

PROPOSED ORDERING OF AMENDMENTS FOR CONFERENCE.

1. Resolution from Gwent Branch.

Whatever text is agreed upon should only be taken to apply to England and not Scotland and Wales. This does not mean to imply that none of it applies to these countries, but we want to indicate that there are fundamental differences between these countries which have not yet been understood adequately. It must be obvious to League members that we have not yet got any clarity on the relationship between England, Scotland and Wales. Clearly the relationship is one of national oppression but to what extent this is a national question is still a subject of much confusion. We do not believe that there is time to discuss the questions adequately at **the conference**. It is more important at this stage for the League in general to reach an agreement on 'Reorientation' but on the other hand we do not feel that the issue can be prejudged by default.

2. Amendment from JG (a)

As the whole text of the conference document implicitly proceeds from the standpoint that the main contradiction in Britain is the national one, it is not feasible to amend it on the basis of the main contradiction being that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat by a simple one line amendment. Conference therefore resolves that the basic conference document as amended by conference should be re-written on the basis that the main contradiction is the class contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

3. i. Amendment from the Industrial Sub-Committee

A Paragraphs 12 and 13: Delete and replace by:

The development of imperialism resulted in a division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations. It also greatly affected the relationship between classes within Britain. Through the super profits from its exploitation abroad, the bourgeoisie was able, although only after bitter struggles to grant improved living standards at home. To get the full benefit from this it had to link in the minds of the population, prosperity in Britain to imperialism in the colonies - thus it worked successfully to create a situation whereby the working class was prepared to ally itself with its own ruling class in its savage exploitation of nations and peoples, while at the same time being forced to engage daily in economic and political battles with both the forces of Capital and the state.

Only by appreciating the fact that the working class is, to varying degrees affected by imperialist ideology and is both in unity and contradiction with the very forces that exploit it, can we begin to understand its position in a decaying imperialist society where class and national struggles exist and interrelate.

It is insufficient to say that a section of the working class - the Labour Aristocracy - has been corrupted. This is not to imply that the whole of the working class has been totally bought off. They are still exploited by this system, but in relation to the contradiction between the oppressed nations and peoples of the world and the imperialist world order, they are temporarily at least in alliance with imperialism. This is why the racist oppression suffered here by the national minority people does not only come from the state and the ruling class; it also takes the form of attack and insult on the street, trade union collaboration with management to maintain discriminatory practices and lack of support by white workers for struggles by black people both on economic issues and on wider questions.

Objectively the working class and the national minority people face the same enemy, although the working class struggle is still confined within the parameters of social democracy. British imperialism exists on class exploitation and national oppression and struggle on both these fronts are necessary to overthrow it. The two struggles are separate and distinct but that does not mean that they are divided by any great wall. Our job is to bring them closer together but this can only happen if a mutual recognition of each and particularly of the majority working class support for the rights of the national minority can be built. This means that we must (i) develop support for those who are fighting national oppression and (ii) educate and organise among the white working class (both at work and outside and ~~also~~ among the unemployed.)

In the long run there can be no change of state power without the existence of a multi-national working class vanguard party, based on Marxism-Leninism and organised and influential among the most oppressed sections of society and at the point of production. To build such a party, using the scaffolding of our paper Class Struggle, we must grasp the necessity of making anti-imperialism the key thread in all our political work, particularly in dealing with the contradiction between Labour and Capital. Such work should be directed at breaking down links between the working class and the **bourgeoisie** and building up a strategic alliance between the working class and the national minority people, with the unity of the advanced elements from the majority working class and the national minority working class at the core.

ii. Amendment from Yeovil

A Paragraph 12: Add at the end:

- ✓ Although historically the whole of the working class has been imbued with racist ideology, racist attitudes are not held uniformly throughout the class. There is a spectrum which includes a thoroughly racist section, a middle section which has broken with racism in certain aspects e.g. in relationships with individual black acquaintances, without being advanced enough to understand and support such demands as free national development; and an advanced section which has seen through the lie of racism and can unite in their oppression with national minority struggles. The advanced section is still a small minority but especially amongst the youth and unemployed, it is growing.

iii. Amendment from P. (Bristol).

