

# Unity!

Workers of all lands, unite!

August 2021

- 2** Young communists take to the hills
- 2** German communists beat ballot ban
- 3-8** Communist Party Congress Documents
- 9** Dongress discussion contributions
- 10** EVENTS&IDEAS



## Against monopoly capital, for people and planet



### CAPITALISM

NICK WRIGHT

BRITAIN'S COMMUNISTS are planning a national campaign to highlight the grip of monopoly capital on economies across the developed world during the Covid pandemic.

Monopoly corporations are sucking in resources, skills and wealth directly and through their huge supply chains; they are exploiting their multi-million strong labour forces to extract super-profits for their shareholders and taking absolute control of finance, advanced technology, security, 'defence, commodity production and service delivery, Communist Party chair Liz Payne told the party's leadership.

'They are degrading the environment on a massive scale, extracting natural resources and leaving scars that can be seen from outer space' she said.

Liz Payne was addressing a special meeting of the party leadership called to discuss building an alliance against the power of the capitalist monopolies.

Driving the communist initiative is the need to deepen understanding of the nature of monopoly capitalism and strengthen the political fight against ruling class ideas while defeating attempts to make working people and the planet pay the price for a runaway crisis of unconstrained capitalist exploitation.

Liz Payne highlighted the operations of UK Seabed Resources – a wholly owned subsidiary of armaments giant Lockheed Martin – which is prospecting for polymetallic nodules in the last untouched part of the planet, 133,000 square kilometres of the deep Pacific Abyss, in a project sponsored by the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy.

Accusing the monopolies of dumping contaminated waste on a massive scale in the quest for maximum profit, the Communist Party chair also referred to the scandal of 22 decommissioned nuclear submarines rotting since the 1980s and 1990s in the Rosyth and Devonport naval dockyards, nine of the latter still containing radioactive fuel. Public money is being paid to private engineering giant Babcock to keep them there.

Convenor of the party's Political Economy commission, Stewart McGill, emphasised the fusion of the economic power of the capitalist corporations and the political power of the state in today's system of 'state-monopoly capitalism. He also outlined the predominance of the financial sector in modern imperialism and attacked the role of the mass media in promoting the 'normality' of monopoly domination of society.

Bill Greenshields condemned the 'criminal profiteering' of the capitalist monopolies in the energy, pharmaceutical and armaments industries. He urged communists, socialists, trade unionists, peace campaigners and environmentalists to campaign in localities and workplaces to expose big business exploitation and project social ownership as the only pro-worker, pro-people alternative.

The party is proposing a 'peoples convention' in 2022 that would bring together trade union, political and environmental campaigns and peoples' organisations to strengthen popular unity and action. ★ **Johnson's post-Brexit Britain or Progressive Federalism? Page 9**



## We stand with Cuba

### SOLIDARITY

The new Cold War against China and Russia is being widened in an effort to destabilise Cuba, Communist Party chair Liz Payne told the party's mid July political committee.

She condemned calls in the US, including from Miami mayor Francis Suarez, for military intervention and slammed Western media coverage of recent protests in Cuba as 'blatantly distorted' and 'wholly one-sided.

Liz Payne pointed to the false portrayal of an enormous pro-revolutionary, pro-government May Day march in Havana in 2013 as an anti-communist, anti-government protest in July 2021. In another example, a pro-government rally last Sunday has been described by the *Guardian*, *Fox News*, the *Financial Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Times* and *Voice of America* as a demonstration demanding the resignation of Cuban president Miguel Díaz-Canel and his government.

The political committee noted that some far left groups in Britain such as the Socialist Workers Party have also rushed to express their support for counter-revolution in Cuba.

Liz Payne said the recent NATO summit confirmed that the new Cold War was underway with the full backing of the British government and the big business interests it represents. She specifically condemned the huge military build-up of imperialist forces over the past 18 months in the South China Sea.

The Communist Party chair referred to the hidden agenda behind the alleged 'withdrawal' of US, British and other forces from Afghanistan: 'This was no defeat for Western imperialism because it will put a reactionary Islamist regime in power on the border with Tajikistan – a member of the Russian-led Collective Security Treaty Organisation – and very near to China's Xinjiang autonomous region.

'As well as creating another huge refugee crisis, a Taliban takeover would enable the stay-behind US and British special forces to help drive jihadi destabilisation into the republics of the former Soviet Union and across the border into western China', she added.

★ The Communist Party political committee also condemned the Conservative government's decision – backed by MPs – to cut foreign aid at the same time as Britain's nuclear arsenal and military budget are set to rise substantially. This decision comes on top of the withdrawal of £130m from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), a cut from which women across the globe will suffer the most.

▲ **Cuban revolutionaries take to the streets**

## Question everything! Be as radical as reality

### COMMUNISTS IN CONGRESS

The crisis is capitalism – Take the road to socialism! is the central theme of the Communist Party's national congress.

Timetabled for November it will be the biggest gathering of the party since the 1980s and follows a period of growth for the party with increased membership and activity.

Set against a repressive Labour Party internal regime with suspensions, expulsion and top down control of

debate the Communist Party aims to set a standard as the highest expression of democracy in the labour movement.

Following Marx, who urged revolutionaries to question everything, and Lenin who famously told the Romanian poet Valeriu Marcu: 'One can never be radical enough; that is, one must always try to be as radical as reality itself' Britain's communists will subject the political situation in Britain and the world and their own practice to rigorous scrutiny

The key feature of the preparations for the congress and the congress itself is the widest discussion with everyone encouraged to participate in the online and in *Unity!* in party branches and at the congress itself.

The congress sets party policy and campaigning priorities and elects a new party leadership. A congress happens every two years except in extraordinary circumstances and this Congress was delayed as a result of the pandemic.

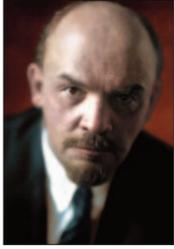
An all-Britain congress alternates with bi annual district and nation congresses.

A period of inner-party discussion is now open and party members and non party supporters can use an online form to submit contributions and in *Unity!* on the basis of the following guidelines: comrades are free to express their views, including any disagreements with Party policy, but this should be done in a spirit of reasoned debate and comradeship.



**COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS**

Documents 3-8  
Discussion 9



# POLITICS & NEWS

Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination and not for freedom, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations — all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism. VI Lenin, *Imperialism:*



## Young communists take to the hills

### YCL SUMMER CAMP

BEN UGETTI



Young communists from across the country made a return to Edale in the Peak District for the YCL's annual summer camp. The festivities on the first day kicked off with an introduction to the Young Communist League with a description of the

organisation and its purpose. After dinner comrades were treated to Leonid Gaidai's 1973 classic *Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future*. This was enjoyed by most with a pint of Trespass Pale Ale specially brewed for this year's event. Postcards were also made for the trip as a memento of this year's summer camp.

Day two started with martial arts training provided by the East of England YCL's Joe Weaver teaching practical martial arts skills. Team sports were also played with young communists playing football, rounders and badminton. This was later followed by a fantastic speech from Professor James Crossley on John Ball and the peasants revolt exploring the radical English tradition and how it is often misinterpreted and misrepresented.

The third day started with a talk on the 1932 Kinder Scout trespass led by Manchester YCL member Benny Rothman.

Discussion on the struggle of the brave young communists members who defied the



▲ 1932: The YCL and the British Workers Sports Federation at Kinder Scout

law to gain the right to ramble was followed by a climb to Kinder Scout in memory of the struggle for the right to roam fought for by the earlier generation of YCLers.

After the lengthy and difficult climb to the top of Kinder Scout Maryam Pashali of London YCL London gave a speech on the YCL's relationship with sports and in particular the British Workers Sports Federation and its purpose and influence in Britain.

At the finish ACORN's Jade Welburn explained the role and the importance of a tenants union especially when dealing with landlords and letting agents.

Day three concluded with a pub quiz and a YCL disco.

On the final day of the camp comrades

discussed the housing crisis in Britain, women's representation in radical movements, the historical experience of young communists in the USA and media propaganda in the new cold war.

After several contributions regarding the importance of community organising to help people where local councils and the government have been unable to. Summer camp was closed with a rendition of *The Internationale*. To mark an especially historic year—the 100th anniversary of the mass trespass the YCL descend again on Kinder Scout. ★

BEN UGETTI IS INDUSTRIAL OFFICER OF THE EAST OF ENGLAND YCL



## The banks were made of marble with a guard on every door

### CAPITALISM

A report by the Communist Party's Economics Commission has lifted the lid on dangerous developments in Britain's banking system.

Designed to add the expert views of economists to the debate round a Left Wing programme *banks&banking* is intended to provoke discussion, inside the Communist Party, across the labour and trade union movement and beyond.

The report argues that banks and the banking system is responsible for recurring financial crises and that banks' core, deposit taking activities have the potential periodically to wreck the economy, necessitating an implicit and continuing government guarantee to bail them out.

The authors conclude that banks draw on this government guarantee to support their non-core activities despite the fact that some of these generate little social benefit.

The document's recommendations are intended to curtail this privilege while ensuring that the nation's need for core banking services is better fulfilled. ★

[www.comunistparty.org.uk](http://www.comunistparty.org.uk)

# CONGRESS

There are two executive resolutions to comment on.

These are at the party website and in this edition of *Unity!*

The online version carries line numbers for ease of reference. Party branch, district, and nation organisations have been sent details of how to prepare amendments and motions.

Comments should be no longer than 300 words. We will publish as many of these as possible. Please indicate if you do not wish your name to be published

## German communists to run in the federal elections

### ELECTIONS

THE GERMAN Communist Party (DKP) has beaten a bid by the federal authorities to prevent it contesting federal elections this September.

The DKP is running with eleven state lists and a number of direct candidates. There are state lists of the DKP in Berlin, Brandenburg, Saxony, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Hesse, Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria. In Trier in Rhineland-Palatinate, as in many other places, there is a direct candidacy.

In the election campaign, the DKP is concentrating on the resistance to war policy

and the increasing NATO aggression against Russia and the People's Republic of China, against shifting the burden of the crisis onto the working class and the reactionary state restructuring in the shadow of the corona pandemic.

In their key statements on the federal election, the communists state that the pandemic reveals the necessity of socialism and that capitalism, with its profit principle, is not in a position to solve the pressing questions of humanity. This becomes particularly clear with the example of the health care system.

The DKP's program for the 2021 federal elections is available in German as a PDF <https://tinyurl.com/ab3yj9dh> and can also

be requested as a brochure from [pv@dkp.de](mailto:pv@dkp.de)

The party's key messages are  
★ Against shifting the burden of the crisis onto the working people – the rich should pay!

★ Against war and armament – for peace with China and Russia!

★ Against the dismantling of social and democratic rights – for class solidarity!

★ For socialism! Vote DKP – get active – fight for our rights!

