

Special Report

SUBJECT  
Revolutionary  
Marxist-Leninist  
League

Reference to Papers

400/68/340

*Numerous*

3-71 SPECIAL BRANCH Privacy  
Privacy  
16 day of March 1971  
Privacy

1. The following information has been received from a reliable but delicate source:

Privacy Privacy

2. On Saturday, 13 March 1971 at Privacy the home of Privacy an extraordinary meeting was held from 1.30 pm to 10.30 pm to discuss the future of the Revolutionary Marxist Leninist League. It was attended by 17 persons.

3. The object of the meeting was, in fact, to 'cut down to size' the organisation's leading personality A MANCHANDA whose offensive manner, dogmatic attitude, bullying techniques and general inefficiency have become too much for even his admirers to swallow.

Privacy

4. Initially MANCHANDA took the chair but because of the nature of the business to be discussed it was decided that he should vacate the chair and Privacy was elected Chairman for the meeting.

Privacy

5. Privacy in explaining the purpose of the meeting, said that over the past year members of the RMLL had become progressively dissatisfied with the general attitude of MANCHANDA and that if the organisation were to remain viable he should resign from his position as Chairman and Secretary of the organisation and that agreement should be reached among members on future policy. (It appeared that at an unofficial meeting of certain members held the previous Tuesday, 9 March, it had been decided to pass a formal vote of no confidence in MANCHANDA).

6. MANCHANDA, in his defence, launched into a characteristic diatribe against certain members of the RMLL, particularly Privacy and spoke for two hours, mainly spent in reading from a prepared statement (copy attached). The nub of his defence was that he had nothing to answer; everything he had done had been in the interests of the organisation and the working class. He felt constrained, however, to plead ill health (producing his diabetes card in evidence) and the recent birth of his daughter Privacy as possible explanations for his apparent lack of energy. His recently acquired paternal status has in fact contributed to the present crisis; whilst his supporters agree that a proper pride in ones offspring is understandable, they consider that MANCHANDA's constant stream of Privacy anecdotes is insufferable. They are not really convinced either of his claim that sending his wife to work whilst he stays home is a 'practical example of 'women's liberation', is entirely virtuous. MANCHANDA brushed aside

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Privacy allegation that he might be 'an enemy agent' on the grounds that his record could withstand any scrutiny. Privacy has previously hinted that he suspected MANCHANDA of being in the pay of the CIA). He was followed by Privacy (MANCHANDA) who also read a prepared statement in defence of MANCHANDA and attacked some of the more prominent members of the RMLL particularly Privacy and Privacy Privacy

7. There then followed a general discussion with Privacy speaking in MANCHANDA's defence. Privacy read a copy of a letter she had previously sent to MANCHANDA making a very personal attack on the private morals of Privacy arising from an incident that had taken place some time previously. This reduced Privacy to tears.

8. At this stage MANCHANDA said he was feeling unwell. He refused Privacy offer to adjourn the meeting and after some heated discussion MANCHANDA said 'he was finished with the RMLL and wished to have nothing more to do with it'. He then left the meeting with Privacy

9. There then followed a great deal of heated discussion on procedural matters which degenerated into a slanging match principally between Privacy with charges and counter-charges of egotism, subjectivism, etc, being freely exchanged. This resulted finally in Privacy formally resigning from the RMLL; she also said she would call an executive meeting of the Friends of China during the evening of Monday, 15 March, to decide its future - she indicated that the Friends of China and the Britain Vietnam Solidarity Front would probably be disbanded.

10. Proposals were then put forward about the future workings of the RMLL. It was decided that MANCHANDA should be summoned to another meeting later in the week, date and venue to be arranged to answer specific charges. Privacy has prepared a document (copy attached) attacking MANCHANDA and proposing future RMLL policy. This document was not formally presented to the meeting but Privacy intends to do so at the next meeting when MANCHANDA is present.

11. The informant's personal view is that whether or not MANCHANDA is expelled the damage to the RMLL is irreparable. Apart from MANCHANDA there is no one with sufficient personality to hold the organisation together and if his critics lose the day they have said too much for him to suffer their continued presence.

12. Any information coming to hand regarding further developments will be reported. Privacy to handle further developments

Handwritten notes and stamps on the right margin, including a circular stamp and various illegible markings.