A Paragraph 12:

- X In the second sentence replace "thoroughly imbued" by 'seriously affected'. (Will fall if ISC amndment passed).

Delete sentences 3 and 4.

In the second paragraph, line 6, delete all after the first word and replace by: There are few who will actively identify with anti-imperialism, and equally there is a small element who actively promote racism and fascism. The majority show little interest or concern, except when their own economic position is under threat. Then racism becomes a ready source of division, providing an 'easy solution' - the classic diversion of divide and rule.

iv. Amendment from J.G. (e).

✓ Conference recognises that, while the activity of a labour aristocracy is not alone a sufficient explanation of the deep influence of opportunism in the working class, a labour aristocracy continues to exist and has been and is the main social force promoting opportunism in the working class.

4. Amendment from JD (Leeds).

✓ A paragraph 14, line 3:

Change "anti-Irish chauvinism" to "anti-Irish racism".

5. Amendment from P. (Bristol)

X Section B: delete whole of section.

6. Amendment and Resolution from the Women's Commission.

i. Amendment to section B.

Explanatory note: We do not consider it possible to summarise accurately the line and practice (or lack of both) and the internal life of the RCL on the question of women's emancipation, never mind in three short paragraphs. Therefore this amendment below just addresses itself to what we have already recognised and substantiated in the article in 'October', and characterises the subsequent period as one of lip service.

Amendment, section B, paragraphs 20-22, delete and replace with:

✓ The line on women adopted by the RCL in the Manifesto of 1977, (criticised in 'October' 1, no.2) was idealist and economist, and in the prevailing context of dogmatic insistence on the primacy of industrial work, reduced the struggle for women's emancipation to the struggle of women workers for equal pay. This line effectively stifled development of either theory or practice on women's struggles.

Three years later, this was recognised at the RCL History Conference, and the Women's Commission was set up to "strengthen our line and practice".
subsequently

At the RCL Second Congress, a 'marker' resolution was passed without discussion. Thus the history of the RCL has been one of, at best, paying lip service to the question of women - both in terms of developing a policy and line, and in carrying out education internally.

ii. Resolution to Conference on the Question of Women.

✓ a. We must recognise that the RCL up to now has paid only lip service to the question of women's oppression. The struggle for women's emancipation must become a vital part of the RCL reorientation. Cdes assigned to the Women's Commission must be enabled to make the development of line a priority, and in turn the Women's Commission must ensure that it educates the RCL as it goes along. It is imperative that the necessary theoretical work gets done. Mass work amongst women should be accorded a priority, and more attention should be given to the aspect of women's oppression in all our areas of work.

b. All women are oppressed as women, under imperialism. But the class position of a minority of women, and the fact that they are white, far outweighs the significance of their oppression as women. Where the opportunity arises, women comrades should make it a priority to engage in struggles of women against their own oppression, primarily amongst those who are most oppressed: those whose oppression is compounded with class and national oppression. Women's fight against their oppression takes many forms: Their role as the main pillar of the family puts them in the front line of confrontation with the state, in the form of the social services, housing, education. Both as individuals and in organised ways, women resist male violence. We cannot give a blueprint for what form such struggles will take - all comrades should be alert to the possibilities and recognise the significance of such struggles.

c. The question of struggles against women's oppression and the general anti-imperialist struggles cannot be separated. There are many examples of their interrelationships. E.g. in the struggle to ban Depoprovera, there are aspects of struggle against women's oppression and against national oppression, since the women who mainly have DP forced on them are third world women. In the struggle against the immigration laws, where a woman is the target, there is an aspect of women's oppression as well as the contradictions between national minority people and the state.

d. Further, because of women's experience of the state, there is a basis for them to relate more easily to the oppression suffered by national minority people.

e. In industrial struggles, women's exclusion from skilled work, the more 'organised' sectors of industry and from 'equal representation' in the trade union movement, also means their relative exclusion from consolidated opportunism.

f. In all mass work, comrades should pay far more attention to the aspect of women's oppression, and to understanding, supporting and developing the role of women in the struggle.

g. As we carry out this work, we will find allies from amongst sections of the women's movement.

7. 1. Amendment from P. (Bristol).

