for the millions of Palestinian refugees will have to be enforced by UN action. Communists will step up our work for the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign, maintain our support for a two-state solution and continue to call for the release of Marwan Barghouti and the thousands of other political prisoners in Israel's jails.

We reaffirm our support for the Palestine Solidarity Campaign and oppose the proscription of Palestine Action as a 'terrorist organisation' for taking non-violent direct action against companies profiting from the supply of armaments to the Israeli war machine.

The Communist Party will also continue to bring the voices of the Palestinian Peoples Party, the CP of Israel and other left and progressive anti-imperialist forces to the working class and peoples of Britain.

The dismemberment of Syria, now with Islamist terrorist groups installed in a government that operates alongside territories seized by Turkey and Israel, opened the way for Israel's assault on Iran. Ostensibly with the objective of destroying Iran's civil nuclear reactors and their potential to produce enriched uranium, this required high-penetration US bombs as part of a devastating blitz on administrative and civilian targets. The US and Israel's war on Iran also exposed the

weaknesses of Iran's leadership and its disintegrating 'Axis of Islamic Resistance' (proxy Islamist forces in Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen and Palestine). The Iranian people have paid a heavy price in lives and the destruction of national infrastructure for a regime that has suppressed hitherto powerful progressive working-class forces committed to genuine anti-imperialism and socialist advance.

The ultimate purpose of US and US-backed military actions has been to maintain US global hegemony. The strategy was set out by the Project for the New American Century (1997) and has since produced two decades of savage conflict.

Reasserting US military and political control in the Middle East aims to give leverage over otherwise potentially unreliable allies in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf and their energy reserves, which are critical to the exercise of imperialist control elsewhere, including over China. The prosecution of Israel's US-backed wars in the Middle East fully exposes the imperialist character of British government policy, albeit now in a fully subservient role, putting its bases in Cyprus and Diego Garcia at the disposal of international war criminals.

Communist and other left, progressive and anti-imperialist forces still survive across the Middle East — notably in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and Israel — and must have the utmost political and practical solidarity from similar parties and movements in Britain and elsewhere.

## Cold War on China

Capitalism's general crisis is reasserting itself at the very time that socialist China emerges to challenge the economic and political supremacy of US imperialism. Over the past 40 years, China has lifted more than 800 million people out of absolute poverty as a testament to its commitment to sustainable development and social equity. Faced with such an epochal challenge, the leading imperialist powers are escalating regional wars to isolate China and prevent the eclipse of the current world order. The choice between socialism and barbarism could not be clearer.

China's international policy of mutual respect and mutually beneficial collaboration has increased its global economic and political influence. Its BRICS and ASEAN partnerships and 'Belt and Road' initiative are opening new paths of development for African, Asian and Latin American nations.

China is now responsible for at least 20% of global economic output and is on the way to surpassing the US as the world's biggest economy. With great strides made in education, science and technology, the country is seen as a threat to Western imperialist domination. In particular, China's rise threatens US dollar hegemony and the position of US state-monopoly capitalism itself as the world's only 'superpower'.

This is the economic context in which to understand the eastwards drive of the EU-NATO bloc since the 1990s, led by the US and Britain. The British Labour government's Strategic Defence Review (2025) claims that Britain's militarisation was the direct result of the increasing, yet undisclosed, security 'threat' presented by China and Russia.

Military provocations continue to be staged around the borders of China by NATO, the AUKUS (Australia-UK-US) military pact countries and Japan. The US has opened new military bases in the Indo-Pacific region and recruited Australia,

Japan and a more reluctant India into its anti-China QUAD security initiative. The deep space radar complex planned for Pembrokeshire is part of a global AUKUS project aimed at China and Russia.

Meanwhile, the West's state and monopoly mass media keep up their propaganda against China with false concerns about human rights abuses, national minorities and Chinese 'aggression' and 'expansion'. The Communist Party of Britain will continue to expose these claims, particularly within the labour and progressive movements.

We will work with the peace movement, including the Stop the War Coalition and 'No Cold War', to warn against any drive to military conflict with China. This should include explaining how Taiwan is an integral part of China and that it is for the Chinese people and government to decide how and when they reunify their country.

Britain's Communists will join with Friends of Socialist China to explain the realities of China's path to socialist modernisation — and the benefits that positive relations can bring to the peoples of our respective countries. In particular, we will seek to reverse the 'detwinning' drive — based on ignorance or prejudice — by winning support for new and restored civic, academic and business links between Britain and China.

We will also highlight the unique role of the *Morning Star*, which alone among the national daily papers in Britain informs the public truthfully about developments in China.

## **Britain's rearmament programme**

Labour is now the Party of militarism and war. Since taking office in June 2024, Keir Starmer has increased Britain's 'war-fighting' budget to £61bn in 2025-26 (at the expense of the elderly, the disabled, poor families and Third World aid), one-third higher in real terms than in 2016. He has pledged to double military spending to 5% of GDP by 2035, as demanded by President Trump at the June 2025 NATO summit. Britain is already the sixth biggest military spender behind the US, China, Russia, Japan and Germany and one of only nine states possessing nuclear weapons. At least £64bn can be found to expand Britain's nuclear arsenal; billions more are spent to assist Israel's genocide against the Palestinians and to prolong the barbaric war in Ukraine. This will be paid for by slashing public services, welfare benefits and overseas development aid.

The Communist Party continues to stand unequivocally for the peaceful resolution of conflicts between states, not for escalation and war. We reject Britain's involvement in wars around the world, from Libya to the former Yugoslavia, from Iraq to Afghanistan. These imperialist interventions serve the interests of British and Western monopoly capital and the geo-political and military strategy of US-led NATO. They further destabilise the countries in which the military action takes place, at great cost to their people.

Instead, Communists helped compose CND's Alternative Defence Review, which sets out the case for a demilitarised defence strategy rooted in human security and common prosperity, prioritising diplomacy, global cooperation and diplomatic solutions to conflict, with money saved to be invested in health, education, climate resilience and social care. It proposes to use the skills and technologies in Britain's arms industry for socially useful production in such fields as healthcare, education, transport, land development and clean energy, thereby creating many more well-paid, socially useful jobs.

## **For a nuclear weapons-free Britain and a foreign policy of peace**

The CPB reaffirms its commitment to peace and disarmament. We campaign for a comprehensive nuclear test ban and for nuclear disarmament.

We demand the restoration of British sovereignty over US airbases such as Lakenheath, Mildenhall and Marham. The skills of the workforce must be retained and redeployed for peaceful production.