13. About those present at the meeting were:

A MANCHANDA

Privacy

Privacy

14. Special Branch references are contained in the attached appendix.

Submitted

HN294

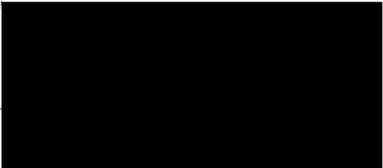
Chief Inspector

HN45 1  
Constable

2

3  
SUPERINTENDENT

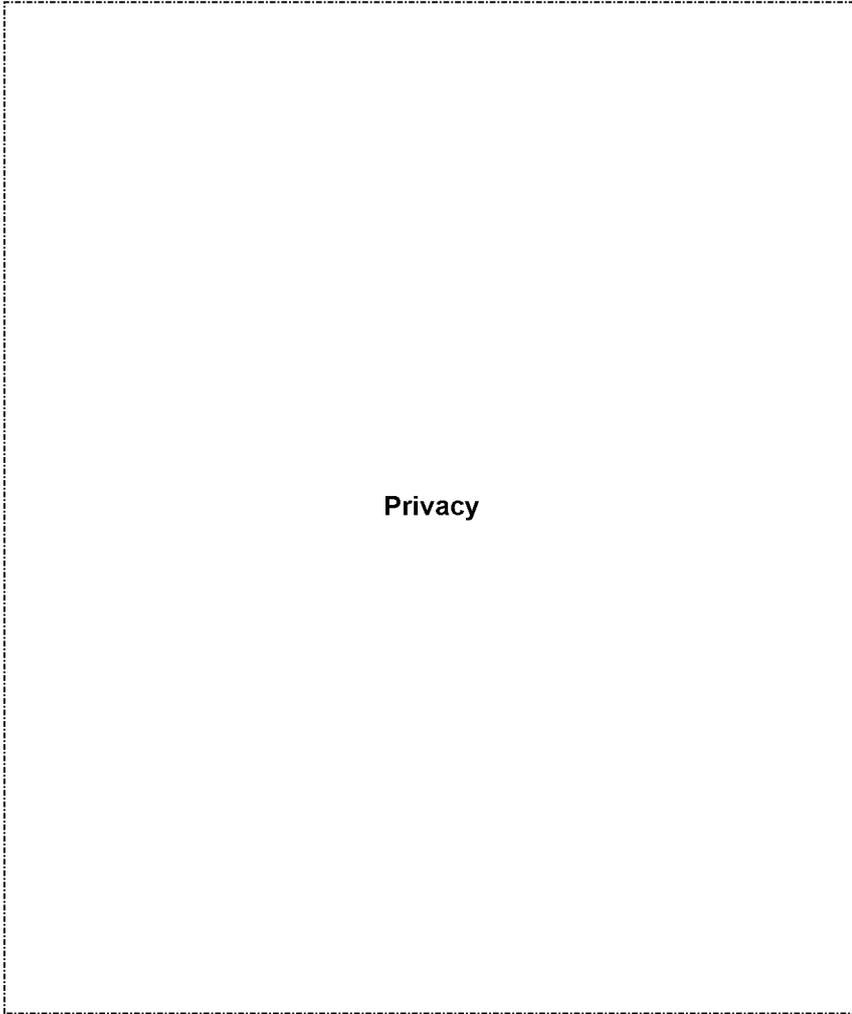




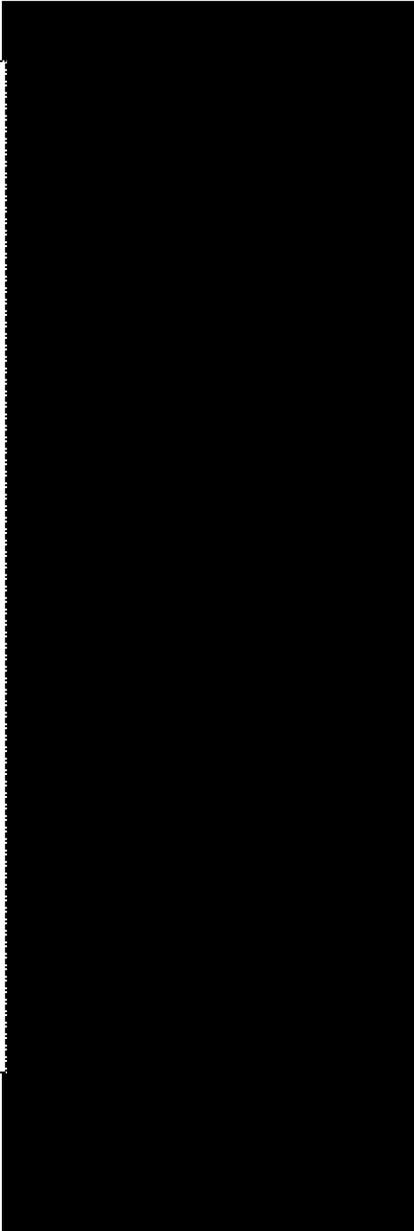
APPENDIX to Special Branch report on an extraordinary meeting of the HMLL held on 13.3.71

A MANCHANDA

402/53/274



Privacy



Friends of China

400/69/124

British Vietnam Solidarity Front

400/66/120





In the present situation no single comrade commands the respect and confidence of others sufficiently to replace Comrade Manchanda as secretary, and this is reflected in our proposals.

