

Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

[Extract]Section One, Part III-V: Paragraphs 17- 24

The Programme of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

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Part III

The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionist clique.

17. One of the harsh facts of today is the change that has overtaken the Soviet Union – the first socialist state and until recently the leader of the international communist movement. Shortly after Stalin's death in 1953 his leadership of the CPSU was usurped by an unscrupulous clique of renegades to Marxism-Leninism. First under Khrushchev and now under the leadership of Brezhnev and Kosygin, these traitors are busy destroying the very socialist state machinery inside the Soviet Union and the fundamental revolutionary principles of the world communist movement.

18. Inside the U.S.S.R., this band of renegades is destroying the dictatorship of the proletariat, established in 1917, and protected through the years of the counter-revolution and the later Anti-Fascist War when millions of Soviet men and women gave their lives to protect socialism. Under a new anti-Marxist banner, the new leaders of the Soviet Union are peddling slogans like "party of the entire people", "state of the whole people" instead of Marxist slogans of party of the proletariat or state of the proletariat. By those incorrect formulations they are trying to conceal the truth that they have, in fact, developed the dictatorship of a privileged ruling class which is enslaving the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

19. The socialist economic base of the Soviet Union is being speedily dismantled through the introduction of such capitalist economics as free enterprise, the profit motive and material incentives. Collective farms and state enterprises are being overhauled to make them more like capitalist farms and industry. Differentials between the managerial class and workers are enormous. Through special privileges for the higher rungs of industry, government, technology, the professions, the Party and the armed forces the revisionist clique has developed a new ruling class.

20. In order to proceed further along the capitalist road, the Soviet revisionists are busy destroying the socialist superstructure. Instead of developing the ideology of Marxism-Leninism there is something calling itself "socialist humanism". Instead of socialist education there is the development of an elite. Instead of socialist morality there is the morality of selfishness. Instead of attempting to develop proletarian art, there is a return to individualist expression.

21. The anti-Marxism now being peddled by Soviet revisionists and their stooges in many communist parties must be repudiated. Four major areas of distortion emerge.

22. The first area of distortion concerns the nature of imperialism. Soviet revisionism insists that imperialism has changed its inherent aggressive nature. Because of the growing material strength of the socialist world, say the Russian traitors, the imperialist system is weakening and will continue to disintegrate until it automatically slinks off the stage because the Soviet economy has far surpassed that of the USA. Already changes are taking place within imperialism. By this is meant that the neo-colonialism as practised by Kennedy or De Gaulle is acceptable to Soviet leaders.

23. This is a travesty of the truth about imperialism, especially during the very period when the imperialist powers, confronted by the rising tide of socialist revolution and national liberation struggles, are using every vicious method to subdue the peoples of the world. Imperialism, the last stage of monopoly capitalism, is by its very nature based on exploitation, aggression, violence. It will not wither away by simply recognising that the socialist system is more advanced. It has to be destroyed by the armed might of the world's people, just as today the leading imperialist state, the USA, is being forced out of Asia by the heres of Vietnam.

24. The second distortion - the substitution of peaceful co-existence as the fundamental foreign policy of socialist states instead of proletarian internationalism. Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence described a relationship between countries with different social systems but did not include relations between oppressor and oppressed states or oppressor and oppressed classes. Moreover, Lenin never described peaceful coexistence as the main line of socialist foreign policy. For him, as for all socialists, the guiding line must be resolute support for the socialist revolution by aiding all struggles against feudalism, colonialism and capitalism.

25. The third distortion deals with the question of war and peace. Soviet revisionism refuses to recognise that imperialism remains the source of all modern wars and that US imperialism is the major threat to world peace. Instead of exposing the real cause of wars whether in Vietnam or anywhere else, the Soviet revisionists tend to view imperialist aggression as an irrational manifestation of merely one element within the imperialist state - generally the bellicosity of military commanders. They would like to see US imperialism and other imperialist systems such as those of Britain and France change into neo-colonialism. This neo-colonialism will of course be headed by the Soviet Union and the USA who will, between them, divide the world into spheres of influence. This neo-colonialism is naturally camouflaged as "aid", "economic integration" and "military assistance".

