

Seizing the Imperialist Citadels

Contributions to the Discussion of Revolutionary Strategy

The strategy for revolution in the advanced imperialist countries requires further work and struggle in the revolutionary ranks. The establishment of parties in these countries where today there are few based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and where our movement has faced particular obstacles is a task that concerns the international communist movement as a whole. The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* serves as the basis for further discussion but certainly does not exhaust this extremely important question.

Following are two contributions to this discussion. They are relatively short excerpts from what are fairly comprehensive documents. We have chosen these excerpts to focus on the two related themes of party building and the programme for revolution in these particular countries. Both documents strive to present a basic analysis of the particular country, a synthesis of revolutionary experience there, and the outlines of a revolutionary programme. Both documents represent an attempt to unite the communists in these countries on a higher level. They share the view that the ideological, political and organisational strength of the proletariat on an international scale and the current conditions in the world make it necessary and possible for relatively small and somewhat locally-based groups to rise to the occa-

sion and rapidly develop the ideological, political and organisational basis for the establishment of the vanguard party without which proletarian revolution is impossible.

The first of these excerpts is from *Break the Chains! Manifesto of the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent in Britain*. This recently formed organisation includes members of the now-dissolved Nottingham and Stockport Communist Groups which signed the *RIM Declaration*. The second, from the Communist Collective of Agit-Prop in Italy, is taken from "Per l'Organizzazione Comunista Operaia Rivoluzionaria." The full documents in question are available, respectively, from Leeds Alternative Publications, Box No. 7, 59 Cookridge St., Leeds LS2 3AW (U.K.); and Centro Documentazione, via D'Aquino 158, 74100 Taranto, Italy.

We welcome further comments and contributions on these themes.—AWTW □

Britain: Manifesto of the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent (Excerpts)

Building the Revolutionary Party

"In countries where no Marxist-Leninist party exists the immediate task facing the revolutionary communists there is to form such a party with the aid of the international communist movement. The key to the establishment of the party is the development of a correct political line and programme, both as regards the particularities of a given country and the overall world situation. The Marxist-Leninist party must be built

in close relationship with carrying out revolutionary work among the masses, implementing a revolutionary mass line, and in particular, addressing and resolving the pressing political questions which must be resolved in order for the revolutionary movement to advance." —
Declaration of the RIM

In Britain the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement has never been strong. This is partly to be ex-

plained in terms of Britain's position in the world as a major imperialist power and the consequent attraction of reformist politics that such material conditions make available to the working class. It is also partly to be explained in terms of the strong revisionist influences that communist organisations in Britain have been exposed to within the international communist movement at various times. But the main reason
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Italy: For the Revolutionary Communist Workers Organisation (Excerpts)

On the Party

The central task of Marxist-Leninist communists is to work for the development of the world revolution. This means the overthrow of the imperialist system by the proletariat and exploited masses and the establishment of the proletariat's political power through the necessary stages and alliances required by conditions in different countries.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the political form of proletarian power to build socialism, which requires the continuation of the revolution in all spheres to defend proletarian power against attempts at capitalist restoration, to eliminate the material and ideological vestiges of exploitative society, and, through a process which is only possible on a world scale, achieve classless society, communism.

Only those whose fight is consistent in theory and practice with this objective and this process can call themselves communists and thus be useful to the proletariat's revolutionary cause; if not, no matter what their subjective intentions may be, sooner or later they will become
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obstacles to the proletarian revolution.

The present task of the communists is to define the proletarian revolution (in terms of strategy, tactics and motive force), and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist transition to communism, in terms of political programme and the relation between the battle in every country and the international framework. The historical experience of the proletarian movement teaches and shows that the revolution can take place and win victory only if there is a proletarian political party based on the revolutionary theory of the proletariat: the science of Marxism-Leninism, which today includes Mao Tsetung's contributions.

Today, because of errors and defeats suffered by the revolutionaries, there are no authentic revolutionary communist parties in the majority of the world's countries. There are organisations and small groups which are working in that direction, but generally they are not strong enough ideologically, politically and organisationally to respond to the demands posed by the present proletarian movement, nor above all to the opportunities emerging though the development of the world situation — the prospect of and preparations for imperialist war.

For these reasons, the battle to build the party is the most urgent and central task for all those today who call themselves revolutionary communists.