We must recognise certain dangers in our situation, and must all behave as responsibly as we can. By such dangers I mean (1) The danger of a slackening of even such a level of communist discipline as we have been able to maintain, and (2) the danger in our work of falling into opportunist errors, which are difficult for inexperienced comrades to avoid. We will certainly make mistakes, but must avoid as many as possible and learn from and quickly correct those we make. Finally it is to be emphasised that these are provisional proposals, put forward as temporary measures to continue our work in the present situation until we are able to work out in practice a better arrangement.

### PROPOSALS

- (1) A formal vote of no confidence should be taken in Comrade Manchanda as secretary.
- (2) Weekly meetings of RMLL be held, to which, as previously decided, all close contacts co-operating regularly with us in our work be invited.
- (3) A secretariat consisting of comrades Privacy Privacy be established. Chairmanship of our weekly general meetings is to rotate among the members of this secretariat. Political decisions should, wherever possible, be deferred to our weekly meetings, but where urgent decisions are necessary, such decisions are to be taken jointly by the secretariat.
- (4) RMLL will not, in the immediate future, have any public functions or issue any leaflets in its own name.
- (5) The office of RMLL and mailing address should move to 37 Castle-town Road, W.14. Such office equipment as the organisation owns: our duplicator, address index cards etc should be moved.
- (6) The position of Comrade Manchanda will be that of an ordinary member. No question has been raised regarding our continuing support for his positions in the FOC and BVSF.
- (7) It is not felt justified that Comrade Manchanda continue as a paid political worker, and this should cease after one month.
- (8) RMLL should continue its work in the broad fronts, FOC, WLF, and BVSF as well as continuing attempts to establish local work. The committees of such broad front organisations should function more regularly.

Comrades:

Nature of the meeting: common premise & approach.

What is the nature of this meeting? I am sure you would like to know. And I must explain about it before I deal with the concrete proposals I am going to make for your consideration.

I am very grateful that all of you comrades have responded to my request to meet here today. I value your concrete help and advice because I have associated with some of you who are members of RM-ML in the last two to three years in carrying out our political tasks, as I indicated in my memorandum dated October 12th, the building of a movement in this country against the counter-revolutionary policies of U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism and the local reactionaries in Britain. In the course of our work regarding the focus of the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle - Viet Nam - many of you comrades were drawn together. In the worldwide struggle, the leading role of People's China under the leadership of Chairman Mao, had a fundamental bearing on our whole work. That is why, besides BVSF, we took the initiative to build Friends of China with the objectives of promoting friendship between the British and the Chinese peoples. This political task naturally involved the understanding of the great, historic role of Chairman Mao's leadership, Mao Tsetung Thought, of the concrete role of the great Communist Party of China, not only in socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, but also the influence of China in the worldwide struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples.\* <sup>see end</sup> It was inevitable that the dissemination and propagation of Mao Tsetung Thought coincided with a relentless struggle against the counter-revolutionary "pernicious influence of the ideology and tactics of imperialism, social imperialist revisionism and other bourgeois opportunist trends like the trotskyites, neo-revisionist nationalists and the anarchists."

In fact, the RM-ML came into being to build a revolutionary core on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and evolve and carry out policies by the application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete practice of revolution in Britain. That is, as we have always maintained, that our concrete work is a modest contribution towards building a genuine political party of the working class, based upon these very fundamental principles.

It is obvious that all those comrades who joined the RM-ML and some who left, played a positive role to carry out these tasks. This could not be achieved by any individual, but only by the collective effort of all comrades, although contributions of different comrades varied.

The revolutionary core by itself cannot achieve very much unless it is able to win the political support, concrete help and participation in the beginning of the revolutionary militants and later, the broad masses of the people. Without the concrete participation and help of the militants - who support revolution, who want to fight against capitalism, imperialism and revisionism - we could not have achieved whatever little we have. That is why the internal problems of a revolutionary organisation are not the sole property of its members but are the concern of the revolutionary militants and they have a responsibility about the fate of such an organisation. They have duties as well as full rights about the affairs of the RM-ML and, if they have any sense of responsibility, then we must encourage them to play their full role in the understanding and resolution of the present crisis. They are not just spectators but full participants.