The positions of the DKP on important topics, not only in the federal election campaign such as peace, crisis, environment and health appear regularly as DKP information and can be downloaded at <https://dkp.de/service/themen-flyer/> ★

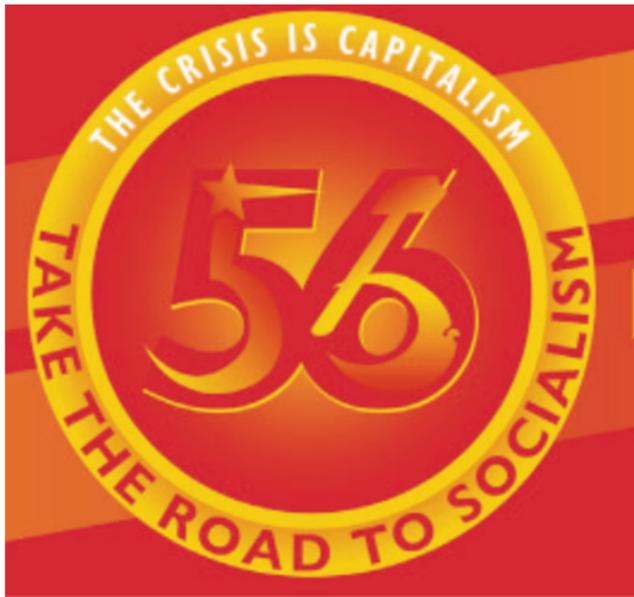




# DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

*For collective functioning to be effective, it requires going beyond the democratic method of decision making by majority opinion to bind the entire collective into implementing that decision.*

**Prakash Karat** Communist Party of India Marxist



## EC Resolution I

### Halting imperialism's drive to war

The Covid pandemic has exposed the systemic weaknesses and contradictions of imperialism — particularly in contrast to those countries that have embarked on a socialist road. The socialist-oriented countries, despite their relative lack of development, have demonstrated a potential for social mobilisation and rapid response that has sharply restricted the virus. Equally, their public health care systems have proved far more resilient than those in the main imperialist countries ravaged by privatisation and austerity.

The biggest contrast is, however, international. The socialist countries, led by China, have provided vaccines and protective equipment on a mass scale. The imperialist G7 countries have hoarded vaccines, banned the export of crucial components and, in large measure, refused to relax the patent controls demanded by the pharmaceutical monopolies.

The wider economic impact of the virus now leaves our world even more divided. For most of the world's population, economic recovery will be slow, halting and problematic. World-wide monopolistic domination has increased at the same time as capital flows to poorer economies have drastically decreased. The inflationary pressures created by the monetary stimulus for the monopoly sectors in the United States and the European Union is already creating hyperinflation, soaring interest rates and economic crisis across much of the developing world.

In the longer run, the failure of the 2021 G7 summit to agree on detailed targets and financial provision for global carbon reduction will, unless challenged, prove even more serious for continuing development in the poorest and most vulnerable economies.

Women particularly will suffer the worst consequences of both the pandemic and climate change. Many more women are contracting Covid than men through the close social contact required by the many services they carry out. The reallocation of the scarce resources previously dedicated to women's healthcare is further compromising their overall health and welfare.

Following the lockdowns women are also facing the disappearance of their livelihoods, driving them further into abject poverty. This is combined with rising levels of domestic and gender-based violence and the harassment or imprisonment of activists fighting for women's rights. In authoritarian regimes, their lives are at risk.

It is against this background, of deepening poverty, global crisis and increasingly uneven development, that we need to understand the preparations for a new Cold War, one even more dangerous for humanity than the first. As Communists we have to explain why this is so and, on the basis of this understanding, mobilise opposition.

This new Cold War is, first and foremost, driven by the Dollar's approaching loss of primacy as a world currency — and hence of the ability of US finance capital to control world markets, develop and maintain leading-edge technologies and to extract super-profits from across the world. As always, it is the internal contradictions of monopoly capitalism that drives imperialism — that is, its incessant need for external sources of super-profit. China's rapid rise towards becoming the world's biggest economy directly threatens the ability of US finance capital, through the Dollar's world primacy, to extract super-profits in this way.

It also threatens the relationships between the US and the subsidiary agents of imperialist power in countries such as India, Brazil and Turkey whose higher rates of labour exploitation remain essential for the global operation of US finance capital. It is equally so for its current allies, the

dominant finance capital interests within the EU, Japan and Britain. None of these relationships are without contradictions. As the dollar's primacy declines, these contradictions are likely to become more intense.

Within the European Union itself the ability of its dominant powers — Germany and France — to play a wider imperialist role depends on an internal hierarchy of exploitation and political domination. The extraction of super-profit from member countries in eastern and southern Europe is essential to its international standing and role. However, as internal resistance to this rises, so also do the pressures for the EU's external expansion. Today it is actively pushing its economic dominance further east into Eurasia and into Africa and the Middle East in ways that sometimes complement — but sometimes also conflict with — the interests of the US.

It is this understanding of the imperialist nature of the new Cold War that must be the particular contribution of our party in mobilising the forces for peace.

At the same time, as in the first Cold War, Communists must be able to identify and explain the social system challenge posed by China and other socialist countries. To a greater or lesser degree, all utilise markets within the framework of country-wide planning. To a greater or lesser degree, internal capital operates to generate profit. Yet the processes of capitalist accumulation are themselves politically subordinated to state power that is aligned to socialist goals. Mass communist parties, and their wider potential for popular mobilisation, remain the basis of this state power.

It is their power to mobilise this support to sustain a growth in living standards and welfare, one that benefits the great majority, which has been the basis of the rapid economic expansion in China and Vietnam. It has also been critical for Cuba's survival as a socialist country despite US imperialism's blockade.

The ideological challenge posed by these economic and social achievements, most recently demonstrated by their response to Covid, is also a key dimension of the new Cold War. It represents a second and no less important aspect of the understanding that we must take into our own working-class movement. The strengthening of our relations with the Communist parties of China, Vietnam and Cuba remains an important part of our international work.

#### China and India in the world balance of forces

The People's Republic of China has been the only major economy that has continued to grow during the past two years, despite the Covid crisis. It has eradicated extreme poverty and living standards have been rising steadily across all social groups, although income inequality — both personal and regional — remains a central concern. China's overall status is still that of a developing country, facing major challenges in overcoming the negative social and environmental effects created by what the Communist Party of China (CPC) itself describes as 'unbalanced and inadequate development', in order to complete 'socialist modernisation' over the next decade and a half.

Nonetheless, China's successful independent development in the areas of advanced technology, ranging from G5 telecommunications to its space programme, is noteworthy, as is its ambitious long-term international vision of the many projects making up the Belt and Road Initiative. China is on course to meet its major targets for the 2021 centenary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, which in turn positions it to meet the longer-term development goals set for 2035 and 2049. Cumulatively, China's successes are shifting the centre of gravity of the global economy away from the previously dominant Transatlantic economies of North America and Western Europe.

In response, the new Biden administration is seeking to recreate a US-led united front of the major imperialist powers, alliances and institutions, (G7, NATO and EU, the Pacific 'Quad') to counter China's continuing rise. However, for several major capitalist countries and blocs (the EU, Japan, South Korea), China has already become their major trading partner, countering US leverage. As part of efforts to isolate China, the country faces a daily barrage of hostile Western propaganda campaigns, which have two key aims.

First, undermining the territorial unity and sovereignty of the PRC itself, currently centred on the regions of Xinjiang and Hong Kong, as well as over Taiwan (including the wider South China Sea area). The latter provides the single most dangerous possibility of the new Cold War leading to actual military conflict and presents a threat to regional and global peace.

Second, a renewed anti-communist crusade focusing on the global ideological challenge posed by the Communist Party of China to 'market democracies'.

In Britain, these propaganda campaigns are already in full swing, often bringing together an unholy alliance of forces from the ultra-left to the right. These campaigns are also likely to entrench and intensify Sinophobia and anti-Asian racism in Britain, as well as revive Cold War-style anti-communist prejudices.

We oppose the attempts of the imperialist powers to enforce a new division of China and greater militarisation of the Asia Pacific region. In particular, we reject the British government's neo-colonialist attempts to continue to interfere in Hong Kong, which returned to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 after 150 years of anti-democratic British rule. We oppose the revival of the deliberately dangerous and provocative use of

British naval forces in the South China Sea, which is an unmistakable echo of the very 'gunboat diplomacy' that led to Britain's aggressive Opium Wars against China 180 years ago.

Communists insist that improved British-China relations are in the material interests of the overwhelming majority of people in Britain through improved trade, economic, cultural and scientific bilateral co-operation. Our party will continue to promote a better understanding of the actual situation inside China itself among the wider labour, democratic and peace movements.

#### India poses a stark and instructive contrast with China.

A big business-controlled state, closely shackled to Western finance capital, India has failed to generate comparable growth and has left tens of millions in absolute poverty. Covid has exposed the magnitude of social system difference and thrown a spotlight on a ruling elite that has increasingly relied on racist ideology and fascist thuggery to sustain its rule. We pay tribute to India's two allied Communist parties, the CP of India and the CP India (Marxist), for their steadfast defence of democracy and socialism and to the mass organisations of peasants and workers who have led the revolt against attempts to open the rural economy to full multinational domination. Equally we pay tribute to the work of the mass anti-imperialist All India Peace and Solidarity Organisation affiliated to the World Peace Council. As Communists in Britain we need to work with the Association of Indian Communists to win solidarity within the trade union and labour movement for their struggles and to expose the continuing role of British finance capital.

#### The European Union — an unstable imperialist project

The European Union has faced a decade of unprecedented existential threats: the self-inflicted European debt crisis, the resulting Greek debt crisis, the migration emergency, Brexit and a surge in popular support for anti-EU parties. At the same time, the internal political equilibrium of the EU has shifted. Since the founding of the European Parliament, a grand coalition of social-democrats, liberals and conservatives had consistently held a parliamentary majority and over 60% of the vote. Over the past decade, European social-democratic parties following Blairite 'Third Way' policies have suffered dramatic decline. The new grand coalition is instead an even more openly militaristic and reactionary alliance of Western conservatives and Eastern far-right nationalists. There are ongoing moves to end the national veto on EU foreign policy that has so far impeded the anti-Palestinian policies of France, Hungary, Austria and Germany. There is also a heightened level of military integration with the NATO alliance and the consolidation of a Franco-German military industrial complex.

We note the increasing awareness of the EU's essentially imperialistic character throughout Europe and that Switzerland has recently pulled out of talks to establish a far-reaching Institutional Framework Agreement with the EU that was seen to infringe that country's internal democracy. This awareness is now developing, though unevenly, within trade unions across the EU — particularly in France, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece.

The EU is responding to its political and economic insecurity by stepping up Cold War rhetoric against Russia and China, and by a neo-colonial expansion of the European 'sphere of influence' in Ukraine, Belarus, Africa and central Asia.

The Ukrainian government — which incorporated the fascist paramilitary Azov Battalion into its armed forces and outlawed the Communist Party of Ukraine — enjoys the active support of the EU, US and British governments. It currently receives hundreds of millions of dollars in US military aid as well as hosting a symbolic contingent of British troops. Regime change in Ukraine was followed immediately by a wide-ranging Association Agreement with the EU, the removal of EU tariffs, and coordination on the free movement of labour.

Against the background of stagnant economic growth, the EU now sees opportunities for market expansion in Belarus, the only remaining European member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Alongside new markets for goods and labour, the successful state-owned industries of Belarus are in the crosshairs of EU, British, and US monopoly capital.

We view with particular concern the rapid development of an EU military-industrial complex, integration with NATO and the militarisation of the European Arctic. Abuses of migrants and asylum seekers by the EU border agency FrontEx — itself infiltrated by far-right groups — continue.

Across the European continent, working people suffer the consequences of EU imperialism. The response to Covid has intensified existing differences in economic development. Unemployment in Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal runs at three and four times the level in Germany. The dramatically different amounts of Covid-recovery finance allocated to business will further deepen developmental contradictions. Germany, with only 4% unemployment, has been able to provide a massive €3,100bn in state aid grants to its firms, 51% of all state aid grants allowed by the EU Commission. By contrast, the Spanish government, with 16% unemployment, has only been able to afford a minimal amount, €280bn, 4% of the EU total. The same is the case in Italy with over 10% unemployment.