26. The effect of this falsification of the causes of war leads also to a totally distorted view of peace. Peace, for Soviet revisionists, is simply the peace provided under a neo-colonialist system. There is no overt aggression but, should the people of the neo-colony try to remove the puppets kept in office through the imperialist power or powers lurking in the background, they can be forced into quiescence through the threat of endangering peace. This is the real reason for Soviet revisionism's collaboration with US and British imperialism to produce the partial test ban agreement and the latest nuclear non-proliferation treaty. All this, and the constant talk about disarmament seems to echo the sentiments of bourgeois pacifists. In reality, they are intended to curb national liberation and other revolutionary struggles by monopolising nuclear power and then blackmailing the rest of the world should they oppose the status quo.

27. The fourth distortion is the possibility of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. It is the purpose of Soviet revisionists, like the earlier variety of revisionists, to curb the militancy of workers in any capitalist state. Just as US imperialism, according to the modern revisionists, will die automatically by recognising the superiority of Soviet industry, so will the bourgeois state be transformed through parliamentary elections and a further extension of bourgeois democracy. This distortion is designed to conceal the reality of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which is the heart of all capitalist states. It comes at the very time when monopoly capitalism, fearful of the rising tide of revolution, is strengthening its repressive powers against workers. Revisionism's advocacy of peaceful transition is a deliberate attempt to disarm the workers and thereby betray them.

28. From these outright anti-Marxist positions the Soviet revisionist leadership has developed a foreign policy that means collaboration with the USA and all reactionary powers including the older imperialist states like France and Japan and semi-colonies like India and even Indonesia, an obvious fascist stooge of US imperialism. Two reasons for Soviet-US collaboration are (a) to smash the People's Republic of China, which is the bulwark of revolution and national liberation struggles today; (b) to develop Soviet capitalism. Every day witnesses now examples of Soviet-U.S., Soviet-British, Soviet-French, Soviet-Japanese, Soviet-Indian agreements all aimed either at building a military ring around China on land, sea and air or to obtain new concessions from imperialist powers, to develop Soviet consumer industries, for example, in return for further retreats from socialism.

29. Soviet revisionism fails to differentiate between just wars and unjust wars. It condemns all wars and extols any absence of naked aggression as peace, without pointing out the class basis of different kinds of war - whether it is a national liberation struggle for independence from imperialism, a civil war against monopoly capitalism or imperialist aggression. From this stems its naked betrayal of national liberation movements' throughout the world.

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Since the major line of the Soviet revisionist clique is to develop Soviet hegemony over semi-colonial people through neo-colonialism, they pay lip service to anti-imperialist struggles while sabotaging any which are serious. At times they use that tool of imperialism - the United Nations - as they did in order to betray the Palestine liberation struggle against that creation of British imperialism - Israel. The Soviet revisionists boast of their military aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam while making frantic behind-the-scenes attempts to force the DRV into accepting a negotiated settlement which would not mean freedom for the Vietnamese but some kind of compromise which enabled the US to maintain a foothold and practise the kind of neo-colonialism in Indo-China as they practice in Latin America. Instead of supporting Peoples War, the Soviet revisionists support social reformism and bureaucratic capitalism masquerading as socialism. That is why they support governments led by the national bourgeoisie which are subservient to Soviet demands such as the Governments of India and the U.A.R.

30. Today, the revisionist clique of the Soviet Union has been so exposed that it is getting desperate. Hence the convening of the schismatic meeting in Budapest and the forthcoming conference of "Communist and Workers Parties" that have betrayed the struggles of the workers and peasants in their own lands and can only survive because of Soviet patronage.

31. However, we, like revolutionary communists throughout the world, shall fight Soviet revisionism and its accomplices resolutely. We recognise that inside the Soviet Union and other East European states are the real heroes of the Bolshevik Revolution who are bound to win in their struggle against the present traitors.

PART IV

The Leading Role in the World Communist Movement of the Communist Party of China, guided by the teachings of Mao Tse-Tung

32. All revolutionary parties are very grateful to the CPC for exposing the cancer of revisionism within the international communist movement and for maintaining the general line of advance for our movement through the correct application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to our times.