## The Present Crisis

What are the facts of the situation we are facing today? The internal crisis which was brewing for some time, erupted in the meeting on March 7. Although dark clouds had been gathering, as indicated in my memorandum of October 12, and I had stated that "if comrades are ready to overcome their personal egotism, overcome issues of personal and family relations and all examine their own weakness and mistakes and each others, especially members of the central committee, then not only shall we be able to solve our present contradictions, but we will emerge stronger and more united."

And I warned:

"Otherwise, if the main efforts are spent in self-defense and defense of husbands, wives and brothers - then the big blow will have been struck for the demise of the RM-ML."

It is obvious that it is the result of the logical development of the contradictions which were not resolved that we are facing the present crisis of the RM-ML. In fact, the old RM-ML is dead. This situation is clearly indicated by the eruption of March 7 when I very frankly and bluntly put it before comrades that I could not continue in the position of Secretary when I had lost confidence in responsible members of the organisation who, in practice, had been violating the discipline of the organisation by their obstruction and individualistic behaviour, contrary to agreed decisions taken in January this year. That it would be a fraud to hold onto the position of leadership when, in practice, it has ceased to be. And, as comrades put it, I "gave an ultimatum" - that unless the basic Marxist-Leninist principles were concretely carried out in practice it would be incorrect to "go on tolling the bell like monks," or to continue in that organisation in any capacity whatsoever.

The breakdown of the RM-ML is also obvious from the actions of comrades like M. Earle and others who point-blank refused to discuss the memorandum containing my views which I sent to the meeting of March 9, and instead adopted M. Earle's document containing the proposals of "No Confidence" etc.

So the issue is not somehow to maintain the RM-ML, but on the basis of the actual development of the RM-ML, its principles and activities, and the concrete situation today, to build the revolutionary organisation based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, anew.

What is 'regular functioning' is determined by the content, not how the meetings are conducted, who takes the Chair or where meetings are held. What makes the functioning regular is the content and the new form, corresponding with the content.

Regarding my position. Comrades, I think it would be quite appropriate to state that but for the concrete financial help and encouragement of all the members of the RM-ML it would have been impossible for me to make my humble contribution in our political work. I am very grateful to Comrades for the sympathetic attitude of understanding my concrete financial situation, health problems, and concrete difficulties of racial discrimination in obtaining a job or even getting sickness benefits of social security. I want to particularly express my appreciation and thanks to Comrades Chris and Dave who in fact took the first steps toward helping me in my critical situation. This is all the more reason why I should not forget my responsibility to them and all other comrades whose principle aim in helping was to enable me to make my full contribution towards the working class struggle.

So I must put politics first, and the interests of the working class and not any position - of leadership or prestige.

This is what Communist honesty demands and the situation demands. Therefore, I want to reiterate that I should not hold any position of leadership, that I should humbly work as a sympathiser or member and win the confidence of the comrades and their respect. The criteria is that I should put the interests of the working class first to make my contribution towards the building of a Marxist-Leninist organisation, and carry out a consistent policy of upholding Marxism-Leninism; politically, ideologically, and organisationally.

It demands a responsibility on my part that I should assist in developing the positive aspects of all comrades in serving the working class and help to overcome their weakness by criticism. That is why, in my memorandum of March 9, I stated:

"I am determined to carry on political work and make my humble contribution according to my capacity, either in co-operation with you comrades or, if it is not possible, seek other suitable avenues to do it."

Insistence on old membership and structure does not correspond to the present objective reality. Unless we all agree that the old organisational structure and form have broken down and that it requires a new approach, we shall not be able to solve the present crisis. This, concretely, means that not only the position of leadership but of the membership also, has to be reviewed and decided upon. Not by a patch-up provisional structure and maintaining a facade of the RM-ML organisation, but a thorough-going total re-organisation. And I have made it very clear that this concerns all those who have taken part in carrying out and supported the policies of the RM-ML and the activities organised by it, in the various fronts - BVSF, FOC, WLF & SPPAL.

In the present situation of complete breakdown there cannot be any privileged positions for officers, members or candidate members versus non-member militants. The situation demands a revolutionary alliance of the revolutionary cadre and revolutionary militants who are all concerned about the building of a revolutionary organisation, with solving the present crisis and fulfilling our obligations, with joint responsibility - with equal participation.