British troops should be reassigned to vital roles in civil defence, combatting climate change, providing flood relief and using vital engineering skills to tackle coastal erosion. Communists will play an active role in establishing local CND groups across Britain. We will campaign for local councils to declare themselves 'Nuclear Free Zones' and to prepare and publish emergency evacuation plans for incidents involving weapons of mass destruction.

The Communist Party:

- Opposes the expansion of Britain's Trident nuclear weapons system and the return of US nuclear weapons to Lakenheath and any other military base in Britain, and calls for all weapons of mass destruction to be scrapped.
- Demands a cut in British military spending and the closure of all US military installations in Britain and all British bases around the world.
- Campaigns for Britain's withdrawal from NATO and AUKUS and the dismantling of these aggressive Cold War bodies
- Opposes all arms exports to repressive regimes and all state subsidies and other aid for the corrupt arms monopolies.
- Promotes the Alternative Defence Review in the trade union and peace movements and working class communities, countering false claims about the economic benefits of extra investment in the military-industrial complex.

Strengthening and rebuilding the peace movement in the trade unions and working-class

communities must be a priority for all progressives and socialists. We will continue the work of the CP and its Peace Commission in CND, Stop the War and local peace groups, promoting 'Welfare not Warfare' as the focus of campaigning in anti-cuts bodies such as the People's Assembly, holding the British government accountable for breaches of the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and demanding that the UK sign the UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. We will also oppose any further moves to silence anti-war voices in Britain and use our position as part of the international Communist movement to:

- Help coordinate anti-war actions internationally, as we have done against AUKUS.
- Promote the anti-imperialist analysis of the World Peace Council with its slogan 'No to NATO, Yes to Peace'.
- Build the anti-imperialist World Peace Council's affiliate in Britain: the Peace Assembly.
- Support and publicise the work of the Women's International Democratic Federation and its affiliate: the National Assembly of Women.

## **State-monopoly capitalism in Britain**

More so than ever, British capitalism is predominantly a rentier economy, dominated by financial services, generating income from credit and speculation and acting as a conduit for international capital flows. The City is a financial laundromat, washing dirty money from around the world. The banks provide very little credit domestically for small businesses and productive industry, while US private equity is buying up assets for quick profits across the British economy.

Almost five decades of neoliberal economic policy and deindustrialisation have smashed Britain's productive capacity. Private sector business investment has been lower in Britain than in every other G7 economy over the past 30 years and is among the lowest in the 31-member OECD. Productivity growth has dropped from a little over 2% before the 2008 crash to 1% in 2025. GDP fell by 10% during COVID and is still more than 20% below its pre-2008 trend. Britain has the largest trade deficit in its history and in 2024 fell out of the top ten manufacturing economies for the first time.

Faced with a crisis in state finances following the financial crash and recession and then during and after COVID in 2020-22, the Tory-LibDem and Sunak governments opted for austerity: rather than raise taxes on the super-rich and big business monopoly profits, they cut social, welfare and capital investment programmes; defunded local government; froze working people's tax allowances and increased regressive taxes on their purchases. The central government raised funds through extra borrowing in the bond markets.

As a result, higher debt interest payments and lower tax revenues from slow economic recovery meant that government deficits and the National Debt have continued to grow. During the 2024 General Election campaign, Keir Starmer and Rachel Reeves exaggerated the size of the Tory government's deficit with talk of a £22bn 'black hole' in Britain's public finances.

But by August 2025, Labour's continuation of austerity measures and PFI costs while boosting military spending, the reliance on private-sector investment and growth, and the Chancellor's reluctance to tax wealth and profits, had put the Treasury on course for an annual £41bn deficit over the next few years.

How will Starmer's Labour fill its own £41bn 'black hole'? The Labour government's £7bn National Wealth Fund is nowhere near enough to stimulate the level of growth needed to fill the Treasury coffers. Under Jeremy Corbyn, Labour had proposed a National Investment Bank funded by government-backed bond issues raising £250bn over ten years; a Green New Deal; and a £150bn Social Transformation Fund with progressive tax measures, to reverse austerity cuts.

Nor will the Starmer-Reeves embrace of 'military Keynesianism' produce the hoped-for jobs, growth and tax revenues. Arms production is capital-intensive and inflationary, expanding purchasing power without producing commodities for workers and their families. It diverts funding for R&D and new technology away from productive sectors that help drive economic growth, while the purchase of yet more fighter jets and nuclear missiles from the US will produce no jobs or tax revenues in Britain.

Until the power of the City of London and Bank of England is challenged and broken, too much extra borrowing in the bond markets to fund current rather than capital expenditure can provoke higher long-term interest charges, a fire-sale of pre-maturity government bonds, a purchase strike and a run on the pound.

This is one reason for raising tax revenues from monopoly profits, capital gains, financial speculation, development land and excessive personal wealth.

Of course, right-wing political and media voices favour more austerity and higher taxation of low and middle-income people. This approach ignores two realities, which a Labour government ignores at its peril.

Firstly, working-class living standards have plummeted over the past 15 years, with wages falling in real terms and public services stretched to breaking-point, made worse by the failure to impose basic price caps across the economy to curb the profits of the multinationals (household energy bills have doubled since 2016 and commodity prices risen by over 20% since 2020 alone) and rent caps to protect working-class families from landlords exploiting the housing crisis.

In Britain, thanks in part to the two-child benefit cap, 4.5 million children live in poverty (almost one child in three), up by 100,000 since 2022 and by almost one million since 2010. Unemployment is rising again. Millions of workers are in part-time, short-term or precarious employment. Job security is further threatened by the spread of Artificial Intelligence, as employers use AI to intensify and displace labour rather than to ease the burden of work and shorten the working week with no loss of pay.

The total post-tax income of the top 10% is greater than that of the lowest 40%. The richest 10% in Britain own more than half the wealth (57%), ten times more than the poorer half of the population, even before taking business and undeclared assets into account. Although income and wealth inequality is based on class, it also expresses itself in differences of sex, age, ethnicity and geographical location. Overall, of the G7 member states, only the US is more unequal than Britain.

Secondly, workers and their unions continue to fight to defend and improve their pay and conditions, despite Britain's rigged labour market with its anti-union laws, feeble regulation and deep institutional protection for the capitalist monopolies. They see the grotesque salaries, bonuses, dividends and pension pots grabbed by company executives and big shareholders and do not believe that, when it comes to belt-tightening and austerity, we are 'all in it together'.