The key element in building the party is the development of a line and programme that take up both the particularities of the country where work is being carried out as well as the world situation. This line and programme are the dialectical fruit of two key elements: 1) struggle against the anti-Marxist-Leninist trends which broadly influence the most advanced workers and the revolutionary youth; 2) revolutionary work among the proletarian masses, based on ideological, political and organisational leadership of the advanced elements, a leadership able to answer the political questions urgently posed

for the advance of the revolutionary movement. To accomplish these objectives theoretical and analytical work is required. Without proceeding in this manner it is impossible to build the party, and the work of the communists becomes sterile, easily falling prey to academic deviations, and, in periods of discouragement among the masses, into economist and terrorist theories.

The building of the party requires the unity of the authentic communists and the winning over of the advanced among the proletariat. Historical experience and a practical grasp of the problems show that it is wrong to consider these things as prerequisites to forming the party, especially its initial nucleus. In the majority of cases this initial nucleus will be composed of a small number of members who specifically assume responsibility for building the party, who have a clear vision of the problems they face and demonstrate that they have the answers that can solve them. This initial nucleus should have in an embryonic form all the aspects of the party they seek to build, choose its members according to revolutionary criteria, and make grasping and using dialectical materialism a constant task in all fields.

Developing the unity of the communists and winning over advanced elements clearly remains a concrete and permanent task of the party. In a basic sense, while taking into account the concrete situation, it should have a strong component of professional revolutionaries.

From a qualitative viewpoint, it should pay great attention to the training of worker comrades as all-around leaders and create the ideological and organisational conditions for the full development of women as revolutionary activists.

While carrying out the ideological, political and organisational building of the party it must always be kept in mind that the goal is the revolutionary seizure of political power. This means that the task of the party in every period is to develop the preparation of the masses towards this end. The revolutionary seizure of political power according to the diverse conditions in the various countries requires the

development of the proletariat's armed struggles. It is necessary to constantly educate the proletariat in this perspective, even in periods when civil war or revolutionary war is not on the order of the day.

In particular, it is of great and decisive importance to build an organisation capable of working under any conditions and of resisting the repression the bourgeois state unleashes against it in a variety of forms.

Wherever possible and particularly under the conditions of a bourgeois-democratic regime, the party should develop legal and open work, while constantly seeking, through political exposures and its leadership of the proletarian masses in concrete experience, to show the class nature of bourgeois democracy, and taking measures to safeguard the party organisation so that even when the regime changes the class struggle of the masses can continue to develop.

Building the party as the vanguard detachment of the proletariat requires that its members be consistently educated in the development of the revolutionary mass line based upon several essential elements:

a) strategic firmness and tactical flexibility, which makes it possible to use different methods to intervene in different movements, taking into account specific contradictions in the light of a single line and plan;

b) starting from the real demands of the proletariat, which expresses its class interests constantly forming united fronts of all the forces and social strata than can be mobilised in the struggle against imperialism, its state, its government, whether in overall strategic terms or partial tactical terms. The important question is to understand the united front and the consequent politics of united action it requires as something dynamic, seeking to shift the balance of forces in favour of the party and the proletariat. Otherwise, the party sinks down into the organisations of the reformist movement, freezes, and cannot respond to the demands of the masses, and is reduced to the politics of compromises which instead of intelligently transforming the actual existing movement cor-

rupts and devalues the party's revolutionary action.

The revolutionary communist party should be conceived and built as a contingent of the international communist movement. On the one hand this means the battle to build a new international, and on the other the consistent education of its own members and the proletariat in the principles and practice of proletarian internationalism.

considered an end and an accomplishment in itself, but rather part of a long-term struggle, full of advances and setbacks, to wipe the system based on the exploitation of man by man from the surface of the earth and build communism.

A clear internationalist line means seeking and consolidating ideological, political and organisational links with parties and organisations of other countries.

I

The conquest of political power by the working class is the fruit of the development of its political movement, a movement that when the conditions are right can gather together all of society's revolutionary forces into an insurrection taking advantage of a governmental crisis and subsequent institutional collapse in order to overthrow the



Milan

Proletarian internationalism is a reflection of the fact that the proletariat is one class worldwide, with one interest and one basic aim : the overthrow of the imperialist system. Though the revolution in the diverse countries can only take place in different periods and simultaneous world revolution is a superficial and disarming utopia, an internationalist line is a basic requirement, because no revolution and consequent battle for socialist construction can be con-

This is of basic assistance in the present-day battle to lay the basis for new revolutionary communist parties of the proletariat.