CONTINUED OVERLEAF



# LEADERSHIP

*A social group can, indeed must, already exercise 'leadership' before winning governmental power (this is indeed one of the principal conditions for the winning of such power); it subsequently becomes dominant when it exercises power, but even if it holds it firmly in its grasp, it must continue to 'lead' as well.* **Antonio Gramsci**

In the midst of these contradictions, Ireland is caught in a proxy war between British, EU and US imperialisms and we reaffirm our solidarity with the Irish people. It is time to end once and for all the partition of Ireland and to demand from the British state a declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland.

- We support the demand and will campaign for a Border Poll in Ireland to allow the people of Ireland to decide their own future.
- We oppose the veto of the British government having the final say on the timing of such a border poll and on the outcome after the result.
- We will work to encourage the British labour movement to give maximum support to the democratic demands by progressive forces in Ireland for: an all-Ireland universally free Public Health Service; an all-Ireland Bill of Rights for workers; and all-Ireland free and universal Public Services. These would be concrete steps towards building an all-Ireland economic, political and social infrastructure.

Meanwhile, British military occupation continues in its historic colonies of Cyprus and Gibraltar while US bases are scattered across the continent. We call for the immediate removal of British troops, and in Cyprus the handover of base territories, as part of a general de-occupation of the Mediterranean. We also call on the British government to play a constructive role, as one of the UN guarantor powers, in the continuing UN-sponsored negotiations to end Turkey's illegal military occupation of northern Cyprus and establish —through a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation — a united and sovereign country.

## Challenges in the Middle East and obstacles to progressive development

Imperialism's historical domination in the Middle East after the First World War has been continually reinforced through coup d'état, as in Iran, or destabilising military interventions as in Lebanon, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and Libya. The aim has been to assert and maintain the hegemony of the US and its allies over the region's natural resources, cheap unregulated labour, growing consumer markets and energy and trade routes.

In recent years the Middle East has been turned into an arena of struggle between the interests of the US and its EU allies and those of China and Russia. Against this backdrop there has taken place a deepening of attacks against labour and social rights and the looting of public resources — including mass privatisation of public services and strategic sectors of the national economies previously established in the 1950s, '60s and '70s by mass-based, anti-colonial and overwhelmingly secular political movements. We pay tribute to the Communist and workers parties in Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Iran and Egypt who played a key part in securing these advances and continue to defend them.

However, in explaining these setbacks we should not ignore the significance of historic and localised determining factors and simplistically dismiss them as imperialist constructs designed to maintain backwardness and hence exploitation. We must also consider that today global capitalism needs buoyant markets and a modern bourgeois class. Keeping the Middle East in perpetual backwardness does not necessarily tally with the current needs of imperialism.

Political Islam is a phenomenon that ultimately channels the people's demands away from those genuinely concerned with progress and anti-imperialism. Over the last half century and certainly from the early 1980s, this has led to the balance of forces being tipped overwhelmingly in favour of 'Political Islam' both materially (financially and militarily) and subjectively (ideologically). This process has been quite amenable to imperialist interests and designs for the region. It has seen the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the Shi'a theocracy in Iran, the Mujahideen followed by the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, ISIS and IRI-backed Shi'a militia in Iraq following the Shi'a-Sunni fragmentation, and the post-Gaddafi jihadi and takfiri militancy in Libya.

Additionally, there has been the development of crude ethnic/tribal alignments often translating to petty reactionary nationalism at regional level and leading to inter-ethnic and sectarian strife — a situation which can be easily manipulated by regional and/or imperialist powers and made worse by the addition of Political Islam to the equation.

This has been combined with a century of continual attack, both physical and ideological, upon progressive forces, on the left and secular nationalists, by colonial powers, imperialist proxies and Islamist forces. This has significantly weakened the connection between the left and its traditional social base among working people, with cumulatively detrimental effects on civic and social movements, trade unions and women's organisations.

The development of a national bourgeoisie and national productive forces has not, therefore, been a classic process and has been further deformed over the past generation by the advent of neoliberal economics and globalisation. As a result, the Middle East remains a prime focus for imperialist manipulation, particularly by the United States whose control of the region's petrochemical resources, traded in dollars, remains a critical element in US global hegemony.

Over the past decade and a half, as part of its military 'pivot to Asia', the US has sought to maintain that hegemony along new lines. Its 2009 'new plan' for the Middle East envisaged 'balancing' regional powers in

ways that enabled the US to maintain overall control with minimum military commitment. This State Department plan involved co-opting the leading and most reactionary regional powers: Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Iran and, not least, Israel. As an overall strategy, it has been maintained ever since — despite minor deviations under Trump. It has spawned violent and genocidal proxy wars in Yemen, opened lucrative markets for US and British arms and targeted in particular secular states with anti-imperialist traditions, such as Syria, and any genuinely secular and progressive movements for national liberation such as the PLO. Today Syria faces de facto partition and destabilisation with the loss of most of its oil and water resources to a new political entity in the country's mainly Arab-populated east controlled by Kurdish forces armed, financed and directed by the US.

Israel has exploited this new balance of power to consolidate its grip over the whole of the territories illegally occupied since the 1967 war, building illegal settlements and shifting its capital to Jerusalem — all in defiance of UN resolutions but with the support of the United States. This right-wing realignment of forces has created circumstances in which the US-allied Arab dictatorships have given recognition to Israel under its now amended and specifically Jewish constitution.

The Israeli government's recent proposal for a 'settlement' of Palestinian territorial demands within a 'single' Israeli state underlines the need to step up international support for the PLO's demand for the enactment of UN resolutions. These require Israel's withdrawal to its pre-1967 boundaries and the creation of a viable Palestinian state, with the rights of return for refugees and its capital in East Jerusalem, alongside the state of Israel. It is a demand backed by our sister parties — the Palestine Peoples Party and the Communist Party of Israel — to whom we extend our solidarity.

## Africa: a focus of imperialist expansion

Sharpened by the economic crisis which was gathering pace pre-pandemic and in anticipation of new opportunities for extracting super-profits in the aftermath of Covid-19, imperialist interest in the continent of Africa remains unabated.

In geo-political terms, the scramble to deepen hegemonic control of the vital oil route through the Red Sea and off the southern coast of the Mediterranean — from Egypt in the east to Morocco in the west — is likely to be a catalyst for continuing interference, destabilisation and conflict initiation in all countries along those strategic seaboard. The ongoing fate of Libya serves as a potent warning that all such interventions must be resisted, as does the continuing stream of migrants driven to make the dangerous sea-crossing from Africa to Europe in search of stability and security.

The intention to intensify the looting of Africa's rich resources, especially by former colonial powers, including Britain and France, has been made plain in both policy-making and practice, and the continent promises huge returns on investments.

The Conservative government's new 'Global Britain' approach in respect of Africa sets out a stall that barely falls short of a return to colonial plundering, in cooperation with the big bourgeoisie in many countries and their reactionary regimes. Inter-imperialist rivalries will continue to play out on the continent, with challenges to the US from the EU and others encouraging Washington to strengthen its alliances while destabilising rivals economically, politically, and militarily.

With the rapid development of a new Cold War, the involvement of China in Africa as provider of technological investment and major infrastructure developments as well as the continent's largest trading partner will be opposed directly and indirectly by imperialism. The newly expanding and lucrative business, governmental and consumer markets are the much sought-after prize.

Britain continues its colonial occupation of the Chagos Islands, including Diego Garcia, given over to the US as a mega-military base for bombing missions and surveillance activities across East Africa, the Middle East and Asia. The Islands must be demilitarised and returned to the Republic of Mauritius, as stated unequivocally by the UN General Assembly in May 2019. This is urgent because Britain's holding of the territory serves to endorse other unlawful occupations such as that of Western Sahara by Morocco, backed by the US in exchange for Morocco's endorsement of Israel's occupation of Palestine. The struggle of the Sahrawi people for full sovereignty and of the Chagossians to return to their land must be supported.

The peoples of many countries of Africa continue to endure the long-term effects of colonialism and racism; they face corrupt governments, failing economies, collapsing or non-existent public services and the associated destitution. Wars and Islamic terrorist insurgency continue to create havoc and suffering for millions.

The struggle for peace and freedom is, however, taking place on many fronts. In South Africa, in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic, the South African Communist Party is leading an intense struggle against state capture and neoliberal austerity. The SACP continues to pursue its strategic aim of deepening and extending the people's liberation from the legacy of apartheid in order to take forward the national democratic revolution.

In Sudan, the Communist Party and progressive left allies are standing firm against a return to military dictatorship. In Swaziland,

communists are at the forefront of the struggle to overturn half a century of British-imposed Mswati tyranny. Organised protests are gaining momentum in Algeria, challenging the status quo and urging a deepening of democracy. International solidarity against imperialism, and in particular in support of our sister parties, will be essential if the people of the continent are to achieve liberation and the right to determine their own just and peaceful future.

## US domination of the Americas

Across Central and South America a variety of progressive forces are fighting to improve the lives of the people while right-wing and centrist forces continue to push through pro-US neoliberal agendas which would see every element of their nation being sold to the highest bidder.

Recent advances within Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Brazil, and Guyana have witnessed progressive forces either securing the political powers required to begin reshaping their nations or making strong advances towards their class-conscious vision.

In Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua the threat of attack from the US remains ever-present and recent attempts to overthrow elected governments or force elections against the people's will show the urgent and continuing need for solidarity. We pledge our support for the Communist Parties of Cuba and Venezuela and progressive forces in Nicaragua. We must strengthen our work in this area and particularly win support in the trade union and labour movement.

Colombia continues to be the harshest battle ground and a significant key to weakening US influence across the continent. The constant attacks on trade unionists and socialists show that the US and the local elite have no regard for human life or for democratic and trade union rights and will seek to block the possibility of any progressive movement gaining power. Those campaigning to liberate the people of Colombia need our support — with the understanding that victory for these forces would both help free the continent from US domination and see significant steps being made towards justice and progress.

While — apart from the Malvinas — Britain no longer occupies territory in Latin America, British-based petrochemical, mining and agri-business companies play a major economic role in Brazil, Chile, Peru, Colombia and Argentina and are responsible both for high levels of environmental degradation and political and social repression. Britain has closely supported US attempts to subvert the elected government in Venezuela — as witnessed by the Bank of England's illegal seizure of Venezuela's gold reserves. Britain's Communists and progressive forces must continue to expose and fight these injustices, knowing a defeat for British imperialism at home is also a victory for comrades thousands of miles away.

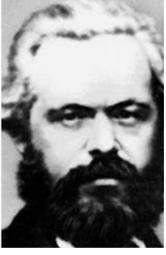
## Solidarity and support for the international movement for peace

Imperialism, the exercise of monopoly capitalist exploitation and power globally, continues to be the fundamental threat to world peace. This has been demonstrated recently by wars and threats of wars across the world including conflicts in the Caucasus, eastern Africa, Syria and Yemen. Inter-imperialist rivalry, the competition to control resources and markets and to secure compliant neo-colonial relations, together with the endeavour to stifle socialist development and even the notion of socialism, are the underlying causes of war. Imperialist conflicts and occupations across the world, particularly throughout the Middle East, kill hundreds of thousands and displace millions.

There is an increasing drive to militarism and war from Britain, the EU and its constituent states and the USA with the intention of protecting imperialist super-exploitation in the global south, containing Russia and, most significantly, waging a new Cold War against China and its peaceful model of development and cooperation. This drive provides super-profits for the major arms manufacturers, all of which are directly sponsored by capitalist powers, and fuels ethnic and sectarian conflicts across the globe.

