SUPPLEMENT

FOREWORD

For nearly twenty years many comrades have looked to Marxism-Leninism as the guide to achieving socialism, only to see their aspirations sidetracked time and again.

The following two documents are aimed at getting the Marxist-Leninist movement back on the right track, with the benefit of the experience which has been accumulated.

The first document acknowledges the assistance which has been received from the Communist Party of China. Like the CPC itself, it maintains that revolution in Britain will be the work of our own revolutionaries in our own era without directives or recognition from abroad.

The second document aims to provide the political framework for a proletarian party. This party's avowed purpose would be the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the existing dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It would also provide a forum for the discussion and advancement of all democratic, environmental and internationalist causes.

The framework we have set out is firm and realistic on essentials but flexible enough to permit discussion and amendment.

We should like to hear from you.

MARXIST-LENINISTS IN BRITAIN AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

- 1. The endorsement of "The British Road to Socialism" by the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1951 marked the victory of revisionism in the party.
- 2. Following this, Marxist-Leninist positions were held by only a few isolated individuals in Britain.
- Between 1951 and 1961 Marxist-Leninists in Britain proved themselves incapable of forming even a small group.
- 4. In 1961 The Communist Party of China published "Long Live Leminism". In 1963 the CPC published "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement".
- 5. Following these publications Marxist-Leninists in Britain proved able to achieve clarity and to form groups.
- 6. However, Marxist-Leninists have not grown roots in any section of the population of Britain.
- In 1974 the Communist Party of China put forward the Three Worlds' strategy.
- Implicit in the Three Worlds' strategy is that Marxist-Leninists in Britain are revolutionaries in a non-revolutionary situation.
- 9. Marxist-Leninists in Britain accepted

the Three Worlds' strategy.

- 10. The various Marxist-Leninist groups and individuals in Britain have made several useful contributions to Marxist-Leninist theory, as applied to Britain.
- 11. But the fact must be faced that no group or individual accepts completely the standpoint of any other group or individual.
- 12. On the other hand, all groups and individuals accept, in the Three Worlds' strategy, a world viewpoint which has been worked out by the Communist Party of China.
- 13. In the continued absence of a mass base in Britain, the Communist Party of China acts as a source of information, inspiration and stimulation for the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain.
- 14. It is therefore in the interests of Marxist-Leninists in Britain to maintain a comradely assessment of the Communist Party of China.
- 15. At the same time Marxist-Leninists have to develop the clarity, the unity and, eventually, the mass base which alone can guarantee the survival of Marxism-Leninism in Britain.

March 1982

THE MARXIST-LENINISTS, THE SITUATION AND THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

1. Marxist-teninists in Britain are re-

- volutionaries in a non-revolutionary situation.
- 2. Non-revolutionaries, the vast majority of the population, agree that Britain is at present in a non-revolutionary situation.
- 3. The ultra-Left maintain, wrongly, that Britain is at present in, or on the verge of, a revolutionary situation.
- 4. Neither the non-revolutionary nor the ultra-Left are concerned with the long-term prospect of proletarian revolution.
- 5. Marxist-Leninists, on the other hand, work in the present towards the future proletarian revolution.
- 6. A long-term approach is more difficult to work out than a short-term one. It is not, therefore, surprising that the nonrevolutionary and the ultra-Left both exceed the Marxist-Leninists in numbers; nor is it surprising that people who drop out of the ultra-Left usually become nonrevolutionary.
- 7. Marxist-Leninists have two problems:
- (a) What to do. This will be considered later.
- (b) How to maintain their existence and expand their ranks.
- 8. Organisations that neglect 7(a) become essentially self-contained units. Their activity is essentially aimed at maintaining the group in existence. Organisations that neglect 7(b) can easily burn themselves out.

9. Marxist-Leninists must adopt a two-pronged approach to ideological work:

(i) To show the need for revolution to people dissatisfied with the system. This entails identifying certain objects which cannot be attained without revolutionary change.

(ii)To point out to revolutionaries that at present there is a non-revolution-

ary situation.

Basic theoretical research is, of course, needed but is subsidiary to the above.

- 10. The aim of the Marxist-Leninists is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Though certain general principles exist and some ground work has been done, it is not altogether clear how this aim will be achieved. Patience, study and work are needed.
- 11. The Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain is a convenient term for the various organisations and individuals. It is in danger of not being a movement in the sense that it is doing little more than maintaining its own existence, if that.
- 12. The question of what to do can only be answered insofar as any proposed course of action aids or hinders a future proletarian revolution.
- 13. That the question of what to do arises in such sharp relief shows that Marxist-Leninists are isolated from the working class.
- 14. Two great obstacles face the Marxist-

Leninists in Britain:

(a) The material benefit that the people of Britain derive from imperialism.

