

1. The central task of the third general meeting of the London Branch is to grasp Bolshevisation, ideologically, politically and organisationally. To do this we must sum up our past work "seeking truth from facts". We must understand the strong and weak points of the London branch over the past period, in order to strengthen what is good and get rid of what is bad. In the spirit of correcting past errors and avoiding future ones, we must establish a general plan for the future district. The key link in doing all this is grasping Bolshevisation in an all round way.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

2. We start from objective reality. Throughout the world there is a rising tide of revolutionary struggle. In particular the peoples of the Third World are winning great successes against the hegemonist designs of the two superpowers and the exploitation and oppression of other imperialist countries. In the imperialist countries of the Second World contradictions are sharpening. The objective situation demands socialist revolution to overthrow the bourgeois state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Britain the crisis of capitalism is intensifying. The ruling class are increasingly trying to shift the whole burden of their crisis onto the working class. The objective conditions for class struggle are fine.
3. But the bourgeoisie have a powerful weapon to dampen down such struggles. Opportunism - born out of imperialism - is rampant among the working class. That is why the central task of the RCLB is to rebuild a Proletarian Revolutionary Party to break with and destroy opportunism and to lead the working class in making revolution. This task is becoming increasingly urgent.
4. There are two aspects to this central task in the present situation. Firstly the RCLB must build a single leading centre united round a correct political programme for the British revolution. It must unite the Marxist-Leninist movement, taking active ideological struggle as the key link. Without such a leading centre it will be impossible to build the Party which will lead the working class in fulfilling its historic task. Secondly the RCLB must dig deep roots among the working class. The Party can only be built if we establish a firm base among the working class, and rally the most advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism.
5. These are two inseparable aspects of our central task - TO BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY TO LEAD THE REVOLUTION. They must both be firmly grasped in the work of the London District. One cannot proceed without the other.

SUM UP THE PAST WORK OF THE LONDON BRANCH

6. In order to understand the present situation and change it, we must look at the historical development of the branch. The RCLB was founded one year ago as a result of pursuing active ideological struggle as the main weapon for building unity in the Marxist-Leninist movement. The founding of the RCLB was a victory for the correct line on party building and over small group mentality. After the

Congress the C.C. mobilised the whole organisation to turn outwards and actively build the League. In London this new situation created new contradictions and brought to light weaknesses in the thinking of comrades, in particular of the Branch Committee.

7. The principal error in our work has been subjectivism. We are subjective when our thinking is not in accord with reality. If we do not overcome subjectivism in our work we will be unable to make progress. As Mao pointed out "Those who are subjective are bound to trip and fall".
- 8.. The key to overcoming subjectivism is to "seek truth from facts". This was not done by the Branch Committee in drafting its original political report. As a result the report is abstract and superficial, not concrete. It does not analyse our progress in the base building work, contact work, or C.S. sales in relation to our main task of party building. Since it did not concentrate correct ideas it is incapable of giving a good lead to comrades.
- 9.. The work of the branch has also been subjectivist in other ways. The Branch Committee has not paid attention to making concrete analysis of concrete conditions in the different fields of work. As a result the Branch Committee's thinking on certain key questions had inevitably been subjectivist.
10. In the work at the factory we have not yet systematically investigated and summed up such key questions as the level of class consciousness inside, the effects of Class Struggle and leafletting. The result is that this work lacks clear direction. This is another example of subjectivism, which also gives rise to empiricism and spontaneism.
- II.. In the sphere of organisation we have also made subjectivist errors. We have only recently begun to pay attention to questions of method. A few months ago we did not trouble ourselves with such questions as "How do we organise a meeting?" or "How do we produce a leaflet?". As a result we have had weaknesses in organisational work and have misused cadres. An excellent example of this is the production of the first factory leaflet, which was handed round half the branch before it was finally written and produced.
- 12.. Secondly we have made errors of Empiricism. "Empiricism mistakes fragmentary experience for universal truth! It denies the leading role of proletarian revolutionary theory. It is a form of subjectivism, which if persisted in leads to spontaneism, reformism and opportunism. Empiricist errors are clearly demonstrated in the Branch Committee's report to the 2nd General Meeting and the (rejected) report to the 3rd General Meeting. Objectively these reports put organisation in command, they stressed only 'tasks'. They give no clear political lead on the Branch's central task or on the central task in each sphere of work. For instance in section 4 of the Political Report the three main tasks of recruitment, cell building and Class Struggle sales are not linked to each other or to the League's central task of party building. Such a line or guiding thread is indispensable if comrades are to be fully mobilised for tasks and are not to fall into empiricism.