For a Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries

The basis for developing a revolutionary strategy in the imperialist countries lies in fully and completely taking up once again fundamental lines put forward by Lenin and the October Revolution.

bourgeois government, smash the bourgeois machinery of state and institute the rule of the organs of proletarian political power born during the course of the revolutionary political movement.

The possibility of carrying out a revolution in an advanced capitalist country is linked to the development of revolutionary situations which appear rarely in such countries and which concentrate all the main contradictions of the imperialist system

— the most obvious case is that of imperialist war.

The revolutionary political movement of the proletariat does not result from spontaneity nor much less from the development of the workers' day-to-day economic struggle.

The decisive factor for the development of such a movement is the existence of a party made up of the most advanced elements of the proletariat and able to carry out all-around revolutionary work among the ranks of that class. This work must be based upon the ability to develop the proletariat's consciousness and organisation through political exposures and leading concrete political movements, and to carry out work in non-revolutionary periods so as to prepare itself and the proletarian masses to take advantage of those moments when the revolutionary seizure of political power is on the order of the day.

II

An outstanding feature of imperialism is the existence of the labour aristocracy.

The key to the activity of the revolutionary communists is work to bring about a split between the majority of the working class and the upper stratum which benefits, to varying degrees during various periods, from the superprofits the imperialist bourgeoisie obtains from the exploitation and plunder of the peoples oppressed by imperialism.

The labour aristocracy represents the political-social prop of the bourgeoisie's rule over the proletariat. This stratum constitutes the source and the main core of reformism and revisionism of all stripes.

III

In the imperialist countries any identification of the interests of the proletariat with those of the nation is reactionary. In peacetime it reinforces the bourgeoisie's political rule and promotes social peace and class collaboration. In wartime it leads to a vile alliance between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie against the proletariat of other countries and against the oppressed peoples,

and turns the proletariat into cannon-fodder for the preservation of the imperialist system.

In peacetime the revolutionary communists must fight against the logic of participating in the fruits of imperialist development, showing how this development is the result of the exploitation of the working class and of the blood and suffering of the peoples oppressed by imperialism. In wartime, they must support a policy of revolutionary defeatism towards their own bourgeoisie.

The abandonment of these three points Lenin developed in the struggle against the degeneration of the parties of the Second International has always been a factor leading to degeneration, deviations and failure, especially in the Western capitalist countries. This is what happened in some periods of the experience of the Third International, as we have previously written.

The Marxist-Leninist movement of the 1960s and '70s was characterised by the failure to thoroughly return to and take up these points in ideological, theoretical, political, organisational and practical terms. This made it impossible to lay the basis for building real revolutionary communist parties in the imperialist countries.

Against Economism and Some Secondary Deviations

Clearly the communists must not confuse economism with the necessary intervention in the economic struggle, both to guide the economic struggle to serve the interests of the most exploited sectors of the working class, and above all as one of the fields in which to develop political agitation.

But economism, which has been prevalent in the revolutionary movement in recent years and is still rather strong, leads to concentrating one's forces in the economic struggle of the masses as the most fundamental sphere for organisation and revolutionary work, making trade union activity the principal work of revolutionary communists, whether it be work inside or outside the unions, with short-term or long-term goals. Increasingly this turns the revolutionary organisation into a structure to carry out that kind of

work, bureaucratising it and depriving it of revolutionary tension and militancy.

Economism debases the content of the ties with the masses by lowering the activity of the revolutionaries to that of trade unionism.

Economism naturally goes hand in hand with a gradualist conception of revolutionary activity, expressed quite commonly by the position "first economic struggle and organisation, after that political struggle and organisation, and after that finally the revolutionary struggle." In essence this means that organisation remains in the sphere of economic struggle or trade union politics, since the political struggle does not and can not evolve from the economic struggle, except in some particular circumstances.

Such conceptions not only prevent effective and systematic exposures and political mobilisations around all aspects of imperialist politics and the role and activity of the different classes and the parties which are their political expression, but also fail to take advantage of the political conjunctures that occur to develop the revolutionary political movement of the proletariat.