## A left-wing programme for Britain

It is against this background that the Communist Party puts forward a Left-Wing Programme to be discussed, developed and fought for by the labour and progressive movements. It is part of a wider Alternative Economic and Political Strategy (the AEPS) and includes policies to:

- Stimulate sustainable economic growth through public investment and the direction of private capital.
- Restore democratic control over the Bank of England, reversing the 'independence' required by the EU Maastricht Treaty.
- Reverse the cuts in the top rates of income tax and Corporation Tax (down from 52% in 1973 to just 25% in 2025); abolish the cap on National Insurance for high earners; impose a Wealth Tax on assets totalling more than £10bn; levy a Land Value Tax on unproductive big estates; impose windfall taxes on monopoly profits; and abolish tax avoidance regimes in all British overseas territories and dependencies. Use the revenues to fund public and local services.
- Crack down on City speculators with a financial transaction tax.
- Take banks and other key financial institutions into public ownership to help fund investment by a National Investment Bank in R&D, green energy and strategically important manufacturing industries.
- Renationalise gas, water, electricity, mail services and the whole railway system.
- Introduce planning agreements and procurement contracts with major infrastructure and manufacturing firms in place of subsidies and the Private Finance Initiative (PFI).
- Revive state-support strategies for regional economic development and agriculture, free from EU capitalist 'free market' rules and securing the continuation of productive family farms.
- Undertake defence diversification to erode Britain's reliance on arms exports, reduce the

political influence of arms monopolies in the British state and create regional economies with jobs based on production for social need and exports for economic development instead of war.

- Implement the New Deal for Workers in full, including the right to strike and take solidarity action and extending mandatory sectoral collective bargaining across the economy.
- Repeal repressive laws against rights to organise and protest and take measures to break up monopoly ownership and control over the press, broadcasting and online media.
- Fight for the full state pension at 60 for all men and women.

Britain's ruling political parties do not control the powerful economic forces that plunge us periodically into crisis, recession and depression. Neither the Tories, Labour, the SNP, nor any establishment parties have any intention to 'level up' the severe inequalities in society. State and institutional capture by finance capital and US imperialism has demonstrated the weaknesses of Britain's hollowed-out political institutions. Winning wide support for policies in the Left-Wing Programme will counteract the appeal in working-class communities of right-wing, far right and racist organisations which offer scapegoats — migrants, immigrants, Muslims, liberals, the left, Communists — instead of solutions to class-based problems in a capitalist society.

An alternative movement must be built which serves as the foundation for uniting the people and campaigns in the fight for a better Britain.

## **Build the United Front!**

A United Front of working-class forces is urgently needed, with the trade union movement at its core.

The development of the United Front is an all-encompassing strategy that unites working class campaigns and organisations while protecting their specific aims, structures and democratic processes, welding them together in a strategic movement. It represents a higher stage of working-class organisation and resistance to oppose the results of monopoly capitalism's crisis, namely, increased injustice, repression and the drive to fascism and war. This strategy takes forward both the economic and political aspects of the struggle on the industrial front, giving vital community campaigns a unifying sense of purpose, reinforcing one another, strengthening the move from the defensive onto the offensive, from protests to winning and consolidating victories.

The United Front is best expressed in the slogan 'Welfare not Warfare', which unites the opposition to austerity and imperialist war in a single demand which challenges the Labour government's policy of 'make the poor pay for war'.

Such a United Front would fight to improve the Employment Rights Act — a shadow of the 'New Deal for Workers' promised by Labour in opposition — with legislation that truly advances the collective rights of workers, including: sectoral collective bargaining across the entire economy, with strong militant workplace organisation to extend sectoral agreements at a workplace level; abolition of all Britain's anti-union laws, replacing them with a positive right to strike including in solidarity with other workers in struggle, political strikes and reinstatement of the closed shop as collective weapons in the struggle to advance workers' demands, building solidarity across the movement. In fighting for real-terms pay rises, unions should renew the offensive to reduce wage inequalities afflicting women, black and young workers.

The United Front would combat the rise of the far right by offering a real alternative to austerity and war: that of workers rebuilding their collective class strength, black and white uniting to improve the lives of their families and communities through mass campaigns against austerity cuts, for decent housing, jobs and essential services. A United Front would reject the 'new militarism' of neoliberal politicians and those in our movement who advocate the continued distortion of our manufacturing base by the corrupt arms monopolies and their state-subsidised super-profits at the expense of exploited workers in Britain and workers' lives across the world.

However, this United Front cannot be built by trade unions alone, weakened as they have been by deindustrialisation, anti-union laws and a tendency to engage in unnecessary and divisive inter-union conflict. Workers need to rebuild strong, militant trade unions rooted in the workplace, combining industrial with political struggle and building leadership at all levels, including more collaborative approaches by unions and trades councils to recruit and organise workers in non-union workplaces.

The Communist Party has a unique contribution to make to this struggle, having no interests separate and apart from those of the working class as a whole. Our strategy is focused on the development of Broad Left organisations within individual trade unions, bringing together socialists and progressives in a sustained effort to win left policies and transform unions into militant organs of class struggle.

Increasing co-ordination between these Broad Lefts could also prepare the ground for the development of a new shop stewards' movement, inspired by the successes of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions which brought together workplace militants and left officials from the late 1960s into the early 1980s to defeat wage controls and anti-union laws.

Crucial to this work is the growing organisation

of the Communist Party and its industrial advisories brought together in the Party's industrial committee. This structure is key to building and strengthening CP and Broad Left organisation across all modern industrial sectors, including part-time, temporary and self-employed workers and those in small and medium enterprises.

Deepening our organisation in key sectors such as transport, engineering, education, health and local government will also be vital, as will developing effective mechanisms for mobilising at short notice around key industrial disputes and engaging with international campaigns to disrupt just-in-time supply chain logistics. In the railway industry, this means campaigning not only for renationalisation but also for immediate reforms such as abolishing the complex ticketing system and ending above-inflation fare rises. Such campaigns, rooted in the experience of passengers and backed by trade unions, strengthen the wider case for public ownership and democratic control.

Communists work to establish local broad non-sectarian fronts, including bodies like the People's Assembly, linking industrial and community campaigns. Non-sectarian trades councils are a priority, building local campaigns around the cost of living and local services. If no trades council exists, councils of action should bring campaigns and organisations together, one aim of which is to establish a trades council. This means working politically for broad left unity, including with local Labour parties, wherever possible. At the same time, we must promote political education throughout the labour movement to expose the deep contradictions within the capitalist system, learn lessons from the movement's history and experience and explain the necessity for workers to take the revolutionary road to state power and socialism.

Trade unions should work to serve the working class as a whole. Any disputes that are won are victories for the working class.