(b) The ideology dispensed by the bourgeoisie and other opponents of Marxism-Leninism.

To these can be added the sheer immensity of the task in all respects.

- 15. Marxist-Leninists must neither ignore no be overawed by the above.
- 16. Practical work may be defined as work which is not exclusively ideological.

 Marxism-Leninism in Britain has not a mass base at present. Marxist-Leninists must therefore develop the mass base through practical work as they go along.
- 17. Marxist-Leninists are at present engaged in several very diverse fields of struggle in Britain. This will continue. The limited Marxist-Leninist forces cannot be canalised into one struggle. But they must take an interest in all struggles in order to widen their knowledge of the situation in Britain and the world.
- 18. At the same time Marxist-Leninists recognise that they are ineffective without the backing of the proletariat.
- 19. The proletariat, too, is ineffective unless it can be organised as a class.
- 20. In the long term there can be no question of the dictatorship of the proletariat unless the proletariat is organised as a class.
- 21. At present the proletariat are encouraged to think either along narrow

sectional lines, e.g. as leatherworkers or traindrivers, or as part of a great amorphous mass of Britons, or people, or working people. One view splits up the proletariat and allows it to be picked off; the other view dissolves it.

- 22. Marxist-Leninists must, at this stage, counter both these positions. They must strive to develop the consciousness of the proletariat as a class. Marxist-Leninists must unite for this task.
- 23. There is undoubtedly a need for a proletarian party, both for the present and the future. But there are also problems in forming such a party. Many of these have to do with 14 above. But others are created by the Marxist-Leninists themselves.
- 24. One of these problems is nit-picking, or concessions, about a definition of the proletariat. The proletariat is the producers of surplus value or, if a more 'English' expression is required, the workers in production and distribution.
- 25. The other main problem is the conditions of membership of such a party.

 Marxist-Leninist comrades often tend to find people repulsive who have a bad attitude over, say, women's liberation, or who do not know that Azania and Cymru are the right names for South Africa and Wales, or who do not meet a thousand and one other conditions.
- 26. As against this it is maintained that the main condition of membership of the proletarian party is that the member take the standpoint of the proletariat as a

whole; that entry be made easier for proletarians than for non-proletarians; and that s/he not be a member of any other party.

- 27. Only a strong and united core of Marxist-Leminists can hold such a party together.
- 28. The development of such a core necessitates agreement on a tactical approach and what other conditions of membership are necessary.
- 29. In evaluating practical work, it must be borne in mind that there are factors to be considered quite apart from the specific aim of any particular activity, e.g. the recruitment and development of potential Marxist-Leninists; the building of a mass base; the development through experience of leadership in struggle; and demonstrating by direct experience that people have the power to influence things that affect their day to day lives. These long-term factors are more important than any immediate aim of a particular struggle.
- 30. Where tasks outnumber the available forces, Marxist-Leninists must consider priorities, but such priorities cannot, apart from broad guidelines, be established in advance and in isolation from the conditions existing in the place and at the time that the decision is made. Only experience can establish the correctness or otherwise of those decisions.

TO WORKERS IN INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT AND AGRICULTURE

The workers who produce and transport the wealth of this country have had the rough end of the stick.

For instance, the following figures show the drop in the workforce in various industries over a three year period:

Textiles - 36% less. Engineering - 28% less. Vehicles - 28% less. Metals - 28% less. Chemicals - 15% less.

By contrast:

Civil Service - 8% less.

Professional and technical
jobs - 5% less.

Public Authorities - 2% less.

Banking and Insurance - the same number

Half the mining, rail and seafaring jobs have gone in recent years.

The same has happened under both Tory and Labour governments. Things would be no better under the SDP-Liberal Alliance. Good or bad, union leaders have proved incapable of stopping the rot.

The workers in industry, agriculture and transport are the productive workers. Without them the life of this country would come to an end.

Yet they are being picked off, a bit at a time, as if they were of no account.

The time has come for the productive workers as a whole to unite to defend their jobs. And thus defend the future of their country.

No party at present exists to organise for this. Some may pay lip-service, but they have other axes to grind as well.

We propose that the productive workers form their own political party to unite them and represent their interests as a whole.

Until they do this they will continue to be pushed around. And they will deserve to be pushed around.

The life of a country depends on its productive workers. Those who produce the wealth should decide how it is to be used, taking into account the needs of other people.

Socialism is the rule of the productive workers.

If you are a productive worker and would like to help, learn more, or simply discuss this, please write to us.

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