This, in my view, is the regular functioning in the concrete situation. That is the premise I indicated in my letter to you upon which we must have agreement before we can proceed with the details.

So comrades, let us discuss. Do we agree to this as our common premise? If there are any questions, let us discuss them.

## II. METHOD TO DEAL WITH THE PRESENT SITUATION.

In the understanding of the nature of the crisis and solution of the RM-ML, we must put the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought above all work and place Mao Tsetung Thought in command of everything.

As Chairman Mao says, "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless."

Because of the objective nature, position and changing role of various contradictions in the society and in any organisation, the development is never smooth, without struggle or reversals. The present setback, reversal or crisis of the RM-ML is also not unnatural but corresponds to the objective laws of contradictions. If we do apply materialist dialectics, comprehend the present crisis, not only should we not be demoralised but should be able to solve our problems and reach a higher level and stronger organisation than before.

Chairman Mao has expounded the dialectics of inner-Party contradiction. "The law of contradiction in things, that is the law of unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics."

Opposition and struggle inside the working class party or revolutionary organisations is a reflection of contradictions between classes and

between the new and old in society. There were no contradictions in the Party and no struggles to resolve them, and if the party did not defeat bourgeois trends and get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, the party's life would come to an end.

As comrade Lin Biao says, "Chairman Mao's theory on inner-Party contradictions is and will be the fundamental guiding thinking for the consolidation and building of the Party."

So, in order to correctly understand the serious situation regarding the RM-ML, we should apply the Marxist dialectical method, understand the nature of contradictions, how they grew and developed, leading to the present situation. This means we must all investigate concretely what was positive which helped to carry on our politics and which retarded, and which aspect of the contradiction became dominant to result in the present crisis. Concretely, we should not only go into the actual happenings of the meetings on March 7, 9, and other meetings, but also study the material submitted by various comrades since last October. As Chairman Mao says: "Historical experience merits attention." We should concretely examine the positive and negative aspects of the role of all comrades, including ourselves, and the struggle between various political and organisational lines. The comrades should study the documents, including that submitted by Comrade **Privacy** but others as well, concretely consider their own experience of whatever duration, in relation to RM-ML and our work in FOC, BVSE, WLF etc., and contribute in writing their conclusions for collective discussion.

Chairman Mao teaches us that we must make investigations, study and 'dissect' one or several 'sparrows' and constantly sum up experience.

If we, in the name of "carrying on the RM-ML" somehow, try some structural formula, it will not only be deceiving ourselves, but in fact will be rank opportunism and shall defeat the aims and purposes of a revolutionary organisation. We cannot sweep the dust under the carpet, the dust must be removed. The facts and views cannot be glossed over.

I must criticise myself that after the submission of various written notes in December last year and January this year, I did not fully appreciate the concrete stage we had reached in the RM-ML. That is why I did not propose a concrete timetable for examining those notes and the criticism and self-criticism contained in them.

This is what I had said in one of my letters, that proper preparations must be made and we should conduct as many meetings as necessary to understand and solve our problem on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist approach.

In order to arrange these meetings properly, we must take into account the concrete conditions and circumstances of all comrades, their jobs, health and other circumstances, as well as our mass work.

So, comrades, we should come to a common understanding on the method of understanding the nature of our problems, and by common united effort find the necessary solution on Marxist-Leninist principles. "Put politics in command" and "never forget class struggle."

### III. PUT POLITICS IN COMMAND.

In the present situation in Britain and the world today, tremendous opportunities are opening up for developing and expanding our revolutionary mass work. In Britain, the struggle of the working class and other working people against the decaying, dying system of imperialism is growing daily.

The news of the great victories of the heroic Indo-Chinese people are inspiring great masses of people.

The ever strengthening might of the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist China and the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, have created a very favourable situation for the revolutionaries.

In this situation, it will be criminal to neglect our responsibilities of FOC., BVSF., WLF., and other mass work.

In fact, the overcoming of the difficulties in the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organisation has no significance if this not only does not impede, but further promotes our mass work.

In carrying out the above-mentioned tasks, both with regard to building anew a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organisation, we must adopt a correct attitude of honesty. For Chairman Mao says:

"I believe we should do things honestly, for without an honest attitude it is absolutely impossible to accomplish anything in this world."

Some comrades think that by joining a revolutionary organisation, reading some Marxist-Leninist literature and carrying out some mass work, we become "pure" revolutionaries and hence the question of honesty does not arise.