13. We have also been empiricist in study. Our study of Marxism-Leninism has divorced theory from practice. At the same time we have not studied C.C. lines in order to apply them, but have left them to the initiative of individual comrades. As a result there is not good unity among comrades on the lines of the RCLB, we have not put policy in command of our mass work, and tendencies towards spontaneism have emerged. For instance comrades have had different ideas about what forms of activity we should engage in, and of what should be the political content of those activities. They have been unable to resolve those differences because we have not put policy in command. We have not deeply grasped that the correctness or incorrectness of the political line determines everything.
14. Thirdly we have made errors of liberalism. These are again exemplified in the original political report. There is no ideological struggle in the report. Although it makes self-criticism this is only skin-deep. Errors are not named and struggle is not summed up. In general our branch work has been characterised by liberalism. Comrades have pointed this out many times, but the Branch Committee has not given a lead in lively struggle over lines and their implementation. There have been some exceptions, for example the struggle over the Zimbabwe Campaign, but partly because we have not summed up work well or studied policies, there has been a tendency towards "working half-heartedly without a plan" and shying away from active ideological struggle. The recent struggle around the Branch Committee report has been a good beginning in overcoming this tendency. We must continue this style of work, encouraging comrades to firmly uphold active ideological struggle and combat liberalism.
15. These have been the three main errors in the Branch's work. They are important errors and it is right to concentrate on them. However our work has not been all bad. In fact it has been at least 60% good. We have made many advances on different fronts.
16. In the sphere of building the League and propagating its lines we have held or organised 7 public events. In doing this we have learned from our weaknesses and made steady political and organisational progress. The RCLB Fighting Fund was basically well lead and lively and it overfulfilled its target. In particular the Zimbabwe Campaign has shown great strides in political and organisational work. 1,000 pamphlets were produced and distributed, 2 public meetings, one of them on a qualitatively higher level than any previous events, have been held, and the contacts have been mobilised to use their initiative on a wider scale than ever before. Having grasped the line, we have been vigorous in implementing it.
17. We have made many advances in our industrial work, despite the weaknesses in grasping the line and subjectivist methods of work. Comrades are beginning to now grasp the central task of base building and are enthusiastically mobilising all positive factors in supporting this vital work. Comrades have begun to grasp the need to unite with the masses, taking the work inside as the leading factor in order to apply the lines of the League to the concrete conditions of the fact-

ory. Energetic and enthusiastic support work has been organised, building up good sales of Class Struggle, improved leaflets and holding two excellent collections for the Zimbabwe Campaign. As comrades in the Industrial Cell deepen their grasp of their central task and implement the policies of the RCLB we can have a definite perspective for establishing a factory cell and begin to build a second cell in London.

18. Class Struggle sales have been steadily built up - so that they now exceed our target. Over $\frac{1}{4}$ of these are sold at the factory. Organised sales have begun in other places. We now have the basis for extending this work into organised sales on a wider basis.

19. In our work with non-members we have built up a core of nine committed contacts who are working hard under our leadership to build the League. We also have at least 10 active supporters of our work. We have learnt that we must develop the initiative of non-members to spread the influence of the RCLB as well as giving them leadership on education and in practical party-building tasks. We have grasped the fact that most contacts at the present stage, when we are only beginning to have influence among the working class, will come from the progressive intelligentsia. Of our existing contacts only four are workers. We have made good progress in combining unity and struggle with comrades from the intelligentsia in order to mobilise them as positive factors for revolution.

20. We have recruited 6 good cadres, who are generally contributing well to the work of the League. Five of these are members of the Intelligentsia and only one has a basically working class background. All of them are struggling to take up the stand of the working class. As yet we have not won any workers as a direct result of our base building work. This work is still at its early stages and comrades should grasp that to win advanced workers to the RCLB and consolidate the factory cell requires much more patient and painstaking work on our part.