X A Paragraph 4: delete whole paragraph.

ii. Amendment from GL. (Leeds).

A Paragraph 4: delete and replace by:

X The intensification of these and other areas of conflict within Britain, coupled with a fall in the appeal of Social Democracy among increasing numbers of the most oppressed has meant that the potential for revolutionary advance has grown rapidly in this decade. Unfortunately the RCL has been in no shape to take full advantage of this. Since the Second Congress in 1981 developments in our organisation have been very patchy - good in some parts, bad in others, but overall mainly downwards.

Underestimating the significance of the national question, confusion over its relationship with class struggle, failure to grasp the political importance of style and methods of work plus weak leadership from the centre are all factors that internally have contributed to the current crisis in the RCL. Yet at the same time sections of the organisation have come much closer in tune

with dynamic movements outside, won respect and made strong impressions for what they have said and done. Overcoming this contradiction by summing up the good and bad experiences of the last two years and rebuilding our unity through clear political struggle is the key to establishing a strong Marxist-Leninist force in Britain.

8. Amendments from P. (Bristol)

i. A Paragraph 7: delete whole paragraph.

ii. A Paragraph 9: delete whole paragraph.

iii. A Paragraph 10: add at the end:

Although it must be recognised that there are emerging or already established bourgeois elements who are prepared to form a class alliance with the imperialist oppressors.

iv. A Paragraph 16: delete sentences 3 and 4.

9. Amendment from P. (Bristol).

withdrawn

A Paragraph 17: delete and replace by the following from KTL redraft.

British imperialism's crisis is intimately connected with the general crisis of world imperialism. This crisis is not merely another cyclical one, it is structural - an earthquake is taking place in the Third World which is shaking all the old power and economic relations in the world. The Second World imperialist countries are caught in a squeeze between the rising movements for national independence and liberation and the two imperialist superpowers, who seek to dominate the entire globe. As imperialists, Britain and other Second World imperialist powers cannot choose to align themselves with the very forces which most fundamentally challenge the whole imperialist order, nor do they find it easy to maintain any room for manoeuvre between the superpowers. The western powers are therefore increasingly closing ranks with US imperialism (albeit on a less unequal basis than during the immediate post WW2 period), in order to contend with the Soviet social imperialists and to oppose the Third World countries' struggles for independence and development and the people's struggles for democracy, liberation and socialism.

Against the forces of reaction stand the peoples of the world. Their struggle is stamped with the identity of the working class as the only class able to gather around itself the rest of the working masses in their struggle for self-assertion. There is a new spirit abroad, the spirit of the age is one of rebellion and self-assertion.

In Britain the trend towards fascism involves both an ideological offensive by the bourgeoisie and an attack on existing bourgeois democratic rights. To carry this through, Thatcher does not need to score a victory over the established labour movement, since the latter's mode of operation has long been within the boundaries defined by the capitalist system, and it has anticipated the bourgeoisie's offensive by defeating itself. A struggle for democratic rights is needed of a kind for which the established labour movement has no equipment. An understanding of the tasks and methods for achieving those tasks will not arise spontaneously, but can only be injected from outside.

There is a growing potential for real changes in the majority working class, and the national minorities can introduce and are introducing a new philosophy of struggle which readily appeals to all that is healthiest in that majority.

During the boom years, they "never had it so good" anyway, and their experience has been that of a long struggle against racism and super-exploitation. For the most part, their demands are not formally socialist in character, but, being directly linked with the world-wide movement of the Third World, they are essentially democratic demands which look forward to the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism.

But the "labour movement" and "left" in this country almost invariably failed to try to develop this consciousness. Overwhelmingly, they have accepted the logic of imperialism; while the labour aristocracy has been fully integrated into the imperialist exploitative system and worked heart and soul to promote it, even the "left wing" forces, whether the CPGB during the inter-war period, or the petty bourgeois "socialist" trends which developed in the post-WW2 boom, never fundamentally broke with the perspective of "class struggle" as a tit for tat between the metropolitan proletariat and bourgeoisie for the sharing out (or perhaps, "revolutionary seizure") of a cake which was really the produce of the Third World toilers. Given this perspective, a really revolutionary movement could not be advanced one iota.