According to Marxist dialectics, even honesty is a class question. Although, we may profess respect for the revolutionary organisation and interest of the working class, in practice we may put ourselves first, and the revolutionary organisation second. The revolutionary method of criticism and self-criticism can succeed only if we follow Chairman Mao's important instruction "fight self, criticize revisionism."

Without waging a relentless continuous revolutionary struggle, against oneself, one cannot acquire proletarian world outlook.

If we think that by not disclosing our own weaknesses and own concrete mistakes and shortcomings in carrying out our political and organisational tasks, we shall be only deceiving ourselves.

We should not become prisoners of our own mistakes, but help others also to see and accept their incorrect actions. That will be an honest, class attitude. Otherwise we won't achieve very much. Making "defensive" distinctions between advanced and less advanced comrades to cover up weaknesses is self-defeating and dishonest.

Comrades, by up-holding the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, not only can we overcome our present temporary difficulties, but surely, we can raise our organisation to a higher level in the service of the working class and socialist revolution.

Whatever little we have achieved is due to following the leadership of Chairman Mao and his revolutionary Thought and our modest efforts are very meagre. Our limitations and weaknesses are responsible for the small magnitude of our achievements and influence in the concrete objective situation, when the working class and broad masses of the people are experiencing a new awakening as a direct result of the deepening crisis of the imperialist system.

Of course, the objective heavy mill-stone of the corrupting influence of imperialism and the heritage of social democracy, opportunism and neo-revisionism, is still hanging round the neck of the British working class. This has to be faced.

Memo from A. Manchanda:

March 9, 1971.

Comrades:

Your attitude as well as your decisions in today's meeting will be crucial with regard to the issues I have raised with you and which I reiterate below:

On this will depend my attitude and my relations with you with regard to political work.

Perhaps it is necessary to state the essential relationship of a Marxist-Leninist organisation (like the RMLL which we were trying to build as one) and the mass fronts. The issue has to be faced because some people are posing this question opportunistically.

What is the role of a Marxist-Leninist organisation if not to play a vanguard role in projecting a correct policy on all fronts in the mass movement, indicating organisational and tactical line, to involve and win masses of ordinary working people to a proletarian revolutionary line on the basis of dealing with concrete issues on the respective fronts? Can one imagine the emergence and development of our mass fronts, BVSF, FOC, WLF etc. without a clear Marxist-Leninist position and the leading role of the RMLL? Otherwise, why have a M-L organisation, if one can carry on a correct political and organisational policy in any of the mass fronts, including the FOC? I am stating it because some people might think they can maintain their individual position and prestige with our international friends by running at least this organisation. That such a tendency has existed found manifestation on different occasions with regard to joint activities of FOC with other revolutionary organisations, like RMLL. Although it was not presented in this manner.

Cde. **Privacy** has very boldly asserted that we don't have to bother about Cde. Manchanda - he might even be an enemy agent. If Cde. Manchanda didn't exist, what would we do? If we are loyal to the working class we must carry on our revolutionary activities. And that can only be done by working together as Marxist Leninists.

It was significant that comrades last time at a meeting without me at Castletown road when comrade **Privacy** name was proposed as Chairman, opposed her on the grounds that she is "neutral" and cde. **Privacy** wanted Cde. **Privacy** as a permanent Chairman.

As for Cde. **Privacy** revolutionary enthusiasm and loyalty to the working class, I wish this could have found some manifestation in the West London area, by implementing decisions unanimously taken at the beginning of this year? Or is Cde. Manchanda the inhibiting factor which prevents the revolutionary activity of **Privacy**

Selfishness and laziness finds a strange manifestation in Cde. **Privacy** **Privacy** in his claim that **Privacy** and he could not visit people in the West London area without the van. When asked how other comrades manage in other areas, he offered to drive them around in those areas as well. Of course, he did not mention who will do the work in his own area while he is driving in other areas.

I am sure Comrades will agree that it is an insult to the intelligence of all comrades that Cde. Manchanda has imposed the policies in the RMLL without discussion and agreement of other comrades for more than 2 years.

It is indeed strange that comrade **Privacy** should suggest that I have demanded as a condition of my continuation as the Sec. of the RMLL that nobody should raise any criticism of my actions and activities, or lack of them.

Incidentally, Cde. **Privacy** also earlier in the December discussion made a similar statement when he said one has to be a worm or a saint to work with cde. Manchanda. Of course, paying tribute to himself, he claimed he is very "peaceable" by nature.

Since the inception of the RMLL I have attempted to carry out the Marxist-Leninist organisational principle of democratic-centralism.

Chairman Mao says: "This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism."