The Communist Party should:

- Establish a mentoring programme for younger and less experienced trade union comrades.
- Campaign for equal pay regardless of age, gender, race or disability.
- Produce materials on key working-class issues such as tackling the far right, and the impact of Artificial Intelligence on work and employment.
- Do more to promote the *Morning Star*, StrikeMap and the Institute of Employment Rights.
- Oppose the use of agency staff to undermine working-class solidarity and organisation.

## **Britain's democratic, political and institutional crisis**

Popular support and respect for so-called 'mainstream' politics, parties and politicians has fallen to an all-time low. They are widely regarded as self-serving, incompetent, ineffectual, dishonest and corrupt.

Voter participation in the local government elections in England in May 2025 barely exceeded 30%, and in subsequent by-elections has fallen below 20%. The gains by Reform UK at the expense of both the Tories and Labour reflected people's rejection of Britain's two traditional parties of government for the past 100 years. After 14 years of Tory austerity, the Labour Party under Keir Starmer was elected in July 2024 with just 34% of the popular vote (the lowest of any winning party since Ramsey MacDonald's Labour in 1923) and 21% support from the electorate as a whole. The voter turnout was the second lowest since the 1920s and lowest in many Labour-held seats, indicating mass working-class abstention and disengagement from electoral politics.

Starmer's 'landslide' was due to the collapse in the Tory vote as its former supporters defected to Reform UK, in a first-past-the-post electoral system which delivers seats to the bigger parties rather than reflecting the whole spectrum of voters' preferences. Hence the Communist Party's continuing, principled support for the Single Transferable Vote system in multi-member constituencies, despite the advantages it may bring to smaller parties on the right as well as the left. Far-right ideas will not be defeated by opportunist changes to the voting system.

The postponement of many County Council elections in 2025 was widely perceived as collaboration between Tory authorities and the Labour government to stall Reform UK's advance. Initially deferred to 2026, these elections are now scheduled for 2027, post-reorganisation, signalling a cancellation of next year's District Council

elections and further eroding local democracy.

Local government is in financial crisis, with councils facing bankruptcy as central government funding fails to keep pace with the costs of homeless accommodation, adult social care, children's services and education. Youth services have already been abolished in many areas; libraries, leisure centres, theatres, concert venues, museums, pubs and other community facilities have been cut or closed down, attacking centres of working-class culture and organisation. Local government has shed more than 500,000 jobs since 2010, with further cuts anticipated as local services once again bear the brunt of austerity. The entire criminal justice system is in crisis and required to support failed youth, community mental health and housing systems. The system continues to fail women and yet incarcerates young Black, care-experienced people (especially women and girls) at disproportionate rates. The increased use of criminal proceedings means people often wait on remand to be found not guilty, diminishing public trust in 'Justice' and the police, courts and legislative process. The system further punishes those most likely to be surveilled, captured and charged- known to be Black, young, female and poor.

The entire criminal justice system is in crisis as it tries to sustain failed youth, community mental health and housing systems. It continues to fail women and yet incarcerates young, Black and care-experienced people — especially women and girls — at disproportionate rates. The increased use of criminal proceedings means people often wait on remand to be found not guilty, diminishing public trust in 'justice' and the police, courts and legislative process. The system further punishes those people most likely to be surveilled, captured and charged, notably the Black, young, female and poor.

There is an urgent need to increase central government support for local government and

communities, bringing privatised services back in-house and launching a mass programme of council-house building. The Labour government is seeking to impose the Conservative-LibDem coalition model of Combined Authorities led by directly elected mayors. Unitary authorities would cover areas with at least 500,000 people, an arbitrary minimum that takes no account of geographical logic or established community identities and is motivated primarily by a desire to cut costs. The move towards a model of unitary local government could be positive. But the creation of combined authorities — with or without elected mayors and variable levels of power — suggests these reforms are unlikely to deliver a coherent, consistent model of local government that would enable working people and their allies to increase control over the allocation of resources at local level. The CP calls for the abolition of elected mayors and upholds the principle that local government decisions should be taken democratically at the level closest to those affected — rather than by remote and, in effect, unaccountable mayors, councilors or officials.

CP Branches and Districts in England and Cornwall will engage with the consultation on local government reorganisation and organise within their communities against proposals that reduce access to local political power. The Party centrally will develop a detailed policy on the vital issue of local government funding, including our proposals for local taxation based on income, wealth and land and property values.

The Communist Party also argues for the greater devolution of powers in a progressive federal structure, which will redistribute power and wealth to Britain's nations and regions and to the working class as a whole, while strengthening working-class, left and progressive unity against the British ruling class. This must include an equitable distribution of public infrastructure investment between the nations and regions, in place of the

gross imbalances epitomised by the HS2 and Oxford-Cambridge Growth Corridor schemes.

The Communist Party will campaign for:

- The national parliaments in Scotland and Wales, together with an English parliament, directly-elected English regional assemblies and a Cornish Senedh, to have the power to raise revenue and exercise democratic control over economic development through public ownership, state investment and public procurement.
- A British federal parliament with jurisdiction over foreign affairs, defence, macroeconomic policy and National Insurance, with the power to raise taxes on wealth and income and the responsibility to redistribute revenues to nations and regions on the basis of social need.
- A federal upper chamber to replace the House of Lords, with members elected by the national parliaments and regional assemblies of Britain.
- Britain's armed forces, intelligence agencies and police should be accountable to the Federal and National Parliaments and, where applicable, to regional assemblies. Armed forces and police personnel should have the right to join trade unions and engage fully in their activities, including the self-organisation of women and ethnic minority sections.

## **Electoral strategy and the Labour Party**

For many decades, the Communist Party's default electoral policy was 'where there is no Communist Party candidate, vote Labour'. Historically, Labour has been the mass electoral party of its affiliated trade unions, their members and the working class generally. Labour governments implemented some progressive economic and social policies in the domestic sphere, as well as regressive ones in foreign and military affairs where they have always represented the interests of British imperialism.

From the 1990s, New Labour in office ditched social democracy and embraced neoliberalism at home and, especially in the form of EU treaties, abroad. Tony Blair's governments joined US imperialism in a series of illegal, catastrophic and predatory wars resulting in Labour losing almost five million General Election votes between 1997 and its defeat in 2010. Meanwhile, Labour's internal democracy was severely eroded as the party's left wing in trade unions and constituencies was marginalised.