Because it conceives of the revolutionary struggle as evolving out of economic struggles, economism expresses itself in a deeply legalistic conception of the class struggle. This means that the movements which have been placed or place themselves on the terrain of armed struggle are not critically examined in terms of their aspirations, their class basis and their strategy, but rather identified only according to the form of struggle they have undertaken, the armed struggle; they are reduced to that and rejected for that, which means, in fact, going over bag and baggage to the camp of bourgeois democracy.

The prevalence of economism in the revolutionary movement continues to provoke a reaction among sections of the youth and other rebels with revolutionary communist inclinations. This trend, seemingly the opposite of economism, is just as incapable of building a real revolutionary organisation and developing the proletarian movement in a revolutionary direction:

a) It has contempt for the proletariat's daily struggle and for the systematic work of organising the masses; its activity is reduced to sporadic agitation and propaganda, which is often sectarian and sloganistic. They don't take into account the fact that the masses learn through their own experiences, that the revolutionaries must guide them and raise their consciousness, and train themselves in the heat of the class struggle.

b) In opposition to gradualism a subjective conception of the revolutionary process develops. It does not take objective conditions into account nor analyse the balance of forces, which leads to a superficial evaluation of the various political periods, tending to consider every crisis of the bourgeoisie and every advanced phase of the mass movement as the threshold of revolution. This translates into an inability to carry out revolutionary politics, to an under estimation of the need for tactics and to an inability to train truly revolutionary cadre. It is an obstacle to snatching advanced sections of the working class away from the hegemony of reformism. These concepts arose in the form of political adventurism (armed and unarmed), and, when that failed, in the form of overemphasising the strength of reaction, an outlook which leads to liquidationism.

c) In reaction to legalism, at times a whole mythology of armed struggle has arisen which considers it the only form of revolutionary politics and revolutionary organisation. This trend found it easy to seek theoretical support from other currents alien to Marxism-Leninism. We'll come back to this later.

These positions, even if they intend to oppose economism, have the same practical effect: they leave the proletarian movement without a revolutionary political agent, stuck in the sphere of economic struggle.

Against Subordination to the Labour Aristocracy

In imperialist society the most exploited sections of the industrial working class constitute the reference point for revolutionary activity. In many imperialist countries

immigrant proletarians make up a large part of this.

The revolutionary communists must root themselves among this section to make it the motive and leading force of the whole proletarian movement, of all the strata oppressed by imperialism in the revolutionary struggle. This can only take place by an open break with the labour aristocracy and with the reformist parties which are its political expression.

In the communist movement, and in particular the Marxist-Leninist trend, there has been a widespread monolithic view of "the unity of the working class" which in political and organisational essence does not aim at a split between the majority of the proletariat and the labour aristocracy but rather at preserving the bonds between these two sections in the name of the unity of the working class.

Such a position leads to a political line which cannot train the potentially revolutionary strata of the proletariat to develop as the leader of the whole front of political and social struggle.

Even on the level of trade unionism, this position leads to an opportunist practice, because in the imperialist countries work in the trade unions dominated by the labour aristocracy, though indispensable, should be considered secondary to the creation of mass organisations which can unite in struggle the workers inside the factory as well as those outside, the unemployed.

In short, whoever works in the name of the unity of the working class to unite the most exploited strata of the proletariat with the labour aristocracy, whoever separates the exploited majority of factory workers from their natural partners, the proletarian strata outside the factory, the unemployed, is standing in the way of building the force necessary to definitively defeat the influence of the labour aristocracy and isolate reformism and revisionism.

Today it is more necessary than ever to break with this position, since the clear polarisation provoked by the crisis is creating objectively more favourable conditions to

carry out a split between the majority of the proletariat and the labour aristocracy.

Against Social Chauvinism

In the imperialist countries and especially Europe, there has always been a strong social-chauvinist tendency. This tendency denies the imperialist character of its own social system, fails to recognise the actual importance and revolutionary value of the liberation struggles of the peoples oppressed by imperialism, and is not in a position to carry out a profound class criticism of its social system (putrefaction, parasitism, etc.).

Support for the struggles of oppressed peoples has been a strong point of the new Marxist-Leninist movement born in 1968 in the imperialist countries. This general support has only gone halfway; it has seen U.S. imperialism and to a smaller degree Soviet social-imperialism, without being able to see or analyze the growth and development of the role of its own imperialism, particularly in the European countries.