" We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely:

- (i) the individual is subordinate to the organisation;
- (ii) the minority is subordinate to the majority;
- (iii) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and
- (iv) the entire membership is subordinate to the central committee

Whoever violates these articles of discipline, disrupts Party unity."

Following Chairman Mao's basic principle on Party building, that one should not forget the nature of the contradictions in the Party, that is the nature of class struggle. That by correctly applying the method of criticism and self criticism one can strengthen the unity of the organisation and isolate the disruptive elements.

It is preposterous to suggest, knowing the experience of our functioning from the days of Henderson Brooks and Harpal Brar that I ever suggested that we should not have criticism and self criticism at all levels, without exception.

As for being an enemy agent - you can all judge from your own knowledge and experience.

As far as my existence is concerned. Obviously I could not play any role at all if I did not exist. The question is, as a result of my existence, whether I have played any positive role at all in the revolutionary movement in this country, and also regarding the building of the RMLL and the mass organisations. Or perhaps, in the views of the highly developed, class conscious comrades, loyal to the working class, I was playing a counter-revolutionary role? Or maybe in the views of some comrades I might have played some positive role in the past which I have ceased to do now? Maybe I have become a degenerate senile and a disruptive element? In the latter case, there should be no difficulty in making up your minds.

#### My Present Position

After our detailed discussion and exchange of notes on the position of the RMLL, we unanimously agreed the following:

- 2) 1) That instead we should have one month<sup>ly</sup> general meetings in which we should plan, take decisions and check up on our activities.
- 1) 2) That there shall be at present no branches nor central committee.
- 3) That the present method of study classes should cease. That the RMLL should have central study classes once a month, dealing with both theoretical and immediate questions.
- 4) That study classes on the mass fronts should be organised in different areas, related to that particular front.
- 5) That in all our RMLL meetings, organisational, theoretical and etc. all our militant contacts, members and non-members, should take full part in these discussions.

That all comrades should start work in 3 areas, and accordingly, responsibility was allocated.

We have to ~~link~~ link up our general anti-imperialist struggle ~~with~~ and mass front work, to the concrete working class struggle in the present deep crisis of British imperialism.

That during this period, I as the Secretary, naturally have the responsibility of co-ordination - and this is the question of leadership.

My criticism is that 1) **Privacy** insist on challenging the unanimous decision to admit non-members into our meetings. I do not understand why **Privacy** has a particular objection to **Privacy** taking part in our meetings. Surely we can learn from the positive proposals as well as the criticism of these comrades?

- 2) I am definitely against anarchic functioning, of people deciding on their own which meetings to attend and which not to attend and making private arrangements for "political" work unconnected with any plan of ours.

(3) I am definitely against carrying out or attending study classes as a pretext of doing political work. I understand [Privacy] have started attending study classes now in Nth London. What happened to the women's work in the West London area and the projected public meeting? Is attendance in the study class in Nth London the answer to this question?

4) [Privacy] who levels charges of disruption against me because of my insistence on making changes of certain plans, because it interferes with local work as for example what happened on the question of the Indo-China demo.

[Privacy] who were against our participation in the women's demo in the beginning, but because of the decision taken, reluctantly supported it. No other comrade came forward in the preparation of the leaflets, duplicating, or any other arrangement. Till the last day, nobody offered nor consulted me about any job regarding the demo. No help was given regarding the preparation of the leaflet for the Wednesday meeting. I have had no help from [Privacy] regarding any political work for the last 2 months. It seems all of you are doing your own work on your own.

Talking of understanding the significance of the women's demo, a big resistance was put up by [Privacy] re the Wednesday meeting on the false plea of their study class. They were even reluctant to cancel the study class. They considered it more important rather than going out to mobilize support for our contingent and line. One's own work in one's own area seems to have acquired priority over overall political tasks. This is bourgeois, egotistical anarchism. This is disruptive mountain stronghold mentality.

If comrades had taken up other responsibilities re the demo, I have confidence that with the help of [Privacy] we would have brought out the paper on time. I opposed any idea of more comrades being involved re the preparation of the magazine at this stage for 3 reasons.

- 1) That at this stage, involving comrades [Privacy] would have led to many disputes on the question of makeup etc. which not only would have delayed the paper further but would have further damaged our relations.
- 2) there was not necessity for many comrades to establish a working party for this job
- 3) they should concentrate on mass mobilisation.

Regarding the baby, it will be a lie to say that our having a baby has not affected my work. It is a common experience that infants in the first few months need attention day and night and looking after our [Privacy] I did not have proper sleep for nearly 2 months.