Consequently, the re-established CP refused to support some Labour Cabinet members and leading New Labourites in parliamentary elections, while still urging a Labour vote in most cases and a Labour victory overall. Labour councillors carrying out austerity cuts and private outsourcing of local services no longer received automatic Communist Party endorsement. As well as standing more candidates of its own in all elections, and in alliance with domiciled communist parties in Unity for Peace and Socialism, the CP played a leading role in anti-EU electoral alliances alongside the RMT and other left and progressive forces, contesting every list in the European Parliament elections of 2009 and 2014.

In a new edition of Britain's Road to Socialism in 2011, the strategic objective of winning 'a left-wing government at Westminster, based on a socialist, Labour, communist and progressive

majority' replaced that of winning a 'Labour government of a new type' (1977, 1998) or a 'new type of left government' (2001). However, this did not mean that a Labour victory in General Elections ceased to be preferable to the only other likely outcome, namely, a Tory victory.

The CP's electoral work enables it to engage directly with working-class communities, to identify and become involved in local campaigning priorities, which in turn builds the Party's profile, aids recruitment and helps develop new Party branches and collectives. It remains an ambition to build sufficient support for the Communist Party's programme to once again secure the election of Communist councillors and MPs.

Now Labour is being transformed into a party and government that openly supports the interests of monopoly capital at home and abroad. Starmer should heed the fate of Attlee's post-war government which, in 1951, introduced NHS charges to help pay for rearmament, conscription, Britain's atomic bomb and participation with US imperialism in the Korean War, thereby ensuring Labour's electoral defeat later that year.

Since the planned downfall of Jeremy Corbyn's interregnum in 2020, the Labour Party's left-wing and affiliated unions have been marginalised as never before. Bans and restrictions have driven more than 200,000 members out of the party (40,000 since the 2024 General Election); party conference decisions are ignored; and Labour candidates are imposed on constituency parties regardless of local wishes.

The prospects for Labour returning to a version of social democracy — let alone embrace socialism — have shrivelled to almost nil for the foreseeable future.

Labour's rightward shift and its abandonment of the working class have opened the door to the right-wing populism of Reform UK and the growth of fascism.

Combating the rise of Reform UK — a party with far-right and even some fascist elements — is a priority, including in the electoral arena. In particular, the class character of that party's leadership of multimillionaire property and City of London spivs needs to be exposed. Their political origins lie in the party and policies of Margaret Thatcher. Their record is one of opposing social and welfare spending, progressive taxation, trade unions and workers' rights, environmental safeguards and public ownership of key industries and utilities — although they will pretend to support some of these positions if it will win working-class votes.

Reform UK's announcement that it will deport 600,000 people if elected, withdraw from the European Convention on Human Rights and replace the 1998 Human Rights Act must be strongly opposed.

Nigel Farage has denied that Israel is committing genocide in Gaza and strongly supports the continuation of British arms exports to the Netanyahu regime. The party's candidate for London mayor has called for a ban on pro-Palestine marches in the city.

Reform UK's concentration on immigration-related issues is not only a reflection of strong racist elements in that party; it is also calculated to divert attention from their other reactionary policies, and to divide the working class and the labour movement along ethnic, racial and even religious lines.

As well as exposing the class character of the party's leadership and policies, it is also necessary to set out the class-based left and progressive alternative to them and avoid simply branding its supporters as racists or fascists.

The Communist Party will campaign on issues that threaten people's real interests, oppose right-wing populist scaremongering and stand Communist candidates where Reform UK's propaganda would otherwise go unchallenged,

especially in working-class communities. Where there is no CP candidate, Communists will actively support the left or progressive candidate best placed to deny victory to a Reform UK, far-right or fascist candidate. The advance of Reform UK, together with fragmentation of the Labour vote and the threat of mass abstention, jeopardise Labour's prospects of re-election at the next General Election. Preventing a Reform UK victory, possibly with that party in alliance with a Tory Party under far-right influence or leadership, will require tactical voting. As well as continuing to back left Labour candidates, Britain's Communists will consider supporting non-Labour candidates who advocate progressive taxation, public ownership of the utilities, wealth redistribution, radical curbs on carbon emissions, and the unconditional abolition of Britain's nuclear weapons.

Labour candidates who have backed Starmer's most reactionary policies, notably cuts in welfare benefits, the expanded nuclear weapons programme and support for Israeli genocide, can expect no support from the Communist Party.

Meanwhile, the collapse of grass-roots Labour organisation in many constituencies has seen the growth of radical independent candidates, local community parties and alliances of the left.

In July 2025, Jeremy Corbyn and Zarah Sultana announced the imminent formation of a new left-wing political party, backed by at least eight ex-Labour and independent proPalestine MPs. It may form the core of a wider alliance of left and progressive forces and adopt a range of policies close to those of the Communist Party.

If so, the incoming CP executive committee will determine the precise nature of any formal or informal relations with the new formation and which of its candidates to support. While tactical considerations will be important, our electoral decisions will ultimately rest on political principles: does support for an alternative party, alliance or

candidate advance the interests of the working class and strengthen the fight for left and progressive policies? In any event, the Communist Party will maintain its existence and programme as the independent Marxist-Leninist party of the labour movement. We will also continue to expand our electoral work, thereby ensuring that masses of people hear and see the case against membership of NATO, for unilateral nuclear disarmament, in favour of a federal Britain and against moves to rejoin the EU with its pro-big business neoliberal treaties and its antimigrant, militaristic 'Fortress Europe' policies.

The CP Elections Commission will prepare and help coordinate Communist campaigns for the May 2026 elections to the Scottish Parliament, Welsh Senedd and in England the Metropolitan Districts and London Boroughs, with every Party branch urged to identify at least one contest where campaigning around local issues of concern can begin.

Parish, town and community councils provide a focus for community-based class struggle in which Communists can play a leading role. CP branches, districts and nations should also consider how they might participate in this layer of local government as part of their local and electoral work.

## **Housing, health and education**

Austerity offers no relief to a beleaguered public sector, with devastating impacts on working-class communities.

The Communist Party's pamphlet, *Homes for the People not the Profiteers*, sets out our vision for solving the housing crisis. We urge support for council and housing association tenants resisting attempts to demolish and redevelop their estates for the benefit of private developers. Communists call for mandatory, legally binding tenant ballots wherever estate demolition and 'regeneration' is proposed. The environmental case for refurbishment rather than redevelopment is unarguable. Legal bias should reflect this, but private interests are served by a default position favouring demolition and rebuild. Communists must campaign for the mass-scale retrofit of existing housing stock to reduce carbon emissions and massively increase the number of decent, unionised, green construction jobs for the future. So, too, is the need to address the failure of the private sector to deliver the one million homes granted planning permission since 2015, instead of ripping up environmental protections and building regulations which will drive down quality and safety while increasing developers' profits.