This had led in practice to the abandonment of proletarian internationalism, especially after Vietnam and the defeat of the People's Republic of China, and to the re-emergence of openly social-chauvinist and pro-imperialist lines in the revolutionary communist movement. In the name of the "purity of the working class" support is denied to the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples; in the name of the struggle against the two superpowers the European bourgeoisie are cloaked in pacifism.

In order to form a revolutionary communist vanguard in the imperialist countries it is necessary to make a clean sweep of these conceptions which are closely linked with one another. It was due to these conceptions that the rebirth of the radical movements which took place in 1968-69 and the following years (focused on different things in different countries) could not give rise to the formation of a revolutionary proletarian vanguard. This, in turn,

has been the subjective factor which has facilitated the disastrous revival of those movements in the river-bed of reformism and the general "modernisation and adjustment" of imperialist society.

These concepts have been a factor in the ideological, political and organisational miseducation of a generation of activists and, because of their bankruptcy in practice, in the ideological crisis and disorientation which has dispersed the greater part of the energy these activists once displayed.

Additional Notes

In the years in which the Marxist-Leninist oriented forces of the communist movement were undergoing their deepest crisis and organisational dispersion, particularly in the imperialist countries, among some sections of the workers and especially among petit bourgeois youth updated variants of reformism and revisionism (such as Proletarian Democracy in Italy) have caught on, with a rediscovery of parliamentarism and trade unionism as well as openly liberal-democratic trends (such as the Radical Party, the ecology movement and the Greens). These trends sow illusions about the possibility of reforming the system from within, exactly when the system is showing its most reactionary, warmongering features; their only result is to disarm the working class and hinder the expression of the revolutionary potential of the social movements.

Among the most combative and radical sectors some essentially neo-anarchist tendencies have become popular (neoanarchist even when they define themselves as communist, such as *Autonomia*). Some old anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist trends have reappeared (such as Trotskyism, left-wing communism and workerism). The incapacity of the former to play a fully revolutionary role is demonstrated on a daily basis. They are not armed with a scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism, which when correctly used makes it possible to accurately analyse imperialist society and its laws of motion and to identify the real revolutionary subject of this

society, and serves as a guide to overturn the existing state of things. These tendencies disperse the social struggles they have been promoting, expose them in a spontaneous way to state repression isolate them from the industrial proletariat and lead them in a vicious circle that repeatedly gives rise to a subjective ebb in the movement.

It is necessary to develop an up-to-date and systematic criticism of these tendencies, combined with a positive programme and actions, so that the radical energy and strengths of these social strata can be brought under the theoretical and political leadership of the revolutionary proletariat.

The second of these trends presents a schematic and metaphysical variant of Marxism and proletarian internationalism, whether preached to the proletariat as a soporific doctrine, or decked out in revolutionary phraseology and advocating sectarian and extremist political lines, so that the living energy gushing out of the furnace of class struggle can be frozen in impotent witness to revolutionary purity. Consequently, in practice this line serves to reinforce the leadership of reformism and neoanarchism in the struggle.