10. Amendment from JG (b)

Conference resolves that the text adopted by conference be amended to show that the context in which our work must take place is one where, seeking to re-establish a strong position among the imperialist countries, the British ruling class has to attack the living standards and democratic rights of the great majority of the working people of Britain. There is a trend towards fascism in Britain, and [it is those who are taking the strongest stand against British imperialism who are taking the brunt of the capitalist offensive.] This is the context in which the struggles of the national minorities, oppressed nations, women and the working class are taking place.

→ falls X

11. Amendment from Yeovil

i. A Paragraph 1: line 6 after "and so on" add:

The people of the first and second world countries are reacting to the threat of a nuclear war with growing anti-war movements - in Europe, in North America and in the Soviet Bloc.

ii. A Paragraph 17: add at the end:

The aggression of the two superpowers puts the whole world in **danger** of war, where the added destruction and long term effects of nuclear weapons would almost certainly be unleashed. [People around the world are reacting angrily to this threat with Peace movements of varying political understanding.] The Scandinavian, West German and Dutch movements have strong anti-imperialist currents within them which has strengthened the movement's political and ideological opposition to US and Soviet nuclear weapons. In Britain the more advanced sections of this movement e.g. the Greenham Common women, have openly fought the state and exposed its sham democracy; and the Peace movement generally is drawing many people, especially women, into such confrontation. The major problems of the movement in Britain are its weak anti-imperialist line and an emphasis on a unilateral disarmament policy which sidesteps the main threat to the people - the superpowers and the anti-people "defence" policy of British imperialism.]

✓

iii. C Paragraph 4: add:

We should support, and where resources permit be involved in the Peace movement and seek to encourage the anti-imperialist aspects, direct action and the leadership of women in such struggles.

invest + debate round - unilateralism
- diff. form within Peace Mvt - who should be the main focus - super powers together or U.S.

12. Amendments from JG (c and d).

✓ i. Conference reaffirms that the central task for communists in Britain is party-building. We are at the stage of rallying the vanguard, and must therefore primarily organise here and in ways that are conducive to the realisation of this objective. In the first place, this means working in movements against national minority oppression and in support of the Irish people. Not only will we find a large number of advanced elements among national minorities there, but also those elements of the majority working class who have the most advanced political stand. Furthermore, in our political work in the majority working class, we may locate the relatively advanced by their responsiveness to our agitation and propoganda in support of the national minorities and the Irish people. / X

X ii. Conference believes that our strategic goal over the next few years must be to bring about the conditions for the establishment of a revolutionary communist party. We aim to do this through building a centre of communist leadership at the core of a revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. The anti-imperialist movement is already a growing force, represented as it is by the national minority peoples, by a significant section of the women's movement, by revolutionaries in the Connolly tradition in Wales and Scotland and by activists in a number of solidarity organisations. These forces readily support each other's struggles, and have a certain degree of ideological unity and common views which set them apart from the Labour Party oriented trotskist and revisionist 'left'. The RCL must work to develop more and more solidarity between these strands so as to build up a strong anti-imperialist movement, with a high degree of political and ideological unity. Such a movement can constitute the core of broader movements of a less advanced character, giving them a high degree of stability and helping them develop their mobilising potential to the full. The communist organisation will be able to build up its strength by bringing forward people through these steps; on the other hand, it will multiply its influence through mobilising and uniting with progressive elements who are not at present communists and many of whom never will be.

Within the anti-imperialist movement, the RCL should promote the most consistent anti-imperialism and seek to arm the movement against subversion by Soviet social imperialism or social democracy. It will uphold a line of independence from all bourgeois trends, and propogate an orientation to the working class, especially its most oppressed sectors, as the principal means to strengthen the movement and enable its component parts to realise their objectives.

13. Amendment from F. (Bristol). *William*

C. delete whole section and replace with "Our Tasks" taken from RCL as follows:

What is to be done? We must establish a political basis for unity in the League. This must be founded on taking the decaying imperialist character of Britain as a starting point, must recognise the vanguard role of the most oppressed sections of the working class, and must unconditionally support the oppressed when they rise up. Members of the League must uphold this in words and deeds. This does not constitute an argument for monolithic unity; there are many debates to be had inside the League, but debates between communists. There is no place for revisionist and social-chauvinist ideas in a communist organisation. We must recreate a tightly-knit, highly disciplined Bolshevik-type organisation. This can only be done if we establish a political basis for unity and have a healthy and flourishing internal life. The words of our Constitution that members of the League "dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism" must be more than mere words.