We will continue to support tenants' organisations and unions across Britain in challenging these conditions, ensuring that housing campaigns are embedded in local communities. Privatisation in the NHS has not slowed under the Labour government as private interests continue to advance at the expense of patients and staff. NHS Trusts are under pressure to find 'savings' in their budgets, which often results in the failure to meet people's medical needs. GP surgeries are being hoovered up by private equity companies, establishing US-owned primary care cartels across England. Universal healthcare has silently shifted toward data-driven care, making the NHS reliant on mostly foreign technology companies and

leaving millions without care. In England, too, the NHS has been fragmented into 42 Integrated Care Systems, governed by public or private actors and thus enabling even more extensive privatisation. In all three nations, the number of NHS patients awaiting specialist treatment exceeds pre-pandemic levels, with insufficient funded capacity for emergency, diagnostic and emergency care. Treatable mortality rates have been rising as a result. Face-to-face access to GPs remains very difficult in many areas across England, Scotland and Wales and half of the initial 'two million extra appointments' were delivered by private sector providers.

The Starmer government's failure to overhaul social care compounds the crisis in the NHS. The chronic underfunding of both health and social care needs to be addressed urgently or the very existence of a publicly owned-NHS, free to use at the point of greatest need, will be in mortal danger.

The crisis in dentistry has been highlighted by the superb campaigning of Communists and their allies in Suffolk, whose 'Toothless' campaign has achieved national recognition and political access to central government. Solving the crisis has so far eluded a hapless Labour administration, so it is essential that this campaign continues until its core demands are won.

Mental health services require urgent investment to address the appalling levels of mental illness linked to deprivation and poverty throughout Britain.

The Communist Party calls for the removal of all contracted Personal Independence Payment (PIP formerly DLA) medical assessments from private companies, in favour of the original paper-based Disability Living Allowance assessments.

PIP assessments should be based on a review of the claimant's care and mobility needs derived from the application form and other written sources such as GP reports. The assessment

should focus on the severity of the individual's needs in relation to 'diagnosed illness and care' (attendance or supervision) and 'mobility' (help with movement). Claimants assessed with incurable or lifelong disabilities should be awarded 'Rest of Life Support' without further review.

The Assisted Dying Bill presents huge risks to vulnerable patients at a time when the NHS consistently fails to provide adequate palliative and end-of-life care. If the Bill is enacted, the Communist Party will campaign for its repeal and demand that the NHS consistently delivers the optimum level of palliative and end-of-life care to all who need it, when they need it. Disabled people face significant threats from this legislation, which is opposed by major UK disability organisations. The cuts target the most vulnerable who already face economic inequality as well as cuts in health and social care, housing and education provision. Impending benefit cuts will reinforce the portrayal of disabled people as a burden on society and will have a devastating impact on disabled individuals, their families and their carers. The Communist Party pledges support for disabled people and their organisations such as DPAC (Disabled People Against Cuts) in their opposition to the cuts and assisted suicide, not least in the pages of the *Morning Star*.

The Communist Party calls for the establishment of industry-wide collective bargaining in health and social care, the integration of both services and the return of domiciliary and residential care services to public ownership and control. We will establish a CP Health & Social Care Commission to develop and pursue campaigns for trade union organisation, collective bargaining and in-sourcing of health and social care services. The Party will also consider organising a 'Toothless' speaking tour to help expand the campaign further. Britain's education system is in crisis, from nursery to university. Privatisation of schools through the academy system continues to

remove education from democratic control and oversight. While the Labour government's decision to extend free school meals into England is welcome, it does not begin to address the chronic underfunding of the education sector at all levels. For instance, the expansion of free nursery care will not automatically translate into delivery while provision remains primarily in the private sector.

The failure to fully fund teachers' pay rises will drive more schools into deficit, with more teaching and support staff redundancies, larger class sizes and a denuded curriculum, with arts, humanities and languages increasingly denied to working-class children as the principles of comprehensive education are buried by schools run for profit.

The university funding model is completely broken, resulting in bankruptcies as colleges increasingly turn to the arms industry for funding, pivoting research and STEM courses to the development of weapons technology rather than socially useful production. Other dire consequences include increased marketisation and financial dependency on over-admissions and overseas student fees (now diminishing following the immigration controls introduced by the Tories). Young people are walking away from the prospect of lifetime student debts. Most apprenticeships are not fit for purpose, with few that train young people in the skills needed in construction, STEM industries and health care. The recent proposal to cease funding Level 7 (postgraduate) apprenticeships for people over 21 will be detrimental to the NHS and other industries that provide graduate training programmes.

Therefore, the Communist Party and the Left-Wing Programme call for:

- The return of our health, social care and education systems to full public ownership and democratic control. All PFI-style infrastructure deals should be terminated along with private-

sector delivery of frontline NHS work.

- The abolition of academies and private and religious schools, supporting instead full state-funding for education — including special needs, adult learning and retraining — with a curriculum that allows working-class children to achieve their full potential.
- Solidarity with education unions in their local and all-Britain campaigns against austerity, casualisation, marketisation and military recruitment propaganda.
- Abolition of tuition fees, the cancellation of all student debts and the restoration and extension of maintenance grants across Britain.
- A system of apprenticeships which rectifies skill shortages in key sectors such as construction and healthcare, with a properly-funded living wage for all apprentices.
- Fully funded, universal nursery and childcare provision which will allow women to return to work in the mainstream of the economy rather than on its margins.
- Schools to be reclaimed as community assets and open for adult education, retraining, weekend and evening schools, and community organising and activity.

## **Defending and advancing women's rights**

This Communist Party condemns the rise of misogyny and the epidemic of violence against women and girls, described by the National Police Chiefs' Council as a 'national emergency'. Every year, more than two million women are victims of sexual harassment, over 1.3 million are victims of domestic abuse and almost 700,000 are victims of sexual assault. The backdrop to this is a huge increase in misogyny, particularly online but also in our workplaces and our communities, with significant moves internationally to roll back women's rights and dismiss sexism and misogyny — up to and including sexual assault — as a minor issue.

We resolve to defend women's sex-based rights in employment, service provision and sports.

We note the crisis in women's healthcare and fight for its resolution. Britain's Communists further resolve to campaign for economic justice for women, for equal pay, an end to the benefit cap and against women's poverty.

We demand universal childcare to facilitate women's employment and their full participation in society. We continue to support the campaign for pension justice for WASPI (Women Against State Pension Inequality) women.