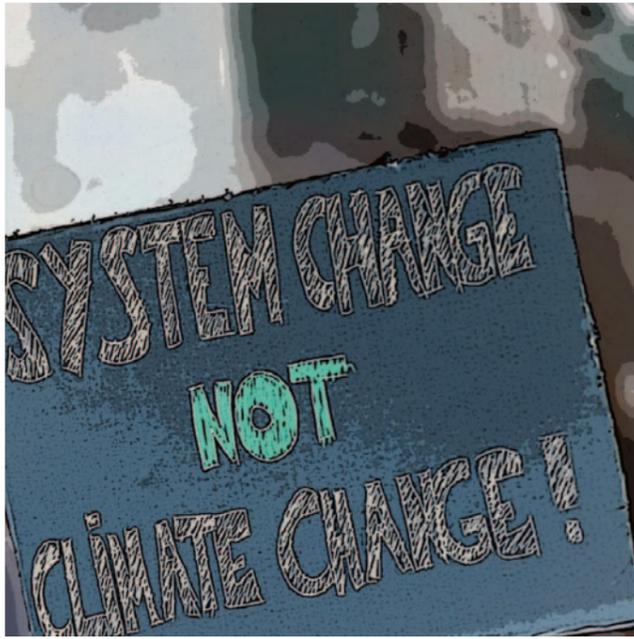
As the recklessness and destructive capacity of imperialism continues to develop in the coming period, so too must the determination and unity of the peace movement both in Britain and internationally. Our party must intensify work to mobilise support for the 2020 UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and to win signatures on the petition demanding compliance by the British government. NATO, as a nuclear-armed 'first strike' alliance, remains the biggest single threat to world peace and we must enhance the effectiveness of our demand for Britain's withdrawal and NATO's disbandment.

The Communist Party, which has always played a leading role in the struggle for peace in Britain, must deepen and strengthen the movement as a whole through our contribution, drawing on our links with Communist and workers parties and peace organisations across the world. The Communist Party will continue to work to promote and develop the activity of the World Peace Council and its affiliate the British Peace Assembly. ★



# REVOLUTION

*..the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things... They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions* **Karl Marx** *Manifesto of the Communist Party 1848*



## EC Resolution 2

### The crisis is capitalism Take the road to socialism!

Domestically, three recent developments have shaped the current economic, social and political situation in Britain: the election of a new Conservative government led by Boris Johnson and committed to completing Britain's departure from the European Union; the impact and repercussions of the Covid-19 pandemic; and the renewal of a wide ruling-class offensive against working-class living standards and democratic rights. Understanding these factors, their dynamics and their inter-connections is the only effective basis on which the labour and progressive movements, the left and the Communist Party can determine a short- and medium-term strategy to challenge and turn back this offensive and take the road to the only real and sustainable alternative, namely, socialism.

The December 2019 General Election

The election of Johnson's government in December 2019 began to resolve a political crisis that had threatened to destabilise the British state. A period of divisions within the governing party, stalemate in the Westminster parliament and disputes between the government and the judiciary was finally brought to an end. The threat of a Labour government headed by Jeremy Corbyn and elected on a left manifesto was eliminated. A clear parliamentary majority was won for a negotiated exit from the EU that would protect the vital interests of monopoly capital and British imperialism.

The two biggest factors in favour of the Conservative victory were the character assassination of Corbyn by the mass media — assisted by many Labour MPs — and Labour's change of policy on Brexit from honouring the 2016 referendum result to demanding a second referendum. Although an outstanding and consistent opponent of all forms of racism including anti-Semitism, Corbyn's principled support for the national and democratic rights of the Palestinian people prompted an unprecedented smear campaign against him.

As a result, Labour's vote fell by two million in December 2019 as the party lost 52 Leave-voting seats to the Conservatives and Johnson's slogan to 'Get Brexit Done'. Even so, Labour's left and progressive policies to invest in British industry, tax the rich and big business, extend public ownership and strengthen workers' and trade union rights retained much of their popularity.

Now, the objective conditions are developing that make a major fightback against state-monopoly capitalism and its Conservative government both necessary and possible. These arise, firstly, from the government's disastrous responses to the Covid crisis and its strategy for dealing with the economic and financial fall-out; secondly from the re-emergence of British monopoly capital's structural crisis; and, thirdly, from the lifting of Covid-related restrictions. The subjective conditions — including the lines and strategy required for advance — need to be built and that is our role as Communists.

#### The Covid crisis

In the two years preceding the outbreak, the Communist Party had been warning of a new and gathering crisis in the capitalist economy — and with it growing job losses, increasing unemployment and the threat of further government attacks.

The Covid-19 pandemic from the early days of 2020 confirmed that Britain's economic and political system is designed to meet the needs of monopoly corporations, not those of the people. This is perhaps

demonstrated most clearly in a major public health emergency. A decade of deep austerity cuts and privatisations had fatally weakened the capacity of the NHS, elderly care and civil emergency services to protect lives despite the heroic efforts of staff and other front-line and key workers. Paying down the public debt incurred by the bailout of the Royal Bank of Scotland, Lloyds, HBOS and Britain's whole financial system from 2008 had taken priority over preparations for a massive public health emergency, even though that debt was smaller than during two-thirds of the 20th century.

In 2016, Public Health England's Exercise Cygnus indicated the need for contingency planning, extra intensive care unit (ICU) beds, and substantial supplies of Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) and medical ventilators to deal with a serious epidemic across Britain. Yet civil emergency planning resources continued to be cut, ICU beds disappeared, surplus stocks of PPE for hospital staff were sold off and Britain's capacity to manufacture medical ventilators continued to dwindle.

Confronted with the Covid-19 outbreak, the Conservative central government put the interests of business above those of workers, their families and the general public. The first general lockdown was not imposed until late March 2020, two months after the World Health Organisation had proclaimed a world-wide emergency and after China had shown that only the most drastic measures could control the coronavirus. The British government failed to close borders to international travel early enough, to coordinate travel restrictions with the Scottish and Welsh governments and to introduce a locally-managed public sector 'Find, Test, Trace, Isolate and Support' system. Handing 'test, track and trace' responsibilities to companies such as Deloitte, Serco, Sitel, Mitie and G4S created a costly fiasco until local authorities and GPs were brought in on a large scale.

The hasty discharge without a Covid test of 25,000 elderly patients from hospitals to the privatised care homes in order to free up NHS beds contributed to the catastrophe. In the absence of testing, adequate safeguards and PPE, residents and staff died in their thousands. The central and devolved governments, the NHS and care home managers had to turn to China and other countries to buy PPE, ventilators and other vital equipment as troops and local council workers built makeshift ICU units.

As the Communist Party argued, private medical facilities should have been commandeered immediately and private sector manufacturing, pharmaceutical and R&D resources directed towards the struggle against Covid. We also demanded that government and the Health & Safety authorities compel employers to create a safe working environment in workplaces remaining open, in partnership with the trade unions, and called upon workers to take industrial action where necessary to stop the job and protect the health of themselves, local communities and the general public.

More than 40,000 people died in the first wave of the coronavirus between March and October 2020. Britain had one of the highest Covid mortality rates in the world. As infections and deaths soared, the second general lockdown in England was delayed until early November — two weeks behind Wales — and then lifted too early as a third wave gathered momentum in December.

By summer 2021, there had been more than 152,000 Covid-recorded deaths across England, Scotland and Wales. More than one million people had contracted Long Covid, NHS waiting lists topped five million, and more than one million workers had lost their jobs amid a total disruption of daily life.

The Conservative government's responses to this crisis have created confusion and a massive lack of trust. Some people understand the pro-big business logic behind it and others have strayed into conspiracy theories against lockdowns, masks and vaccines, seeing them only as repressive mechanisms of control. It is important that those who adopt such views are persuaded against them by scientific evidence and reasoned argument, thereby separating them from the reactionary forces that propagate many conspiracy theories.

Most other developed and developing countries fared much better, especially those — notably socialist China, Vietnam and Cuba — that mobilised their people behind early and sweeping public safety measures. The Conservative government's disastrous record in Britain must be fully exposed in the forthcoming public inquiry into its handling of the Covid crisis.

The immediate impact of Covid on the British economy was the deepest recession since before the Industrial Revolution. In the course of 2020, GDP fell by 11%, more than in any of the advanced capitalist countries and more than in the Depression of the 1930s or in the wake of the 2008 financial crash.

In order to stave off complete collapse, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced measures costing £407bn, at least £182bn of which consists of grants, loans, debt write-offs, subsidies, tax cuts and a rates holiday for business. This also includes £8bn for taking back control of the railway network and — following trade union pressure — at least £64bn for the Job Retention ('furlough') Scheme to pay most of the wages of 11m workers, more than one-third of them employed in large companies.

This amounts to the biggest state bailout of British capitalism in peacetime history. Although £1,100bn was made available to rescue the City of London's banks and markets from 2008, two-thirds of this was recouped or never used. The question today is: who will pay for this latest bailout?

#### A renewed ruling-class offensive

The Communist Party has repeatedly warned that, as we overcome Covid, the peoples of Britain face a ruling-class onslaught on jobs, living standards and democratic rights in order to slash government borrowing, sustain the pound sterling, boost corporate profits and fund a new Cold War.

Throughout the pandemic, the monopoly corporations have been protected, nurtured and directly supported by the Johnson government, including through 'cronyism' — the award of government contracts without tender to pro-Tory companies. Most small businesses and the genuinely self-employed have been left to sink or swim. This has accelerated the monopolisation of the economy and contributed to the renewed ruling class offensive.

The 2021 Spring Budget signalled the Conservative government's intention to pay down much of its fiscal deficit from taxes on the mass of the population, initially by freezing tax allowances. Significantly, the introduction of a higher rate of Corporation Tax — with special protection for bank profits — was not scheduled until 2023. That has given the capitalist monopolies two years to conceal, minimise and transfer their profits elsewhere and the Conservative government 18 months to dilute, delay or delete the rise.

The Budget initiated a real-terms cut in public spending of around £1.6bn a year, although military expenditure will rise as the Trident nuclear weapons programme expands to cost around £205bn. Military plans include a new 'Space Command'. The biggest cuts in public services, benefits and the value of the state retirement pension will remain under wraps until after the next General Election, which itself may be brought after repeal of the Fixed Term Parliament Act.

The Conservative government has allocated less than £2bn to help school pupils catch up with lost education, in contrast to the £13bn plus proposed by policy specialists. This inadequate award should be measured against the ongoing cuts in many local authority and school budgets.

Aside from the damage done to people and their communities by a fresh wave of austerity, there is no economic case for it. Interest rates on debt are historically low. British government debt after World War Two was reduced by a sustained period of economic growth based on massive public investment in industry and transport — not by cuts and privatisations.

Today, terminating the furlough scheme threatens the jobs of millions of employees — especially young workers — at a time when the British economy is still struggling to recover to pre-Covid output levels. Although most agencies predict accelerated economic growth in 2022, they also anticipate a slowdown in 2023.

This is because the British economy continues to suffer the same structural imbalances and weaknesses that contributed to a bigger crash and recession in 2008-09 than every G7 country except Japan.

Production and construction industries comprise only one-fifth of British GDP, on a par with France and the US but far behind Germany, Japan, Russia and China. Financial services account for more than 6%, significantly higher than in France, Germany and Japan. This means continuous pressure from the City of London to maintain the value of sterling, when necessary through higher interest rates which disadvantage British exports and make borrowing for domestic investment more expensive.

Britain's international balance of payments has been continuously in deficit since 1984, increasingly reliant on income from overseas investments and the sale of financial and business services. Since 2012, a net outflow of investment income highlights the continuing dependence on inward foreign investment in the British economy as British capital finds more profitable destinations overseas.