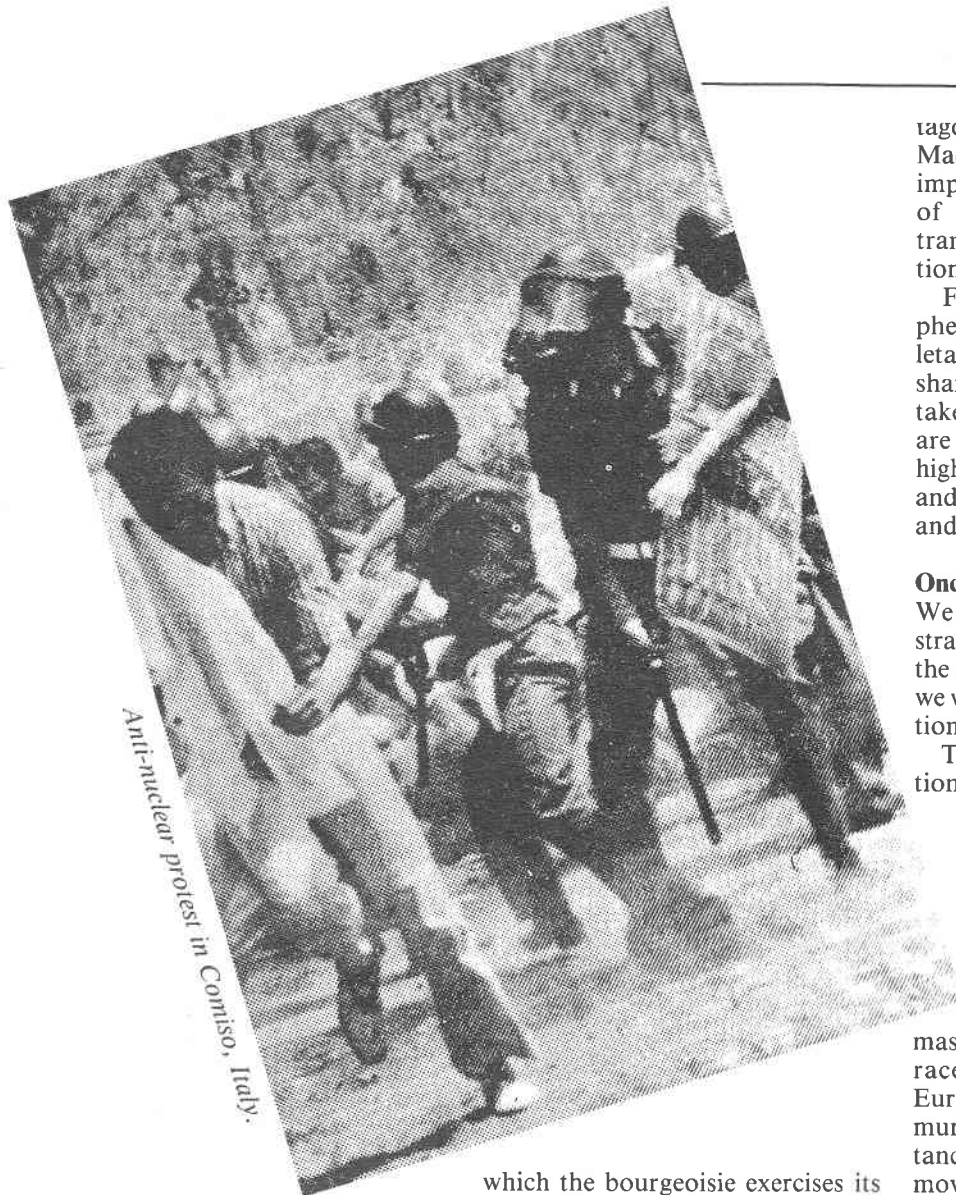
The false Marxism of this trend must be unmasked theoretically and politically. This can be done insofar as a political line and organisation is adopted that can carry out real transformations in the movement.

Surely it has been the fighting groups that have most concentrated these two trends and which have gathered the greatest revolutionary impetus. These forces have given a concrete answer to the problem of armed struggle in the imperialist countries and the building of illegal organisation. Their experience merits profound study so as to avoid repeating their grave errors in this field and to draw useful lessons.

This can only be done by understanding that the basis of their strategy, theory, political line and practice is wrong and can only bring defeat. Programmatically these groups have filled themselves up with South American guerrilla theories and Lin Piaoism, which are completely unsuitable for the

revolutionary struggle in the imperialist countries, and always fall into terrorism pure and simple, without any programmatic links with the mass movements, despising the problem of providing concrete leadership for these movements and instead preaching that every economic struggle is a struggle for power. On the one hand they have been a factor behind the deviations among advanced elements who have failed to carry out the task of giving revolutionary leadership to the masses, and who in the face of serious difficulties for the revolutionary movement have aggravated the problems and decapitated the struggle; and on the other, they have been a coagulation of ideologically unstable elements which are alien to these struggles and which exalt the worst instincts of petit bourgeois rebel-ism. Then, when inevitably they fall into crisis and defeat, they help bring harmful political positions into the revolutionary movement, as has happened especially in Germany as well as secondarily in Italy, positions such as the struggle for national liberation in the imperialist countries, under the banner of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and a positive evaluation of the social-imperialist bloc, either explicitly or in a disguised manner.