21. In the sphere of organisation comrades quickly grasped the need to combine "redness" with "expertise" in order to improve our practical work. We set up the system of squads soon after the formation of the RCLB. At the time this was a breakthrough, a step away from a more Menshevik collection of individuals discussing everything and deciding everything, and a step towards further Bolshevisation. Democratic centralism demands a proper division of labour, with comrades concentrating well on fewer tasks. This is essential for the proper functioning of self-reliant cells. In general we have been overcoming weaknesses in organisational work, and have made some, but not enough, progress towards developing comrades initiative under centralised guidance.

22. To sum up the work of the branch, over the past 12 months we have made progress in grasping the increased importance of practical and organisational work to build the RCLB. In the last four months alone we have understood the importance

of mass work and seriously begun to build our first factory cell, we have established the Zimbabwe Campaign in London as well as beginning the transition from the branch to cells. All this work has been overwhelmingly positive. In some areas, such as contacts, recruitment, CS sales we have made definite advances. However our work is hampered by three main errors stemming primarily from incorrect leadership, but affecting the work of the whole branch. These errors are: subjectivism, empiricism and liberalism. They do not represent a consolidated bourgeois trend. But we must actively grasp and combat them if the positive aspects of our work are to be developed. Otherwise we will stagnate and 'Bolshevisation' will be Bolshevisation in name only.

23. The principal error in our political work is subjectivism. Immediately we must direct our main fire at subjectivism in our work. We will do this by making concrete analysis of concrete conditions, paying attention to seeking truth from facts, summing up and regularly reporting on our work. We must do this, not empirically, but in relation to the lines of the League, in order to strengthen and enrich them. In this way we will really begin to "Apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the British revolution".
24. Ideologically we will overcome subjectivism through active ideological struggle. As in the past liberalism is a key ideological error which brings in its train different errors in our political work. The point to grasp here is that we will combat liberalism, not just for the sake of combatting liberalism, but in order to overcome the main weaknesses in our work.
25. In looking at errors we must understand their political origins and their social roots. Their political origins lie in the new demands put on the organisation by the change from internal ideological struggle to turning outwards and actively building the League. In this situation the leadership of the branch was slow to grasp the requirements of the objective world and fell into a subjectivist style of work on key questions. These errors of the Branch Committee affected the work of the whole branch. The social roots of the errors lie in petty bourgeois individualism, specifically the individualism of the intelligentsia. Despite the progress made in transforming the class stand of the whole organisation, this is still a weakness in the London branch. One aspect of this has been a tendency towards liberal complacency - to regard the struggle against bourgeois thinking as mainly completed and to think that all remaining problems were basically organisational. This was wrong and we should learn from our recent struggles that we can never relax vigilance on ideological questions. It is particularly important that we take up this question again as we move further towards Bolshevising our organisation.

GRASP BOLSHEVISATION

26. First we need to deepen our grasp of what we mean by Bolshevisation. We have looked at this primarily as an organisational question. This is wrong. Bolshevisation

is first an ideological and political question, second a method of organisation. The leadership did not do enough political and ideological preparation on the need to overcome menshevism before implementing bolshevisation.

27. Ideologically bolshevism is the opposite of menshevism. Another way of putting it is that bolshevism is the opposite of petty bourgeois individualism. Menshevism stands for the 'rights' of individuals, bolshevism for the unity of will of the working people. Menshevism stands from liberalism and opportunism, bolshevism for active ideological struggle. Menshevism stands for ultra democracy, bolshevism for proletarian democracy under centralised guidance. Menshevism stands for empiricism and spontaneism, bolshevism for the guiding role of advanced theory and proletarian leadership. In short menshevism represents the class stand of the petty-bourgeoisie, bolshevism the class stand of the proletariat.
28. At root then this is a class question. The struggle to bolshevise our ranks cannot be separated from the struggle to transform our organisation and its cadres into a proletarian communist organisation. It means to "fight self and repudiate revisionism". It means firmly grasping active ideological struggle. On these questions the RCLB has made progress, but we cannot be complacent. The errors identified in this report would, if consolidated, represent a definite trend back towards menshevism.
29. Politically bolshevisation was clearly summed up by Stalin. He said that in order to achieve Bolshevisation a party must regard itself as:
"the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat, the function of which is to lead all the other forms of proletarian organisation".
In order to do this the Party must have a thorough grasp of the revolutionary theory of Marxism. It must make concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and on the basis of this draw up slogans and directives for work. It must test the correctness of these lines in the "crucible of the revolutionary struggle of the masses". It must have strong and varied ties with the masses, so that it can not only teach the masses, but also learn from them. It must systematically check up on the implementation of its lines to ensure that they are carried out. It must win over to its ranks the best elements of the advanced fighters.
30. The RCLB has made some advances towards bolshevisation, in the sphere of theory, line and leadership. We have good general lines and policies on Party building and mass work, on the current situation in Britain and the World, on the economic struggles of the working class, on opportunism and on British imperialism. In London we have been weak in grasping and applying these lines to the concrete conditions, in learning from the masses and in checking up on our work. These weaknesses are weaknesses in our grasp of bolshevisation.
31. Organisationally bolshevisation means making the organisation serve these political aims. It means strengthening leadership in order to direct the work overall, and establish self reliant cells as the primary unit of the League. The organisational principle of bolshevisation is Democratic Centralism:

"an iron proletarian discipline, based on ideological solidarity, clarity over the aims of the movement, unity of practical action and understanding of the Party's aims by the mass of the Party membership" Stalin.

32. Again the RCLB has made some progress in grasping democratic centralism, but in London the Branch Committee has not always given strong leadership so as to boldly develop the initiative and enthusiasm of the rank and file. A key factor in this has been an incorrect organisational form, the local branch. We need a District Committee to strengthen the centralised leadership of the District on questions of policy and organisation. We need factory cells in order to build close ties with the masses to apply RCLB policies to the concrete conditions of class struggle and win the advanced workers to the League. This can only be done under ~~the~~ centralised guidance and developing enthusiasm and initiative in carrying out its main task.

IMPLEMENT BOLSHEVISATION - FORGE AHEAD!

33. In the present situation the central task of the RCLB is building the Revolutionary Communist Party of the working class. This means propogating the lines of the RCLB, uniting the Marxist-Leninist movement, building deep roots in the working class and winning over the advanced workers and working people to Marxism-Leninism.
34. The key to fulfilling these tasks is further bolshevisation of our ranks. We must do this in three spheres: Ideologically we must grasp active ideological struggle more firmly as the weapon for ensuring unity. Politically we must grasp and apply the lines of the League to our concrete situation here in London, we must develop a style of seeking truth from facts and learn to apply the mass line. Organisationally we must deepen our grasp of democratic centralism and develop initiative under centralised guidance.

This is the general call from the final meeting of the London Branch.

35. Specifically we will set up a District Committee to lead the work of the whole district and a system of cells as the primary units of the League to work mainly in particular places of work. We must be clear on the central task of both the District Committee and the Cell, and on their relationship to the RCLB's main task of party building.
36. The central task of the District Committee will be to develop the work of the League throughout London, spreading wide its influence. This means firstly grasping the policies of the RCLB, secondly propogating them in a planned way, and thirdly investigating, summing up experience and strengthening those lines. More concretely the District Committee will organise public meetings, demonstrations, and campaigns, consolidate and expand the work of base-building by giving ideological and political leadership to the existing cell and by establishing more cells, organise CS sales on a wider basis, and lead a League Supporters Group of contacts.
37. The situation demands that we build the League as the leading centre in the Marxist-Leninist movement. An important aspect of this party-building work will be district organised public meetings which will begin in September. The principal