The CP therefore resolves to make the defence and advancement of women's rights a central pillar of the class struggle by campaigning on the basis of the Charter for Women. Communists understand the roots of this epidemic in the integral role that women's oppression plays in the maintenance of class society, as set out in our Party's publication *Women and Class*.

The oppression of women and class exploitation appeared at the same point in history precisely because of their common origin in the development of private property. Since the dawn of capitalism, women's unpaid labour in the home and their super-exploitation in the workplace have

been essential to the maintenance of the entire economic and social system. Capitalism could not function without women's role in production as a super-exploited section of the workforce and in the reproduction of the system. This continued role can be seen today in the gender pay gap, enforced through direct discrimination, low pay and job segregation, and the disproportionate share of unpaid domestic labour carried out by women.

This economic super-exploitation forms the structural level of women's oppression, but does not explain how these oppressive relations of production are maintained and reproduced. We therefore need to understand the superstructural level of oppression, especially the oppressive ideologies which maintain class rule.

## **Sex and gender**

Sexist ideologies operate on multiple levels, from the explicit misogyny of those promoting toxic masculinity and openly advocating violence against women and girls, to the deeply ingrained concepts of gender (sex-based stereotypes) that are accepted in much of society without question. They also include 'traditional' concepts of the family, and 'conventional' concepts of sexuality.

Communists are clear that sex is a material biological category and the basis of women's oppression. The idea that certain behaviours, ways of dressing, mental or emotional attributes, etc., are more male or female, more masculine or feminine, is a social construct which serves to maintain women's oppression specifically and, through that, class society more generally.

As well as oppressing women, gender stereotypes, traditional notions of the family and 'normal' sexuality lead to discrimination and violence against lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, trans and non-binary people. As Communists, we oppose this discrimination.

We also reject identity politics, because it relies

on the belief in an innate 'femaleness' or 'maleness', based on the gendered sex stereotypes imposed by capitalist society. Identity politics obscures the basis of women's oppression in the material reality of sex by promoting an individualised and identity-based approach to discrimination, contrary to class politics. The answer to gendered sex stereotypes is not to fight for the right of people to identify into the stereotype of their choice, but to smash concepts of gender entirely, freeing men and women to act and live as they choose, without the need to adopt a gendered 'identity' which restricts their personal expression and reinforces the oppressive ideologies that maintain women's oppression.

We acknowledge the complex causes of gender dysphoria in gendered society, as detailed in the Cass Review, and that shifts in medical opinion are inevitable given that many treatments have only recently been applied on a large scale. We support a patient-centred and evidence-based approach to all medical questions and the right of professionals to debate these free from fear of attack and cancellation.

Where the provision of single-sex spaces in public facilities and workplaces is a legal requirement due to their design, Communists will support campaigns for the additional provision of gender-neutral facilities to ensure the safety and meet the demands of all facility users. We need to build solidarity in the fight against oppression and discrimination, which is impossible without mutually respectful debate. The Communist Party rejects attempts to shut down discussion of political questions through 'no debate' mantras and condemns the intimidation and silencing of women who advocate their sex-based rights.

We also recognise the importance of women's self-organisation and the collection of statistics, for example on wages, based on biological sex, just as we support selforganisation and the collection of data based on sexuality, gender reassignment and

all other protected characteristics. We must be able to recognise and name oppression and discrimination to challenge them.

Thus, we welcome the Supreme Court's clarification of the meaning of sex in the 2010 Equality Act as biological sex, the material basis of women's oppression. Decisions by bourgeois courts will always have their limitations and women's oppression cannot be overcome within the legal framework of capitalism. Nevertheless, this legal clarification, fought for by women against a decision of the state, strengthens women's ability to organise against their oppression.

Contrary to widespread misrepresentations, the legal protections from discrimination that the 2010 Act gives to trans people, alongside every other protected characteristic, remain unchanged. However, we are aware of the way in which the transphobic political right will attempt to misuse this judgement to support their discrimination against trans people. We acknowledge the fear felt by many trans, non-binary and gender non-conforming people, and we will fight to defend them against the hate and violence of the far right, campaigning pro-actively for spaces and services which address their needs and within which they feel safe.

Our long-term goal is to build a united front of the labour movement and organisations fighting against women's oppression and discrimination, to overcome gendered sex stereotypes which maintain women's oppression.

Crucial to this will be the development of a women's movement fighting for women's liberation, which is why Communists welcomed and helped organise the launch of the Women's Liberation Alliance in June 2025. A powerful women's movement is needed alongside a labour movement that understands and takes up the fight against women's oppression, building a united front in practice where we struggle together for the liberation of all.

## Combating resurgent racism

Thirty years of gutter press and media reports, racist anti-asylum and nationality laws, and immigration scare stories have helped produce a resurgence of racism, despite anti-racist and anti-fascist mobilisations and the demise of the neo-fascist BNP.

Far from standing up to this deluge, Labour and Tory leaderships have capitulated to it when not actually promoting it. One result is the rise of Reform UK, which now has MPs and hundreds of elected local councillors. According to a recent TUC survey, one-fifth of trade union members have or would consider voting for Reform UK, rising to almost one-third among past members. We welcome the TUC decision to campaign harder against racism and Reform UK's cruel and simplistic anti-migrant and anti-immigration policies. Shop stewards, union reps and the trades council movement have a crucial role to play in combatting racism and far-right ideas in workplaces and our working-class communities. The CP in Britain has a long record of opposing racism, including antisemitism, and fascism in Britain. We will continue our work in various movements and alliances, including the Campaign for Anti-Racist Immigration and Nationality Laws which opposes the arbitrary and often retrospective changes in visa regulations. We will also redouble our efforts to win justice for the 'Windrush Survivors' and their relatives.

In the fight against racism as a product of imperialism, it is important to recognise the growing call at home and in Britain's ex-colonies for reparations for slavery. The Communist Party is clear that not only can this be delivered through a consistent and non-exploitative trade-and-aid policy with former colonies, but that it should also make big companies and landed estates liable to compensate those countries and their descendants for the enduring under-development, poverty and super-exploitation inflicted on them in the pursuit of superprofits. One form this could take would be

the transfer of physical or financial assets.