Even after recovering from the 2008-09 recession, business investment had stayed flat for four years before the Covid outbreak, after which it slumped by one-fifth (the biggest fall of any G7 country). Productivity remains one of British capitalism's biggest problems, growing more slowly than in all but one of the other G7 economies, at barely one-quarter of the rate before the 2008-09 recession. Among the factors responsible for low investment in technology is the diversion of capital into financial assets as 'fictitious capital', making profits without producing any additional real value.

In addition, monopoly corporations such as BP, Standard Chartered, Barclays, Balfour Beatty, Unilever and Diageo are buying back shares from wealthy shareholders instead of investing in their workforce, new equipment and technology.

Big employers will be looking to cut jobs and intensify the exploitation of remaining workers, especially in non-union workplaces. Companies usually introduce automation, robotics and artificial intelligence to win a bigger market share, capturing some of the surplus value made by the workers of their competitors. But this displacement of human labour power across sectors and the economy as a whole tends to depress working-class purchasing power and the general rate of profit.

Furthermore, the big capitalist corporations will also use their monopoly power to maintain and increase profits through higher prices, compelling many millions of people to borrow more in a desperate effort to defend their living standards. Unsecured debt already exceeds the value reached on the eve of the 2007-08 financial crash.

These factors jeopardise the prospects for a sustained recovery. As a



# REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

*“People who pronounce themselves in favor of the method of legislative reform in place of and in contradistinction to the conquest of political power and social revolution, do not really choose a more tranquil, calmer and slower road to the same goal, but a different goal.. Rosa Luxemburg 1900*

consequence, unemployment could climb rapidly; tax revenues are unlikely to rise enough to keep down the government's fiscal deficit, forcing an increase in public sector borrowing; and the City of London might demand higher interest rates in order to maintain the value of sterling and as compensation for buying Treasury bonds.

The capitalist monopoly corporations and their government, backed by the power of the state, are using the post-Covid conditions to go on the offensive against terms and conditions of employment, workplace health and safety, workers' and trade union rights, progressive taxation and pensions. Non-unionised, immigrant and young and inexperienced workers can expect to be targeted.

The government's 'Build Back Better' or 'levelling up' programme is a propaganda device, an opportunity to directly fund monopoly corporations from public money. Johnson asserted that economic recovery would be driven by infrastructure development, housebuilding, health and education modernisation and the like — but also made it very clear that it this would not be a job for the state but for the private sector; the role of government is to provide the private sector with the tools to do it. Furthermore, his government believes that impediments to profit-making such as workers' rights, trade union organisation and 'red tape' regulations should be removed wherever possible.

This economic offensive will be accompanied by a political and ideological one. The politics of collectivism, class solidarity, socialism and communism will continue to be misrepresented, ridiculed and condemned as outdated, impractical and dangerous.

Differences within the working class of sex, race, religion, nationality and other aspects of identity will be used to promote diversions and division. Progressive efforts to challenge various types of prejudice and discrimination will be mocked and dismissed, assisted by sectarianism which does not recognise the need to win the battle of ideas within the working class and its labour movement — the most powerful force opposed to the interests of the capitalist monopolies and their state, to state-monopoly capitalism.

## Johnson's post-Brexit Britain

The Conservative government is working to create a new post-Brexit Britain to facilitate this renewed ruling-class offensive.

The UK-EU Withdrawal and Trade and Cooperation Agreements have already incorporated the EU's capitalist free-market provisions into UK law, including the free movement of capital. Freedoms to regulate trade with most of Europe, extend state aid to industry and ensure that public sector procurement contracts favour local suppliers are severely restricted when permissible at all.

In order to enforce these new restrictions on government subsidies, the Conservatives' Internal Market Act has withdrawn the powers of the Scottish and Welsh parliaments and governments to operate their own state aid policies.

These agreements with the EU serve the common interests of monopoly capital, not those of the workers and peoples of Britain or Europe. Sovereignty has been secured for British state-monopoly capitalism and is fundamentally different from the popular sovereignty championed by the Communist Party and Lexit: the Left Leave campaign in 2016. A left-led Labour government might have tried to negotiate more progressive arrangements, without free trade agreements which threaten public health and environmental standards while still granting extensive rights to transnational corporations.

But the Conservative government is using the opportunities provided by Brexit to offer a vision of progress, redirecting industry — particularly in such advanced areas as electric cars, batteries and other low-carbon energy solutions — into traditional Labour-supporting areas. Temporarily stunned by the loss of hegemony resulting from the Brexit referendum and the popularity of Labour's policies under Jeremy Corbyn, Britain's ruling class is now seeking to establish a new hegemony while advancing the interests of monopoly capital.

In order to enforce this post-Brexit economic model, Johnson's regime is reshaping Britain's political model: state power is being recentralised, the coercive arms of the state apparatus strengthened, local government weakened, democratic rights of protest, assembly and expression further restricted and trades unionism undermined. As militarism and British nationalism are promoted in an ever closer alignment with US and NATO foreign and military policy. Militarism and imperialist war remain a real and present danger. Building the peace movement including such organisations as CND, the Stop the War Coalition and the British Peace Assembly is a vital task in the construction of an alliance aimed at British state-monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The need for Britain to withdraw from NATO and for that imperialist, Cold War, anti-socialist alliance to be disbanded is underlined by every new aggressive and provocative act on its part.

The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill expands police and court powers to restrict and punish non-violent protests. The Certification Officer has been given new powers to levy taxes and impose fines on trade unions. The provisions of the Higher Education (Freedom of Speech) Bill will be used to protect 'free speech' for supporters of neoliberalism, neoconservatism, oppression and imperialism. Communists will continue to promote the maximum broad-based unity in opposition to these measures.

At the same time as the Spycops Inquiry was exposing the widespread infiltration and disruption of legal political and campaigning bodies by undercover state operatives, the Johnson government was promoting legislation to extend immunity to intelligence officers engaged in criminal activities.

As it is, Labour's embrace of a second EU referendum in the 2019 General Election has enabled the Conservative Party to make political inroads into previously Labour-supporting working-class areas across swathes of the Midlands and North of England. The Conservative leadership and its mass media supporters are using this to whip up a reactionary English and British nationalism with anti-foreigner and anti-immigrant undertones, while pretending to take seriously the concerns of people about jobs, pay, housing and the NHS.

Political unity has been restored in the Conservative Party, although this could prove fragile as significant differences persist on relations with the EU, civil liberties, foreign aid, standards in public life and even attitudes towards China. The proceedings of the promised Covid Inquiry could also prove to be a destabilising factor for Boris Johnson's leadership.

In any event, unless the labour movement and its allies provide an alternative, progressive and left response, the Labour Party's loss of its electoral base in many working-class communities could last for at least a generation. Keir Starmer's strategic objective of making Labour acceptable to the ruling class as a party of government will almost certainly entail the adoption of policies unacceptable to large sections of the working class in the face of the ruling-class offensive.

## Progressive federalism

The demand for progressive federalism answers two key aspects of this challenge. On the one hand, it addresses the profound and justified feelings of loss and disempowerment felt in many working class communities across Britain. On the other, it addresses — specifically in Scotland and Wales — the related conviction that some form of national independence would provide a solution.

Communists defend the right to national self-determination but believe, in the era of capitalism and imperialism, that this must be genuine self-determination for working people rather than strengthening the power of big business and capital and weakening the ability of workers to build a wider alliance against it. Currently, the dominant nationalist parties are closely aligned to big business interests; in Scotland and Wales, both the SNP and Plaid Cymru advocate re-joining the EU and the full re-imposition of its pro-big business regulations as a basis for further monopoly capitalist penetration of local economies. Progressive federalism, on the contrary, seeks progressively to unite and empower working people as a cumulative process, against the predominant power of British finance capital and its international allies.

Economically, our regions and nations do not exist in isolation, but in mutual co-dependency. For example, almost two-thirds (60%) of Scottish and Welsh exports go to elsewhere in Britain while 19-24% go the EU and 16-21% to the rest of the world. No persuasive case has been made for disrupting this pattern, let alone for splitting the political class struggle against British state-monopoly capitalism into three separate parts.

Workers have organised on an all-Britain basis for more than 150 years, in addition to maintaining their own national and regional organisations. The Communist Party will continue to advocate working-class, labour movement and progressive unity across the nations of Britain in a united fight against a largely united monopoly capitalist class.

At the same time, it is essential that the Scottish and Welsh parliaments and governments together with the English regions have the full economic, legislative and financial powers necessary to intervene decisively in the economy, to exercise popular sovereignty over monopoly capital and market forces.

This must include restoring to the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Senedd the powers over industrial and economic policy granted in 1998, subsequently overridden by the EU but which Johnson's 2020 Internal Market Act has seized for central government — most seriously the powers over state aid to industry, control over public sector tenders and related aspects of public ownership. These are precisely the powers needed for the exercise of economic democracy by national parliaments and by democratically elected regional assemblies. They are essential for reconstructing national and regional economies in ways that are publicly accountable and which progressively give working people a belief in their collective ability and power, if united on class terms, to determine their future. In the face of finance capital's parasitic and piratical character, these powers are the only way in which coherent regional and national economic development can be secured.

The devolved authorities in Scotland and Wales must also be free to exercise the many other decision-making powers — more than 100 in total — that should come to them from Brussels as a result of Brexit. The SNP, Plaid Cymru, the Greens and the LibDems would send these powers back to Brussels by rejoining the EU.

Nations have the right to self-determination and the Communist Party accepts that the SNP-Green majority in the Scottish Parliament has a mandate to hold a second referendum on Scottish independence. Rather than support the constitutional status quo, or the SNP model of

'independence' under domination by the EU, NATO and the Bank of England, the CP believes that any referendum should have a third option on the ballot paper, namely, federalism. This would enable the Scottish people to vote for maximum powers for Scotland in domestic matters, while retaining the unity of the labour and progressive movements in the struggle against British state-monopoly capitalism.

A British federal parliament would have jurisdiction over foreign affairs, defence, macro-economic policy and national insurance, also with the power to raise taxes on wealth and income. This will be essential for the redistribution of wealth from the capitalist class to the working class on the basis of social need, and to enable investment in the economic and industrial redevelopment of the nations and regions of Britain. The federal parliament's upper chamber elected by the national parliaments and regional assemblies should have responsibility for upholding national and regional rights and revising legislation. The special status enjoyed by monopoly capital in the Isle of Man and Channel Isles, which are run as semi-feudal big business fiefdoms, will have to be ended. Their peoples and parliaments should be integrated into the new federal system.

The Communist Party reaffirms its view that parliaments should be elected by the Single Transferable Vote system in multi-member constituencies. This ensures that the elected members are broadly representative of the political preferences of the electors, but without breaking direct accountability to their constituents.

Communists and a growing number of socialists in the Welsh and Scottish Labour Parties advocate a federalism that is progressive. National parliaments in Scotland, Wales and England together with assemblies in the English regions and Cornwall should have the powers and resources to engage in economic planning, public ownership, state investment and public procurement. Powerful local and devolved government would be in a position to establish a programme of public works in the pursuit of full employment, helping to rebuild left-behind communities and narrow the stark economic and social inequalities between different parts of Britain, rooted as these are in class exploitation.

## The anti-monopolies fightback

The Communist Party's programme Britain's Road to Socialism makes the case for building a broad, popular, democratic anti-monopolies alliance led by the organised working class.

This strategic task becomes even more urgent in periods of a ruling-class offensive, such as the workers and peoples of Britain experienced in the 1980s and early 1990s and following the election of the Tory-LibDem coalition in 2010.