This is more than ever necessary when we are at the stage of rallying the vanguard. We must adopt the Leninist standpoint: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." To be in a position of forever trying to "win conviction" of those whose conviction is not for winning is another recipe for doing nothing. We must decide our programme and implement it. Membership of the League is purely voluntary. Those who volunteer to be its members must carry out its work in a disciplined and dedicated way on the basis of rigorously defined priorities. Our tiny forces will only make an impact if they work in a co-ordinated and disciplined way (look at the RCG!). Those who can't do this are more trouble than they're worth.

We have two separate inter-related tasks: to go deep into the working class, to the poorest and most oppressed, and rally the vanguard through the anti-imperialist struggle for democracy, in particular, the struggles of the black and Irish peoples. To do this entails building fighting anti-imperialist organisations from which the cadre will come forward to be trained as Bolsheviks. The other task is to do serious and meticulous theoretical work in order to build the party on a solid basis. The crux of this theoretical work has to be the unsolved question of how to make revolution in an advanced imperialist country, the relationship between national and international class struggle, between class and national struggle.

In both these tasks we must take up, apply and fuse three great revolutionary traditions: Irish Republicanism, Black Power and Asian Communism. These are the theoretical foundations of the bridge that the national minorities provide for the British working class. All three have a presence in the vanguard. All three help link our struggles to the frontlines of world revolution. Asian Communism links us to the greatest extant achievements of mankind: the liberated socialist countries of China and Korea. Revolutionary communism can show the common thread (the communistic essence) of these three movements. *

To lead the mass, we must rally the vanguard. If the vanguard is to be rallied, it has to be united. The uniting and linking of these forces and these elements of communistic ideology is precisely the element that has to be "injected from the outside" into the objectively existing and developing class struggle by the communists. Our insistence on the existence of a vanguard within the class does not mean that we have forsaken the need for communist leadership, for a Party. But we have to earn that leadership from the vanguard. If we bring our middle class baggage (in terms of ideology and stand) with us, they will soon tell us where to get off.

The oppressed have no future under capitalism. (here it seems even the Sex Pistols were in advance of us!) Great possibilities exist for at least building a real communist movement in Britain. Let us make the most of those possibilities! Let the Marxist-Leninists take their stand with the oppressed and work with one heart and one mind to build a revolutionary bolshevik Party that will have the unerring aim of burying evil british imperialism for ever!

* See the juxtaposition of Connolly and Kin quotes in the CS article "RCLB Greets Eritrea".

14. Amendment from the Industrial Sub-Committee.

B. Paragraph 24: delete all after "masses" on line 3, and replace by:

X and recognised for the first time the need to engage in consistent mass work in order to bring forward new forces for the revolution. However and most importantly from the aspect of creating a genuine **M-L** party building organisation, this decision was totally incorrect for the reasons outlined in the ISC "Initial Summary of Industrial Work".

15. Amendment from GL (Lds)

A Paragraph 18: Delete and replace by:

X As Communists we must grasp the essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao ZeDong Thought and apply it creatively in deciding our priorities and our policies in the period ahead. After the Second World War, when revisionism firmly established itself in the communist movement in Britain, the ideas of peaceful transition and the parliamentary road to socialism were accompanied by the growth of social chauvinist policies and practices. In the present decaying imperialist society of Britain it will be essential for us to line up with and learn from the growing anti-imperialist movements throughout the world while carrying out our own party building tasks in the context of the British revolution.

16. Amendment from P. (Bristol)

A Paragraph 6: add at the end:

X The success of a nation in winning national independence from imperialist control does not, of itself, mean freedom for the masses of its people. National independence can also result in political reaction and repression internally and we must continually assess in a Marxist-Leninist way the relative strengths of the class forces in such struggles.

17. Amendment from Yeovil.

✓ A Paragraph 10: on line 13 after 'black churches' add: and Rastafarians.