33. In its task of opposing revisionism the CPC has been guided by Mao Tse-Tung who stands out as the greatest Marxist-Leninist leader of our day. What Lenin's role was for an earlier period of the Communist movement, Mao's is for our period.

34. There is a mistaken notion among those who have not studied his writings or followed his leadership of the Chinese revolution that Mao's work is of concern only to peasants and workers of Asia, Africa and Latin America. On the contrary, it is of the utmost importance to all revolutionaries whether living in Britain, France, Brazil or the Congo.

35. Mao has developed the science of Marxism-Leninism for our own times, the era of imperialism's decline and the growth of modern revisionism. Among the major ideas found in his revolutionary leadership and writings are the following which are of great importance for the British revolution :

- (a) The analysis of contradictions in any given society to differentiate the principal from the secondary, the principal aspect from the secondary.
- (b) The correct handling of contradictions so that the antagonistic are differentiated from the non-antagonistic in order to build a correct united front.

35... continued...

- (c) The correct strategy for the defeat of imperialism by recognising the importance of revolutionary alliances based on the masses and guided by Marxism-Leninism.
- (d) Recognition, at all stages of party building, that men are more important than machines, that politics must be in command, that any party which is cut off from the people or from struggle will wither away, that self-seeking must give way to service of the people.

36. The building of socialism in China has reached a new peak in the present great proletarian cultural revolution which is not simply confined to "culture" in the narrow sense but deals with the entire range of social, political and economic affairs. Guided throughout its history by the importance of the mass line, that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history", the present phase is consolidating the Chinese revolution by basing it on the understanding of millions of peasants and workers. Instead of "purging" the Party of its revisionists by orders from above, in China it is being done by arousing the political understanding of the mass of the people. It is they who point out the revisionists in their midst, the incorrectness of policies whether in agriculture or industry which would ultimately lead to a restoration of capitalism as in the Soviet Union; and it is the ordinary people who are taking steps to remove the very roots of revisionism from Chinese society. That is way we, in Britain, together with revolutionary Communists throughout the world, applaud the Cultural Revolution and are learning from it.

37. Under the leadership of the Peoples Republic of China, the socialist camp still remains a reality despite the defection of the Soviet Union and most of the East European Peoples Democracies. Czechoslovakia is presently providing the most blatant example of the restoration of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the full approval of its revisionist Communist Party. Albania stands alone within East Europe, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and as China's closest ally in upholding the world communist movement. There is also the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, now engaged in fighting an epic struggle against U.S. imperialism; and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea which has demonstrated in the recent "Pueblo" affair its refusal to be cowed by U.S. imperialist threats. And there are millions of revolutionary men and women throughout the whole world who have repudiated the false ideologies of revisionism, left-adventurism and opportunism and who form the heart of the socialist camp. Marxist-Leninist Parties are now being developed in many countries to begin the long-awaited socialist revolution.

Part V

National Liberation and the British Revolution

38. There can be no Marxist revolutionary struggle in Britain which does not recognise its intimate relationship with the national liberation struggles throughout the world and, more particularly, the liberation struggles against British imperialism.

39. The Communist Party of Britain (M/L) categorically rejects all forms of British imperialism - old-style colonialism as well as new forms of indirect imperialism - neo-colonialism.

40. Hitherto, there has been complete unanimity between the Tory and Labour Parties over the need to preserve the British colonial empire intact. At the present moment, because of the growing difficulties of holding on to old-style colonialism, the Labour government is in the process of transforming the old British Empire into a neo-colonialist Commonwealth. The British revolution must expose this plan and strenuously oppose all arrangements and phoney transfers of power to pseudo-independent governments which are only intended to camouflage British neo-colonialism.