Communists will continue to turn out against attacks on migrant accommodation centres, arguing for safe, legal routes and processing centres through which people fleeing repression, deprivation and climate chaos can apply for refuge and asylum in Britain. Such attacks are being driven by fascist forces that are uniting and mobilising on the streets locally and nationally. Building maximum anti-racist and anti-fascist unity in communities, across the labour and progressive movement and out on the streets is a top priority. Reform UK's rapid growth can be partly attributed to a section of the left that seeks only to demonise the majority of people in Britain who want immigration reduced, branding them as 'racist'. While Reform UK promotes racist scapegoating of refugees, the only alternative presented by many on the far left is an alienating policy of 'open borders'.

Communists take a scientific approach to this issue and advocate an anti-racist policy that manages migration in the interests of workers from both home and abroad. Our policies seek to manage migration, strengthen the power of trade unions, challenge reactionary notions that public services would be impossible to run without the super-exploitation of foreign labour, and push for a foreign policy that promotes peace and solidarity to combat the factors driving people to flee their homes and families in search of a better life.

Over the coming period, the CP will organise or support events to commemorate Holocaust Memorial Day and the life of Claudia Jones, while also marking Black History Month and the struggles of the Gipsy, Roma and Traveller communities against prejudice and discrimination.

Britain's Communists will help organise an all-Britain march and rally on the 90th anniversary of the Battle of Cable Street, when the CP united 100,000 workers and their communities to block the path of Mosley's British Union of Fascists and their police escort through London's East End.

## Build the Communist Party!

Rebuilding the Communist Party as a force that can intervene effectively — independently and as a part of the broad movement — in the battles taking place both locally and nationally, is essential for building the struggle for socialism in Britain.

This does not simply mean increasing the Party's membership massively in numerical terms; it also requires the CP to redevelop and refine itself as an effective campaigning force at every level, guided by the most advanced programme for socialist revolution.

The Party's incoming Executive Committee will therefore carry out a review of Britain's Road to Socialism and — in consultation with Party organisations at every level — produce a new edition in the light of trends and developments. The EC will also review and update Inner-Party Democracy in the course of 2026.

Our Branches, Districts and Nations must be campaigning consistently and effectively on important local and regional issues, with the Party centrally able to bring to bear the full force of a fighting membership for national events and campaigns. This in turn requires a significant shift in the Party's culture, with more comrades engaging in dedicated, disciplined and militant work, sharing and delegating tasks between cadres at all levels.

Plans must be drawn up in partnership with the Young Communist League to educate, train and mobilise the new generation of Communists coming into the CP and YCL since the Party's 57th Congress and following the 58th Congress.

Progress has been made in these areas over the last two years; however, the sharpening nature of the class struggle and the historically necessary role of the Communist Party require us to redouble and systematise our efforts.

The incoming Executive Committee will

develop and publish an Organising Model and a Strategy for Building the Party at every level.

There will be a renewed emphasis on local campaigning, supported by new and dedicated Party structures and with fresh resources and materials. The Party will also place a renewed emphasis on set-piece national campaigns, enabling Branches, Districts and Nations to mobilise and agitate simultaneously on key issues.

A new recruitment strategy will be drawn up with focused annual membership drives and supportive resources and materials.

Cadre development — improving the skills of existing cadres, bringing them into full activity and developing their involvement in specific areas of Party and broad movement work — must be a priority in the coming years. To this end, again, new structures and a specific strategy will be needed, reinforced by regular training and development events.

Improving CP communications and the Party's all-round media presence must be a core priority. Following an early review, the incoming Executive Committee will draw up the necessary strategy and allocate sufficient resources to pursue it.

Greater effort is necessary to fight the battle of ideas, both internally and externally. Although the *Morning Star* effectively challenges bourgeois ideology, it cannot provide the consistent Marxist-Leninist analysis provided by the Party. The *Communist Review* should be promoted within the labour and progressive movements to address this gap, alongside popular materials on specific ideological issues. Capitalism fosters alienation and atomisation, providing a social basis for neo-fascism; winning labour movement support for rebuilding collective life is therefore essential. The Communist Party will work closely with the Culture Matters collective and Manifesto Press to promote left-wing and progressive initiatives in literature, the arts and music.

The new EC will also review the Communist

Party's staffing and office requirements to ensure that the Party centrally is equipped with the human resources vital to our advance. Without a much stronger and more influential Communist Party, there will be no substantial breakthrough in the struggle against capitalism in the nations of Britain, for working-class liberation, peace and socialism.

**Build the Communist Party, the  
Marxist party of the labour  
movement!**

**Unite the working-class against racism,  
sexism and imperialism!**

**For socialist revolution — not  
capitalist barbarism!**





## If not you, who? If not now, when?

**Now is the time to join with the communists.**

Capitalism in Britain is a bankrupt system – economically, politically and ideologically. It has nothing to offer working people; except more poverty, more oppression, more war and the destruction of our planet.

But our lives don't have to be this way. Working people are the engineers of history. We have the power to change everything. There has never been a more important time to join the fight for socialism.

Join the Communist Party or the Young Communist League today.

The Communist Party is the united party of the working class and liberation.

It is growing throughout England, Scotland and Wales especially amongst young workers, anti racists and antifascist activists and trade union and women's movement activists.

Go to  
[www.comunistparty.org.uk/join](http://www.comunistparty.org.uk/join)  
[www.ycl.org.uk](http://www.ycl.org.uk)



▲ **Communist Review**  
 Theory & discussion magazine of the Communist Party



▲ **Unity!** Communist Party tabloid, monthly, free

# Unity Books

Open every Saturday 10am-6pm  
 Find us at Unit 15,  
 GovanHill Workspace  
 68 Dixon Road,  
 Glasgow G42 8AT

**We proclaim our faith in Communism, the grandest and noblest principles the world has known, that have inspired all that is best in world humanity.**

**That steels all who embrace it; that inspires all who accept it.**

**We are a mighty force. We are part of a world army. We are with millions of organised Communists.**

**We carry forward the work of the Walter Tapsells and Ralph Foxes.**

**We are with the Sam Wildes and Bob Cooneys.**

**We are with the Thälmanns and Dimitrovs.**

**We are a deathless army. We go from Birmingham, united and confident that we will yet conquer.**

**That what we stand for will triumph. And that the glory and grandeur of Communism will radiate the world with its flashing beams.**

**Our flag is there – the Red Flag – unsullied by the living or the dead. The symbol of our struggle, our aim, our power.**

**Long live the unity of the working class!**

**Long live Peace and Friendship between the peoples of the world!**

**Long live Communism!**

**Comrade Harry  
Pollitt's  
Speech to the  
Fifteenth  
Communist  
Party Congress  
September 1938**



**The supreme  
authority of  
the Party  
shall be the  
All-Britain  
Congress.**

**Article 6  
Aims and Consitution  
of the Communist Party**