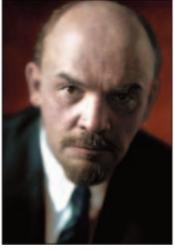
Unity in action needs to be built between trade unions, trades councils and the movements representing women, tenants, the unemployed, anti-racists, young people, students, environmentalists, civil liberties campaigners, the LGBT+ communities and others. The objective basis for unity is that they all face the same vested interests which exploit, oppress or oppose them: the capitalist monopoly corporations, their 'market forces' and the state apparatus and mass media which protect and promote them.

In many cases the response of the unions has been muted, with many trying to avoid the stark realities and attempting to deal with a frontal assault as if it were a series of unrelated and routine industrial disputes. Too often, for example, the priority has been to win redundancy payment deals for individuals rather than to oppose job losses for the workforce, local communities and young people.

Nonetheless, in a growing trend, workers and their unions are showing a willingness to fight to defend jobs, public services, pay and pensions. Recently, we have witnessed campaigns against factory closures at Rolls Royce (Barnoldswick), McVities (Glasgow), GKN Automotive (Birmingham) and elsewhere, and against 'fire and rehire' threats to employment terms and conditions from companies such as British Gas, Manchester 'Go North West' buses, British Airways and Jacobs Douwe Egberts. Walkouts have forced employers to take protective measures against Covid infection. Victories have been won for union recognition, collective bargaining and higher pay. When workers organise and fight back, attacks can be resisted and advances secured.

This approach is vital in the unfolding struggle to shape the world of work. Labour-saving technology can either be used to dump workers in the unemployment queue, or it can be introduced in a planned way, shortening the working week for all, allowing workers more time for family responsibilities, leisure, adult education and retraining with no loss of income. This perspective is at the core of the Unemployment Fightback initiatives taken by the Communist Party and its allies in the trade union movement.

The trade union movement should call for and participate in a jobs-led All-Britain Reconstruction Council with representatives of the central and devolved governments, local government and sectors of industry. Its powers would include the direction of investment into new and green industries and technologies such as computer and database engineering, hi-tech instruments, satellites, physics equipment and digital communications. Planning would have to involve university, public and private sector research establishments and the economic and financial benefits would be shared equitably. Such a major initiative will require



# AS RADICAL AS REALITY

*'I don't know how radical you are, or how radical I am. I am certainly not radical enough. One can never be radical enough; that is, one must always try to be as radical as reality itself'*

**VI Lenin** 1917 in exile in Zurich

research funded by government and application by specialist enterprises. Major steps towards a new global infrastructure of digital privacy will also be needed to curb the harvesting and monetisation of data by social media giants such as Alphabet Inc. (Google) and Facebook Inc.

Unions must now put aside sectional and sectarian rivalry to cooperate in the recruitment of precarious, temporary, part-time, casual, young and immigrant workers. When these workers take legitimate action, they deserve the support of the whole labour movement.

Together with Labour and progressive local authorities, unions should make facilities available to unemployed workers to organise and campaign for jobs and higher, fairer and more comprehensive benefits. Unite the Union's Community membership initiative has helped bring many unemployed workers, carers and others into the trade union movement, highlighting the issues they face. Disabled People Against the Cuts continues to play a vital role in struggling for the specific rights of disabled people in and out of work.

The 'Sheffield Needs a Pay Rise' and similar initiatives show how to unite low paid workers in local communities with the trade union movement. These efforts should be extended to many other cities. A network of 'workers solidarity centres' needs to be established in union offices or online, as the basis for a movement of the unemployed and workers in precarious employment across England, Scotland and Wales, with social media campaigning facilities wherever possible. These centres may have different funding sources and facilities, but it is important they are networked and campaign for the right to work.

A reinvigorated movement is needed to defend the value and universality of the state retirement pension, including its 'triple-lock' mechanism to maintain and improve its value. This is vital not only to secure a basic source of income for all of today's elderly people, free from the indignity of a Means Test, and to end poverty in old age; it will also benefit future generations who may not enjoy the benefit of a substantial work-based pension.

Calls for a Universal Basic Income should, however, be resisted. It would be divisive and either inadequate or unaffordable, diverting public money from public services and proposing a false 'utopian' response to fundamental questions of class ownership and economic capacity. It would provide a subsidy to low-paying employers and exploitative landlords, act as a disincentive to fight for higher wages and thus undermine trade unionism and collective bargaining. UBI is an idealist example of an attempt to replace the necessity of class struggle with the illusion of class cuddle. Furthermore, UBI could place sweeping new powers in the hands of the capitalist state and a right-wing government to cut living standards, depress wages and further weaken collectivism and the trade unions at a stroke.

No mass movement for change — let alone for socialist revolution — can be constructed without the mass participation of women. Encouraging, supporting and helping to enable their full involvement is the responsibility of all who want far-reaching change in our society.

Austerity policies place a disproportionate burden on women as workers, benefit claimants and users of public services, especially Black women and those from ethnic minority backgrounds. The Covid pandemic has further exposed and deepened inequalities in pay and security of employment. Furloughed into more unpaid work in the home and as carers, suffering increased levels of anxiety, loneliness and domestic violence, women have borne the brunt of the mishandling of the pandemic by a ruling class that puts business profits before women's welfare.

Ideological attacks on women's struggle for liberation have intensified as reactionary theories of gender identity have spread in the labour movement. Setbacks to women's economic and social progress are setbacks for the class struggle as a whole. For these reasons and because the expression of materialist understanding of women's oppression under capitalism is essential to a Marxist-Leninist analysis, we welcome the recent Employment Appeal Tribunal decision in the Maya Forstater case, which concluded that the belief that a person's 'sex' is a material reality, which should not be conflated with gender or gender identity is 'worthy of respect in a democratic society' and is 'not incompatible with human dignity and not [in] conflict with the fundamental rights of others'.

Much more study, discussion and education is urgently needed across the labour and progressive movements about the oppression and super-exploitation of women in class society and the importance of the fight for women's emancipation in the struggle for socialism. Reactionary liberal and individualistic ideas which undermine and attack advances in women's rights have to be challenged on the basis of class politics and the position of women in capitalist society. In recent years, the campaigning organisation Woman's Place UK has won a wider understanding of the risks posed to women's rights and helped hold back proposed changes to the law that could be detrimental to women. It deserves broader support across the labour movement. Much greater awareness is also needed of the triple oppression borne by black and Asian women workers.

Building a stronger National Assembly of Women (Britain's affiliate of the Women's International Democratic Federation), promoting the Charter for Women at every level of the labour movement, would not

only advance the struggle for justice and equality for women, for the health and well-being of children, and for peace. It would also enormously enhance the prospects for developing a broad, militant anti-monopolies alliance.

A reinvigorated tenants movement is springing up in localities in response to the ongoing, severe housing crisis in many parts of England, Scotland and Wales.

The Communist Party's Charter for Housing proposes a range of policies to meet the needs and aspirations of millions of people who lack a home of their own or live in overcrowded or sub-standard housing. Their interests are directly contradicted by the capitalist housing market with its super-profits for the real estate, property development, construction and banking monopolies.

The Grenfell Tower inquiry has exposed how putting cost and profit first has produced criminally dangerous housing conditions for working-class people, underlining the need for strong tenants' organisations, responsive local authorities, the restoration of council direct labour departments and strict regulation of the construction and housing sectors.

All the different forces drawn towards an anti-monopolies alliance have a direct interest in the fight to overcome Britain's housing crisis. A renewed drive is urgently required to build at least 350,000 new homes a year to meet current need. This would give an enormous stimulus to the economy and jobs. A broad movement is needed to campaign for more social and council housing, tenants' rights and rent controls and against unwarranted evictions, empty properties and the spread of second and holiday homes.

Similarly, campaigners who oppose NHS privatisation, the priorities and profiteering of pharmaceutical monopolies such as GSK, AstraZeneca, Pfizer UK and Spire, and who call for a comprehensive NHS including eye and dental services, would find additional support in an anti-monopolies alliance.

The upsurge in anti-racist campaigning sparked by police brutality and murder in the US and — to a lesser extent — in Britain has created a new largely amorphous Black Lives Matter movement alongside previously existing campaigning bodies, exposing and opposing structural racism. The Windrush scandal had already laid bare the institutional racism so long denied by defenders of the British state. Protests by inmates in asylum and immigration detention centres have highlighted another aspect of the same problem.

What is needed now is greater unity and solidarity between anti-racist campaigners and the labour movement. This will be all the more prolific if it is based on a growing understanding of the roots of racism in the transatlantic Slave Trade, colonial conquest and plunder and its subsequent development during the imperialist stage of capitalism. Britain's racist immigration, asylum and nationality laws are a surviving legacy of this history. They have been extended to regulate the huge flows of people set in motion by imperialist super-exploitation and war. The fight against them — and for a fair and equitable non-racist immigration, asylum and nationality system — must become a higher priority for the labour and anti-racist movements and the other forces that would comprise an anti-monopolies alliance.

Although non-state racist and fascist organisations are at a low ebb, their capacity to terrorise black and minority ethnic communities should not be underestimated; neither should their potential for regeneration in conditions of mass unemployment and a rise in reactionary nationalist sentiment which targets immigrants and foreigners.

The Communist Party reaffirms its view — confirmed by experience — that fascist organisations are best denied a platform by mass action based on working-class and local community unity against divide-and-rule and the super-exploitation of cheap labour. The disadvantage and inequality experienced by ethnic minority groups arises from the very nature of class society, capitalism and imperialism; identity politics which do not recognise this will be used by upholders of the status quo to perpetuate disunity, division and therefore the capitalist system itself.

Many young people have struggled with the impact of the Covid pandemic on their daily lives, their sense of well-being and their mental health. In other respects, they are the main victims of violent crime, drug abuse and gang wars. Many of tomorrow's workers face the prospect of low-paid and unfulfilling work, inadequate apprenticeships and precarious employment in the gig economy. Students have paid tuition fees for little or nothing in return and many work long hours to support themselves during their studies, only to face years of debt after leaving college. A generation of young people face the prospect of never owning or renting an affordable home with security of tenure.

Yet still young people mobilise and fight to change society for the better, marching to save the planet, walking out of school to demonstrate that 'Black Lives Matter' and in solidarity with the Palestinian people, protesting against Conservative attacks on civil liberties and occupying college buildings to demand education justice.

The labour movement and the Communist Party must prioritise campaigns — including direct action — for policies in education, employment, housing, youth and community services and cultural facilities that can guarantee a productive and fulfilling future for our young citizens.

In particular, Communists will help promote the Young Communist

League's Youth Charter, which sets out the specific policies required.

The environmental movement has responded with vigour and imagination to the threat of a global climate change catastrophe caused by the continued extraction and burning of fossil fuels. In the face of the climate emergency, the Communist Party reaffirms its support for the transition to a low-carbon economy with massive investment in wind, tidal, geothermal and solar power. The moratorium on fracking for shale gas should be made permanent.

Communists also reject the reliance of successive British governments on nuclear fission of uranium and plutonium. It is a costly, dangerous and hugely irresponsible option which exists primarily to maintain the specialised skills and plutonium production needed for nuclear weapons. Instead, research and development of nuclear fusion should continue and remain within the public sector rather than being opened up to speculative business consortia.

A 'Green New Deal' would enable workers in carbon-intensive, nuclear fission and armaments industries to utilise and enhance their skills for civilian and socially-useful production. The over-reliance of Britain's industrial base, exports and R&D on military production by big monopolies such as BAE Systems, Airbus and Rolls Royce must end. A series of studies has shown how workers in the aerospace factories, shipyards, submarine bases and atomic weapon establishments could all be securely employed producing the goods so badly needed at home and abroad.