41. In particular the Communist Party of Britain (M/L) repudiates the revisionist line of the CPGB which has consistently paid lip service to the liquidation of imperialism but has, in fact, supported neo-colonialism. Our movement stands for the total abolition of British exploitation of other countries whether directly or indirectly. It will not propagate the idea of "voluntary, fraternal relations" between Britain and former colonies nor will it talk of improving Britain's economy by selling British manufactures to former colonies in return for their raw materials.
42. Social democracy and revisionism have both propagated the false ideology of reformism and economism. Both these anti-revolutionary ideologies have distorted the growth of a revolutionary ideology in the British working class. Reformism and economism depend on imperialism. The meagre reforms, the "crumbs" given to British workers at the expense of the colonial workers, have all been methods of enslaving the British workers by bribery taken out of the enormous profits looted from British colonies and semi-colonies. The British revolution must oppose any kind of reformist or economist ways of thinking. No privileged position of the British working class which is based on neo-colonialism can be accepted.
43. The total rejection of neo-colonialism by the British revolution means a completely new perspective for Britain's economic future. The industry, skill and inventiveness of British workers have been made to serve the interests of imperialist profits, resulting in a distorted economy, relying on overseas exploitation for the acquisition of raw materials and the realisation of super profits. The pattern for a planned socialist economy must be based on self-reliance at home and a new relationship with all other countries in terms of trading under conditions of equality.
44. The keystone of the British revolution must be proletarian internationalism. This must be translated into practice by developing real solidarity between the British working class and the workers and peasants of other countries.
45. Of special importance is the need to educate the British working class about the facts of British imperialism, the nature of imperialist exploitation today of workers and peasants in British colonies and semi-colonies as well as the growth of liberation struggles against British and US imperialism by the people of these countries.
46. The revolutionary solidarity between the British working class and the national liberation struggles in different parts of the world can best be cemented through the kind of assistance that the liberation movements themselves suggest. There must be no paternalism, no telling the colonial and semi-colonial workers and peasants what we think is good for them.
47. Of immediate importance is solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam. In this connection the most important tasks confronting the Communist Party of Britain (M/L) is to expose the Labour Government's subservience to U.S. imperialism and to attack its shameless support of U.S. aggression against Vietnam, by developing a real movement against US imperialism amongst all sections of the British working class.
48. But under no circumstances must the other imperialist wars and liberation struggles in the areas most directly within the orbit of British imperialism be overlooked. It is of the utmost importance to develop fraternal links with liberation struggles in Ireland, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, Southern Africa, the Caribbean, Hong Kong, countries of the Middle East, etc.

49. Of all forms of poisonous ideology derived from imperialism none is more dangerous than racism. This divides the working class as well as diverting its attention from the real enemy to scapegoats selected by the ruling class from one or other ethnic minority. In Britain today the black worker is being made the scapegoat. British monopoly capitalism is attempting to conceal its increasing exploitation of the working class by putting the blame for all kinds of hardships - in obtaining houses, jobs, etc. - on the black minorities and thereby diverting workers from their real enemy. It is imperative that the British revolutionary movement recognise racial prejudice in the ranks of the British workers and try to root it out. Racism in all its forms must be opposed, including the present immigration policy of the Government.

50. There are many national minorities in Britain. Our revolutionary programme must be based on a Marxist understanding of national culture. The problems of Scotland and Wales can only be solved through the Marxist analysis of nationality. We reject the bourgeois nationalism now being advocated by Scottish and Welsh political parties.

51. But recognition of the linguistic and cultural needs of national minorities and recognition of many forms of decentralisation for Scotland and Wales must not obscure the need for democratic centralism through only one communist party for Britain.

52. Ireland, England's first colony, is a nation in its own right; but the occupation of Northern Ireland by British imperialism, garrisoned by British troops, holds back the development of socialism in Ireland both north and south. The workers of Ireland will make their own revolution. The role of Marxist-Leninists in Britain will be to mobilise forces in support of this struggle and to achieve the withdrawal of British forces so that the sons of British workers cannot be used to snoot down Irish workers in defence of capitalist investments in Ireland.

53. The liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are going to develop. Every success means a weakening of the imperialist system and growing difficulties for British imperialism. A declining imperialist power tries to solve its problems by intensifying its exploitation of workers at home while at the same time escalating aggression overseas. There is plenty of evidence to indicate that British imperialism is going to follow this classic pattern. The growth of a corporate state with a national government, a growing body of legislation to curb the militancy of workers while intensifying the growth of racialism make it imperative that the British revolution develop revolutionary alliances with workers from British colonial and semi-colonial countries now living in Britain.