Because of my ill-health and being mostly confined to the house, I took up the responsibility of looking after the baby. This makes it possible for [Privacy] to do mass work and also earn a bit of money to maintain our minimum expenses. I hope that comrades will agree that it was a good thing that [Privacy] was able to do this mass work.

It will be hypocritical on our part when we talk of women's liberation if we do not appreciate how women have to look after children and are unable to take part. I hope that nobody suggests that communists should neglect their children. Incidentally, we have only been able to provide the basic minimum needs of our baby and have not even been able to take her out in the open. It is also true my diabetic condition has been worse recently and I am grateful to Comrade [Privacy] who also had to go to the hospital for helping out with transport so I could see the doctor and on 2 occasions she has looked after the baby when we were doing political work.

Of course, we do not have in our concrete situation, relations or parents to look after the baby, or as in China, the help of other comrades.

Despite these conditions, we were able to bring out leaflets such as those for the T.U. demos and received the encouragement of them being singled out for quotation in *Humanity*.

Finally, I want to make it clear that despite the wishes of comrades like comrade [Privacy] I have no desire to retire or go on leave. I am determined to carry on political work and make my humble contribution according to my capacity, either in co-operation with you comrades or, if it is not possible, seek other suitable avenues to do it.

Privacy 12 Mar, 1971

Comrades: There is a general recognition that the contradictions in the RMLL have reached the stage where it is impossible for the RMLL to carry on without some resolution of these contradictions. Comrade Manchanda puts forward the view that these contradictions basically involve and have involved resistance on the part of most comrades to his correct leadership. This analysis I reject. Certainly some individualistic resistance to leadership does exist, but it is not the basic cause of our internal contradictions.

I recognize that throughout the history of R M L L the outstanding leading role has been played by Comrade Manchanda. He remains the most experienced, politically knowledgeable comrade by far, and it is therefore very much to be regretted that his weaknesses, in contradiction to this make it impossible, apparently, for him to properly carry out the functions of secretary. The faults of egotistical bad temper and self-centred subjective rejection of criticism have always been present in some degree, but have been overshadowed at most times in the past by his correct leadership and political line.

The stage has been reached, however, where these bad qualities (whether due to ill health or whatever reason) have come to predominate so that it is impossible for me to retain confidence in him as secretary of RMLL. This is manifest in that: (1) As chairman of our internal meetings his behaviour, outbursts of enraged attacks on comrades and defenses of himself, makes it impossible even to carry on any effective collective evaluation of our political work. (2) His reaction to any criticism or even opposition is extreme rage and subjective accusations. He also makes many correct criticisms of comrades but often without constructively attempting to help overcome weaknesses, without distinguishing between major and minor criticisms, and frequently using criticism of others as a weapon for personal defense and self justification. This behaviour in the secretary and chairman of meeting makes the working, in practice of any correct method of criticism and self criticism and inner-party democracy almost impossible. (3) He is as is apparent in recent statements of his, so subjective that he cannot, frequently, even remember things said in his presence, let alone correctly analyze and give a positive lead in resolving our contradictions.

It is relevant that many weaknesses can be pointed out in other comrades, and it is also true that no comrade can be held to have behaved with maximum responsibility in the face of these contradictions. However this does not outweigh the fact that the continuance of Comrade Manchanda at present as secretary would be incorrect and make it impossible for our political work to continue.

In any organisation a situation involving a change in leadership is a very serious matter. In the case of the RMLL, where Comrade Manchanda has played such a dominant role, this is doubly true. Some comrades, recognizing that the organisation cannot continue with Cde. Manchanda as secretary, have even suggested we should dissolve the RMLL. This is very incorrect. Recognition of the centrally important role played in the past by Comrade Manchanda does not relieve us of the responsibility for carrying on as best we can if he can no longer play this role.

As communists we must recognise the correctness of collective work and discipline. Wherever possible we must unite on the highest level possible attainable with others who share our revolutionary political views, make collective decisions, observe collective discipline, use the methods of criticism and self criticism to improve our work by learning from our errors and adhere to the principles of democratic-centralism. In order to attempt to work in this way the RMLL came into being, in the absence of a correct revolutionary party of the working class in Britain, and for these reasons it should continue, without Cde. Manchanda as secretary, since this no longer is conducive of correct working.

In the following proposals all of these things are borne in mind, as well as the fact that we must adjust to a new situation in which we are no longer dominated by one outstanding leader. Such domination has both positive and negative aspects: mostly positive so long as this leadership is correct, but also negative as not necessitating the development of a true understanding of collective discipline to the same extent or the development of the responsible initiative and discipline of mature cadres.