A top priority must be to build an integrated, cheap and energy-efficient public and freight transport system at local, regional and national levels, using clean and renewable energy. A sustainable home-building programme could use recycled materials and the latest conservation technology for water use, heating, cooling and energy supply.

The 'Green New Deal' would create more than 500,000 new jobs spread across every nation and region of Britain. But it is not achievable without extensive investment in technical education, skills training and retraining. Measures of social ownership in the transport and energy sectors dominated by overseas and British-based monopolies would also be essential, together with integrated democratic planning and control at local, regional and national levels. As the UN International Panel on Climate Change proposed in its 15th Report, 'rapid and far-reaching transformations' in the world's energy, transport and food systems are vital by the year 2030.

This is the political analysis that needs to be won in 'green' movements such as Extinction Rebellion, whose unelected leaders appear to be reluctant to draw the necessary anti-monopoly capitalist conclusions from their campaigning.

The movement for LGBT+ rights has made major advances since the 1990s. While support has come from across the political spectrum, the policies adopted by large sections of the labour movement have brought a class-based approach to unity in the struggle against prejudice and discrimination.

However, progress is now threatened by the incorporation of 'Pride' events and LGBT+ rights training by big business and the state in alliance with some voluntary organisations. There are also right wing ideological efforts to erode the progressive and radical politics of the LGBT+ movement and promote divisive gender identity politics.

The collective struggle to defend and extend women's rights is under attack by reactionary elements in the LGBT+ movement whose anti-class individualism erroneously conflates sex and gender and rejects women's lived experiences, women's self-organisation and women's safe spaces. These attacks in the name of gender self-identification cannot be ignored. Nor should the defence of these gains by the women's and labour movements lead to a rejection of the rights and progressive demands of people in gender transition to live without fear of discrimination and physical assault.

The Communist Party recognises no antagonistic contradiction between the class-based struggle against the oppression and super-exploitation of women and the campaign to end discrimination against transgender people. The former cannot be advanced by conflict and disunity within the labour movement; reasoned dialogue and debate will be essential to progress.

A reinvigorated, independent and non-sectarian LGBT+ movement will itself be strengthened by making its own constructive contribution to the anti-monopolies alliance.

Building such an alliance through discussion, debate and action must now be the top strategic priority of the labour and progressive movements and the left, including the Communist Party. It already exists in embryo in the People's Assembly, which now needs to strengthen and broaden the involvement of trades unions and progressive campaigning movements at central, national, regional and local levels. Over the coming period, the main focus needs to shift from organising national demonstrations to building the movement in every town and city, not only against cuts and privatisation but also in favour of alternative policies.

The Communist Party proposes that this perspective be taken forward by an Anti-Monopolies Convention in 2022 or early 2023, sponsored if possible by the People's Assembly, the *Morning Star* and a range of trade union, campaigning and political bodies.



# NATION

*A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture*

**JV Stalin 1913**

## The left-wing programme

Britain's Road to Socialism explains the value of formulating a Left-Wing Programme in order to highlight the key demands that challenge state-monopoly capitalism. These should be policies which can unite the broadest range of forces in the direction of an anti-monopolies alliance, for example to:

- Tax the rich and big business with wealth and financial transaction taxes.
- Defend small businesses and the self-employed against monopoly pressure and takeover by the big corporations.
- End the use of British overseas territories as tax havens by the super-rich and capitalist monopolies.
- Cut military spending to average European levels, cancel Trident and promote an independent foreign and defence policy for Britain.
- Invest in the NHS, education, emergency and other public services — eject the profiteers.
- Build a million more energy-efficient homes in the public sector and end the scandal of empty properties.
- Halt privatisation, outsourcing and deregulation — take the utilities, transport, banking, pharmaceuticals and armaments into public ownership.
- Develop tidal, solar and offshore wind power and other safe, renewable energy sources.
- Link the minimum wage to earnings, end discrimination against young workers and impose universal equal pay audits.
- Consolidate the Universal Credit £20 uplift into the basic allowance, extend it to the associated 'legacy benefits' and end the harsh terms and conditions imposed on claimants.
- Replace Universal Credit with a Social Security system based on the principle of universality.
- Reintroduce selective price controls where rising inflation threatens to undermine working-class living standards.
- Replace the anti-union laws with a legal framework of rights in line with International Labour Organisation standards.
- Redress the imbalance of power in the workplace by reintroducing sectoral collective bargaining and removing the restrictions on the right to strike.
- Eliminate zero hours contracts, regulate casual and agency work, outlaw fire and rehire practices and ensure full rights for all workers from day one.
- Uphold the principle of full employment as the central aim of economic policy.
- Refund tuition fees and restore maintenance grants for all students.
- Abolish Britain's racist immigration, asylum and nationality laws and replace them with a fair, equitable and non-racist system.

- Build a federal Britain with economic powers and financial resources for Scottish, Welsh and English parliaments, local government and regional assemblies.

- Raise the level of Britain's overseas aid substantially, with no strings attached.

## A politicised labour movement

Well before Jeremy Corbyn became Labour leader, the Labour Party's base in its traditional heartlands had been reduced not only by the right-wing policies of New Labour, but also by deindustrialisation, a trade union movement hamstrung by anti-union laws and the consequent overall decline in class consciousness.

However, the lack of political education, Marxist class analysis and a stronger base in the trade union movement were major sources of weakness in the resurgent Labour left inspired by Corbyn. It made the Labour left vulnerable to confusion, disorientation, disarray and ultimately to defeat and despair when faced with a determined counter-offensive by the ruling class — and its allies within the labour movement — on questions of patriotism, disarmament, economic and fiscal policy and anti-Semitism. Responses based on liberalism or ultra-leftism were easily swept aside.

Rather than embrace a Marxist understanding of class society, sections of the Labour left immersed themselves in identity politics of a narrow and divisive kind. Instead of confronting the realities of capitalist exploitation and state power, escapist ideas gained ground such as Modern Monetary Theory. This proposes to overcome capitalist crises by expanding the money supply, without addressing the real causes of crisis, ignoring the relationship between price and value, underestimating the modern significance of 'financialisation' and 'fictitious capital', and denying or downplaying such consequences as inflation, currency devaluation, higher export prices, higher interest rates and lower investment.

The subsequent change of Labour Party leadership has alienated and demobilised many socialists and social-democrats. Representing the politics of class collaboration and support for British state-monopoly capitalism and imperialism, Labour's new leaders are unable to give a clear, class-based political lead to the wider labour movement. Their chief ambition is to purge the left in the hope that this will make the Labour Party more acceptable to the ruling class and its mass media, more electable, and prevent any resurgence of the left within its ranks. But it will not redress the loss of support in Labour's heartlands.

A political turn to the left across the wider labour movement is therefore urgently required. This must be a priority for the trade unions, the left and the Communist Party if they are to offer direction and leadership to mass movements and assist their convergence in an anti-

monopolies alliance.

But such a left-turn must run deeper than changes in trade union and Labour Party policies and leaders. Those changes must themselves reflect a resurgence of class and socialist — including Marxist — politics in workplaces, local communities and the labour movement at every level. Political discussion and education, the *Morning Star*, the non-sectarian Labour left and the Communist Party have a major part to play in such a politicisation process.

This is the real alternative to the 'anti-Tory' electoral alliance being proposed by some Labour, Green Party and LibDem politicians. Such an unprincipled coalition will inevitably be based on pro-capitalist, pro-NATO and pro-EU politics, hostile to socialism under the cover of 'anti-Tory' rhetoric. It would undermine independent labour movement electoral activity in many constituencies for a decade and more, without even a guarantee that supporters of the alliance parties will obediently deliver a majority of non-Tory seats in a General Election.

Rebuilding non-sectarian broad left politics in the trade unions and a significant increase in the size and influence of the Communist Party are the strongest safeguards against a recurrence of recent retreats and defeats in the Labour Party.

Therefore, over the coming period, the priorities for the Communist Party will be to build alliances as part of its growing work in the trade union, anti-austerity, women's, anti-racist and peace movements; work closely with the YCL at every level; at the same time, to raise the profile of the CP through more direct public work by the Party's branch, district, national and central organisations including greater participation in elections, community action and the social media; and to reinvigorate our efforts to win more readers for the *Morning Star* and establish or strengthen local *Morning Star* supporters groups.

As ever, Britain's Communists will also fight the class struggle on the ideological front. The CP uses Marxist materialism, evidence and reasoned argument to analyse, understand and explain significant events and trends, not 'conspiracy theories' based on unverifiable claims, tenuous connections, chance occurrences and bogus documentation. Our class enemy is the ruling capitalist class, not some secretive global cabal.

The Communist Party will promote political education in the labour movement in such areas as political economy, state power and state-monopoly capitalism and conduct intensive programmes of induction and Marxist-Leninist education for new and existing CP members, giving due prominence to our programme Britain's Road to Socialism.

**Resist the ruling class offensive!**

**On to the anti-monopolies alliance!**

**Build the trade unions and the Communist Party! ★**

## Congress organisation

Branch Secretaries are urged to ensure that every local member not on email receives a paper copy of the draft EC resolutions as soon as possible.

### PRE-CONGRESS DISCUSSION

The EC resolutions are available online, together with details of where Party and YCL members can send their contributions to the Pre-Congress Discussion. These will be collected for publication in a series of bulletins available to all Party and YCL members online and/or in print in Unity!. Comrades are free to express their views in the period between now and Congress, including any disagreements with Party policy, but this should be done in a spirit of reasoned debate and comradeship.

### ALLOCATION OF FULL VOTING DELEGATES

Each District and Nation Committee of the Party is entitled to elect two full voting delegates to the Congress.

The EC has decided to allocate the number of full Branch delegates according to the number of paid-up members in each District or Nation as at June 30, 2021, on the basis of one delegate per 10 members, plus one delegate for a residual number of five members or more. Thus, for example, a District of 34 members would be entitled to send three full delegates, while one of 35 members would have an allocation of four.

According to Party Centre records, the entitlement to Branch delegates for each District and Nation is as follows:

London	18	Scotland	17
Midlands	15	North West	14
Wales	8	SW & Cornwall	8
Eastern	8	Southern	7
Yorkshire	7	Northern	6

It is up to each District and Nation to decide the reallocation of these delegates to each Branch or aggregate of Branches within its area. This should correspond as reasonably as possible to Branch membership numbers.

The EC urges Branches and District and Nation Committees to aim for parity for women at the very least when electing delegates, while not ignoring other important considerations of knowledge, experience, etc. With the same qualification, the EC is also keen to encourage the election of Black, ethnic minority and younger and newer members as full delegates.

Please note that the Communist Party does not permit the mandating of delegates by Branches, Districts or Nations to speak or vote in a particular way at Congress.

Delegates may be registered up to and at the Congress itself, although this creates administrative problems as well as possible difficulties in terms of preparation, participation and accommodation. Therefore Branches and District and Nation Committees are asked to make every reasonable effort to submit the names of their delegates by October 1.

### CONSULTATIVE DELEGATES AND GUESTS

Consultative delegates have the right to participate in Congress proceedings, but not to vote. They are invited to attend by the EC and include members of the outgoing EC who are not attending as full delegates from their Branch, District or Nation; all convenors of Party commissions and advisories; representatives of the Young Communist League; and all Party members of the PPS Management Committee. Branches, Districts and Nations may propose other comrades to the EC for consideration at its meeting on October 9-10.

Party members may attend the congress as guests but are not permitted to participate in the formal proceedings. Places will be in very short supply and a fee may be payable.