- aspect of these meetings will be to publicise as widely as possible the lines of the League and so contribute to the struggle to unite the Marxist-Leninist movement. There are important secondary aspects. Many individuals will first come into contact with the League through these public meetings. Our members and contacts will be educated in grasping League policy at these meetings. And in the new situation public meetings will be an important unifying force for the cells.
38. Base-building must be grasped more firmly as the central task of our mass work. It will be the job of the District Committee to mobilise the initiative of all comrades and contacts for district wide mass work. The District Committee will sum up the investigation and on the basis of concrete analysis decide where and when to start a second cell and mobilise comrades for that task. It will give better leadership to the existing cell on the key lines and policies for the current situation, and will learn from the experience of the cell. A regular system of reports will be established after this general meeting, so that we carry out this task well.
 39. In order to mobilise positive factors on the widest possible scale, the District Committee will organise CS sales in a more systematic way. Taking the cell/factory sales as the key link the District Class Struggle Organiser will organise comrades and contacts to sell the paper at meetings, other factories, in the community in order to spread the influence of the League. The D.C. must win enthusiasm from the rank and file for CS as a collective organiser. The paper is a crucial weapon for winning recruits to the League and propagating our line. The DC must win ideological and political conviction from comrades for doubling our monthly sales when CS goes fortnightly.
 40. The DC will be responsible for the general political education of comrades. It must give a strong lead on studying policies from the C.C. We must ensure that comrades gain a basic grounding in Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution. All comrades should study and learn the Marxist standpoint and method. There have been big weaknesses in this over the past few months. The cells should also carry out their own short term study programme to solve particular practical problems. Both kinds of study are necessary if we are to avoid falling into the twin errors of empiricism and dogmatism.
 41. Finally the D.C. will have the main responsibility for organising contacts. Good comrades outside the organisation are invaluable, as a source of new blood, in helping the RCLB in its political and organisational tasks, and in propagating the lines of the RCLB in areas where we do not as yet have any influence. We must give them good political and organisational leadership. At the present stage the best way of organising contacts is in a League Supporters group under the direct authority of the DC.
 42. In all these 'District tasks' the DC will be mobilising comrades from the cells. In general this will be done through the cell leader at regular meetings between the DC and cell leaders. This includes comrades working in NEB and Print cells.

43. The Industrial Cell has been in existence for two months now. It is the first of many cells in London. Its central task now is to build a factory cell. We must guard against confusing the Industrial Cell with a new branch having many mass work tasks. The I.C. is not responsible for other industrial work other than at the one factory. To carry out its central task it will need to grasp and apply the lines of the RCLB more firmly under centralised guidance, and taking the work inside as the leading factor to integrate with the masses, learn from them and apply the mass line. Most importantly the I.C. must concentrate its work on the factory, going ever deeper in applying the line on industrial work.
44. To do this we must grasp and apply the five points of the National lead on bolsh-
evisation on the work of a factory cell:
1. It needs to be fully integrated with the struggle of the working class at its factory and increasingly to lead that struggle. It must know intimately the past history and current circumstances of the factory, company workforce and bourgeoisie. It needs to do extensive research on this to back it up.
 2. It must be able to respond quickly to all manifestations of class struggle at its particular factory.
 3. It must fully understand the ideological and political consciousness of the workers and have a firm understanding of how to raise it - of how to carry out the line of the RCLB in the concrete conditions of the particular factory.
 4. It must be able to properly discuss problems, sum up experience, learn lessons and start raising them to the level of theory.
 5. It must be able to mobilise comrades to carry out tasks Most importantly it must be able to hold League meetings according to the tasks and concrete conditions of the cell.
45. These points are invaluable in giving orientation to the work of the cell. The cell has not been in existence for long enough to make an all round assessment of its work. Some points have been made in this report. After the General Meeting the I.C. must use this report to grasp its central task more firmly. It must also use the B.C. Report on Mass Work to begin summing up its work concretely.
46. We have learned a good lesson in the past weeks - "Never forget Class Struggle" Ideological struggle when carried out correctly strengthens and unites the organisation. We must never be afraid of using this weapon. We now have the basis for moving forward to a stage where we further bolshevise our ranks. The objective situation cries out for us to take up our tasks enthusiastically and selflessly. The branch are absolutely correct in criticising the B.C. and asking them for a stronger lead on the tasks ahead. If we take up these tasks, putting politics in command, we will surely grow quickly and move to a qualitatively higher stage in our struggle. The experience of Communist Parties throughout the world shows us that this is so. Already the limited successes of the Zimbabwe campaign have been a great step forward for us. We must learn from these successes, and apply them in other fields, in particular the central mass work task of building factory cells.
47. In dissolving the London branch we must be farsighted and optimistic. We must look forward to the future when we will have build a single leading centre holding large and important public meetings and leading important demonstrations in London,

when the district will comprise many industrial and factory cells, when hundreds of comrades from the working class and revolutionary intelligentsia will be members and contacts under our leadership. That time is not too distant. We must be prepared.

COMBAT SUBJECTIVISM, EMPIRICISM AND LIBERALISM!

GRASP BOLSHEVISATION!

BUILD THE LEAGUE TO BUILD THE PARTY!

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Political Report of the London Branch Committee - July 1978