### DELEGATE FEES

The EC will decide the scale of fees for Full and Consultative delegates and guests at its meeting on August 1. These will include a pooled fare element for travel costs and entitlement to refreshments. Delegates should book public transport in advance wherever possible. Full delegate fees will be payable regardless of nomination and attendance. Financial assistance may be available from Party Centre in cases of hardship. Accommodation costs should be borne by each delegate's

Branch, District and Nation and free places may be available from Party members living in the London area.

### CONGRESS COMMITTEES

Each District and Nation will be represented on the Election Preparations Committee by one of their full Branch or District/Nation delegates. This must not be a member of the outgoing EC who is standing for re-election.

The EC will have two representatives on the EPC.

The Congress Arrangements & Resolutions Committee will comprise two EC representatives plus one full delegate from each District and Nation.

Please notify the Party Centre of the names of comrades nominated to the EPC and the CA&RC as soon as possible.

Both committees may meet during the weekend of October 30-31. Travel expenses will be payable by Party Centre.

### NOMINATIONS FOR THE EC, AUDITORS AND APPEALS COMMITTEE

Each Branch, District and Nation may nominate comrades from any area of the Party for election at the congress to the new EC, the Appeals Committee or as an Auditor. These nominations, including the numbers who voted for and against them at the nominating meeting, should be notified to Party Centre by October 1.

### AMENDMENTS TO RULE AND STANDING ORDERS

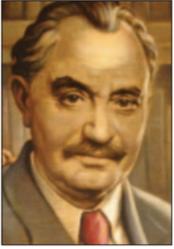
These will be circulated very soon as part of Congress Letter #3.

### DATES AND DEADLINES

**October 1** Deadline for send-in of Branch, District and Nation resolutions and amendments to the EC resolutions and of nominations for the Executive, Appeals Committee and auditors.

**October 23-24** First meeting of Congress committees – Elections Preparation Committee and Conference Arrangement & Resolutions Committee.

**November 6-7** Congress of Britain's communists. ★



# FASCISM

*It would be a gross mistake to lay down any sort of universal scheme of the development of fascism, valid for all countries and all peoples. Such a scheme would not help but would hamper us in carrying on a real struggle.*  
**Georgi Dimitrov 1935**



## Making sense of our nations



### SCOTLAND

Scottish communists have taken the initiative in launching anew pamphlet by Communist Party international secretary John Foster Johnson's *post-Brexit Britain or Progressive Federalism?* with a well attended zoom (above). Speakers included author John Foster himself and Scottish communist leader Tam Morrison. The 32 page pamphlet is priced £2.50 and is available at [www.shop/communistparty.org.uk](http://www.shop/communistparty.org.uk)  
 A new publication, Scottish Party

Organiser (SPO), is produced by the Party in Scotland to meet the rising demand for coordination of information of activity. It is to be sent to all members initially, as a fortnightly. If you know of comrades in Scotland who have not received the first issue, please consider asking them to add [info@communistparty.org.uk](mailto:info@communistparty.org.uk) to their address book, which will ensure that our messages reach them and not their spam box.  
 Scottish comrades will still receive the all-Britain edition. ★

## Cable Street plans

### FIGHTING FASCISM

PLANS HAVE been drawn up to mark the anniversary of Cable Street. There will be a short march on Sunday 3 October, assembling at the junction of Cable Street/Leman Street at 1 pm, with a march along the north side of Cable Street from 1.30pm ending with a rally near the mural and park around

2pm. Expect Asian and Yiddish bands, with speakers from local Labour movement, Communist Party, and Jewish and Irish communities.

Communist Party members and supporters nearer to Manchester are urged to support the People's Assembly demonstration against the Conservative Party conference that day. ★

**CALLING TRADE UNION ACTIVISTS!** Unity! was first published 30 years ago at the TUC but we have no complete collection. If you have any old issues stored away please let editor Nick Wright [nickwright@mac.com](mailto:nickwright@mac.com) know to arrange collection



# DISCUSSION

### On the Domestic Resolution

I think there is a gaping hole in the Domestic Resolution; an elephant in the room. It reads like the manifesto of a contending political party of the normal kind, seeking power to implement a programme of (doubtless much needed) wide-ranging reform. What is missing is what came to be missing in the Communist movement generally – the wish to pass power to the working class.

There is no mention at all of the need for democracy in the workplace – the basis on which Communism has to be founded. It is not sufficient that the state take the responsibility of running the society in the workers' interest, there must be participation by ordinary working people (and the population generally) at every level. This is the lesson to be taken from the collapse of the Soviet Union, a lesson the CPB seems not to have learnt.

The CPB would benefit from absorbing the ground breaking work of the American Marxist economists Stephen Resnick and Richard Wolff (who interpret Marx in ways that differ in important ways from the way the communists came to interpret it). They stress the importance of production, and appropriation and distribution of the surplus in the theory of class and history, leading to the conclusion that only when the workers themselves have the power to decide what to do with the profits they generate, can we have a communist society. That means private and state enterprises must be, step by step, replaced by worker self-directed enterprises to form the basis of the economy on which higher forms of cooperation including democratic macro-economic planning can and should be a part.

**John Hemp**

### Post Brexit Britain

I'd like to know the position held about how opportunities for Socialism could be enhanced with Brexit established. Those who asked for a second referendum didn't seem to want to note that the 2017 and other subsequent elections performed an answer to the question perfectly well. By 2019 both Corbyn and McDonnell had nailed their colours to the mast ruling out a no deal Brexit, thus accepting continuing EU hold on us (as in Norway while not in the EU faces EU law which overrules Norwegian law – dock workers found they could no longer say who worked on the docks but powerful multinational shipping companies could). I was concerned that reading the *Morning Star* this appeared to be overlooked and there was a failure to guide Corbyn in this respect. So how was the vote in 2019 accounted for with former mining communities voting Tory. Had they become the archetypal xenophobic, racist supporters of Farage/Johnson, or more likely incensed by the Labour Party's ignoral of those seats that supported leaving the EU. This is continually ignored. I realise the *Morning Star* has its own views. I expect to see a clear vision for Socialism post Brexit. Johnson did what his manifesto said and 'got Brexit done'. He has no other mandate. He should be gone, but where's the alternative vision?

**John Tyrell**

### Accurate

I think both resolutions are totally accurate. The industry I work in, public transport, especially in the North of England is purposely underfunded and kept together at times literally with sticky tape.

**Mark Kane**

North West District

### Unmarxist

The EC Domestic Resolution confirms an alarming economic and unMarxist turn by some, increasingly describing our main enemy as "the capitalist monopoly corporations" as opposed to monopoly capitalism itself.

The alliance we need is frequently downgraded to being an "anti-monopolies alliance" as opposed to the BRS formulation of being a "popular, democratic, anti-monopoly alliance". The "popular" and "democratic" are equally vital components as "anti-monopoly". The combination and interlocking of all three concepts are what makes the required alliance genuinely transformative and revolutionary.

We are opposed to monopoly capitalism as a social system run in the interests of a capitalist class. Reducing this to "capitalist monopoly corporations" or "monopolies" misses the essence of our fundamental critique of capitalist economic and social system, which in the present day may be described as state monopoly capitalism, but still a system, serving a class, not a simply collection of individual big corporations.

The Resolution strays even further into non-Marxism when it says the "capitalist monopoly corporations" hold state power in Britain (*Line 213*). This violates the Marxist thesis that State power is always held by a 'single' class *i.e.* a whole class, and not simply by one of its fractions, even if a given fraction of that class can be said to play a dominant role in the State. Being just "anti-monopoly" or anti big corporations can lead down a very slippery reformist slope, I am sure not intended.

We should make clear the Communist Party is against state monopoly capitalism

as a system, the whole of the bourgeoisie, and against the state, which is an instrument of the whole of the capitalist class, and in favour of the "popular, democratic, anti-monopoly alliance", as both the immediate and strategic response to all the issues we face today.

**Andrew Northall**  
 Midlands District

### Re: 'The crisis is capitalism Take the road to socialism!'

Regarding the Domestic Resolution, and specifically 'A politicised labour movement' (*generally at lines 658-691*) I would be interested to know (and respectfully ask that the same be considered in congress) what the CPB position will be with regard to independent candidates standing in local and national elections.

In particular; whether support/endorsement of independent candidates will be considered in principle, and if so; what criteria would be required in offering support/endorsement by CPB to independent candidates; and what obligations etc. would be required or expected from prospective independent candidates.

I ask as a non-party member (former Labour Party member) who is actively exploring the prospect of standing as an independent in a Manchester-based constituency on a left platform at the next general election (2024), and would be enthusiastic in working with the CPB.

**Dan Ross**

**This discussion is open to both party members (who are identified with their branch/district) and non party comrades. ★**



# EVENTS&IDEAS

Photography, precisely because it can only be produced in the present and because it is based on what exists objectively before the camera, takes its place as the most satisfactory medium for registering objective life in all its aspects, and from this comes its documental value. If to this is added sensibility and understanding and, above all, a clear orientation as to the place it should have in the field of historical development, I believe that the result is something worthy of a place in social production, to which we should all contribute. **Tina Modotti** photographer & communist

**international bulletin**  
CUBA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN STATEMENT  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN  
ECONOMIC OVERVIEW  
REJECT NEW COLD WAR AGAINST CUBA  
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**COMMUNIST REVIEW 100**  
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## COMMUNIST REVIEW CENTENARY

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*Fran Lock*



## Flash back to 1968

### SOLIDARITY

**JENNY TURNER** was a Young Communist League leader in 1968. The YCL had over eight thousand members and was growing as it took the lead in organising practical solidarity with the Vietnamese people fighting the US invasion. She takes up her story: "On 22 February 1968, a worldwide campaign of support for the Vietnamese National Liberation Front Youth was announced to assist in their fight against the US war machine and to demand that the British Government cease its support for the US. I suppose the most similar mobilisation in recent years would be that against the war on Iraq. "The aim was to raise the profile of the action against the war of aggression by providing material aid to the young freedom fighters. "Whatever we could do felt infinitesimal compared to their

sacrifices but I pledged to do what I could and threw myself into action alongside my YCL comrades. By early summer, many bicycles (used for transporting essential equipment through the difficult Vietnamese terrain), cameras, radios, typewriters, a field operation kit – even motorcycles had been bought with money raised by YCL branches' "We asked every one of our branch members to give a day's income," a branch secretary told me, "No one refused." Other branches were carrying out successful door to door and street collections; sponsored walks, concerts and public meetings. "The items were collected in a massive lorry, painted in the colours of the Vietnamese flag which traversed Britain. They were officially presented to the Vietnamese youth at a press conference, at which I was honoured to speak, at the World Festival of Youth and Students in Bulgaria in August of that year." Pictured above ★

## Are you or have you ever been a member of the YCL?

The Young Communist League is inviting former as well as current comrades to share stories of their time in the organisation. A new generation of young communists want to know who are you? What did you do in the YCL and how these experiences made you what you are today? Maximum 500 words and any relevant documents, photos or archive material is wanted? Why should the young people of Britain today step forward, join our youth movement and fight for working class power? The YCL aims to publish its YCL100 Stories in print in 2022 as part of the finale of its 100 year celebrations and project to research and write about the history of the Young Communist League.

**YCL100 - ORGANISE, CAMPAIGN AND DONATE!**  
A new website <https://ycl100.org.uk> has been launched to mark the centenary year of the Young Communist League. The League has a bold programme of commemorative work, and comrades are invited to donate towards the fighting fund. To donate go to <https://ycl100.org.uk> and scroll after the introductory videos. Every bit helps. ★



**Voice of Britain's Youth**  
<https://challenge-magazine.org>

**Finished reading Unity! Forward it to your family, friends and comrades!**

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