It is necessary to unfold a political battle aimed at the emergence in this arena of a scientific self-criticism, free from preconceptions and not at all a form of disassociation (a legal term meaning to denounce the armed struggle movement in exchange for a lighter sentence—trans.), so as to win over the best forces to the process of building the proletariat's revolutionary communist party. This is not possible unless the Marxist-Leninist communists are intensely active in the struggle against repression, in the defense of political prisoner status for those arrested and of their conditions while in prison, and against the logic of annihilation in the imperialist prisons. Above all it is important to develop authentic revolutionary political activity and build the organisation as an effective centre to promote and lead the revolutionary struggle in all its forms, allocating forces in accordance with the political conjuncture



Anti-nuclear protest in Comiso, Italy.

and the links with the mass movement.

There have been important changes in the economic, social and cultural structure of the imperialist countries :

— the unprecedented level of the internationalisation of capital, which has not made the big multinationals any less nationally based, nor attenuated the contradictions between states;

— the development of automation and the computer revolution, which, instead of liberating labour and life, exacerbates the reduction of the proletariat to mere appendices of the machinery, heightens the atomisation of society and strengthens the means through

which the bourgeoisie exercises its ideological domination;

— the changes in the stratification of society : the shrinking importance of the peasantry, the development of new intermediate social strata, the emergence of pockets of permanent marginalisation.

It is important to analyse these phenomena in order to chalk out a revolutionary programme for our time, but the proletariat cannot investigate these problems without the weapon of dialectical materialism and the science of Marxism-Leninism. Indeed it is in the analysis of these phenomena that one can appreciate the prophetic and programmatic profundity of Marx's theses regarding the tendencies within capitalist society and the need for communism, of Lenin's further developments regarding the importance of the proletariat's subjective consciousness and its role as the

tagonist in the political struggle, and Mao's contributions regarding the importance of the superstructure — of art, culture and ideological transformation — in the revolutionary process.

From the analysis of these phenomena the necessity for proletarian revolution emerges more sharply than ever, above all if we take into account that these changes are carrying imperialism to the highest concentration of destruction and the barbarisation of humanity and society, war.

Once Again On War and Revolution

We have already synthesised the strategic principle on this question in the first part of this document. Here we want to put some particular questions into focus.

The beginning of war preparations has brought about militant

mass movements against the arms race and war, particularly in Europe. The revolutionary communists should give great importance to their intervention in these movements. Basically they must:

1) Utilise the period of clashes between the imperialist governments and the movements in order to combat pro-imperialist political and ideological tendencies within these movements; to direct the struggle, through concrete experiences, against one's own imperialism, not in defense of peace but for revolution; to win over the most advanced of these movements to the revolutionary communist organisation. This is a question of showing in light of facts and their concrete manifestations that the cause of war resides in the nature of the imperialist system and that war is the continuation of the politics and economics carried out by the imperialist governments in peacetime. It must be shown that slogans calling for disarmament, getting out of one or the other war bloc, nuclear-free zones, maintaining peace

through negotiations, are all impotent illusions in the face of the arms race, the deployment of nuclear weapons to every corner of the globe, the frenetic and articulated process of the formation of blocs for the new war, the spread of local wars and imperialist intervention in an ever-increasing number of hotspots.

2) Turn the proletariat into the spearhead of the struggle against imperialist war and, through its party, into the leader of the whole movement. This means that the revolutionary communists must unceasingly carry out agitation and propaganda among the ranks of the proletariat, that they must know how to respond to every concrete move by their own imperialism in the political, economic, military, diplomatic and cultural fields by calling political strikes and political demonstrations. Particular attention must be paid to attacks on living conditions and the struggles such attacks give rise to, in order to point out the connections between the sacrifices demanded of the workers and the expense of the arms race, and the connections between the defense of the national economy and the imperialist war such competition ends up in.

The activity of the revolutionary communists in the antiwar movements and among the proletariat must be most intensely concentrated during those times when their country intervenes in local wars and against revolutionary wars of national liberation of peoples oppressed by imperialism.

Revolutionary communists must support movements struggling against intervention even before intervention occurs. They must unmask the rotten poison of the motherland and nationalism in all its forms, including in culture, sport, etc., point out the real reasons behind this intervention, develop mass movements of refusal and disobedience within the bourgeois army, and show how the costs of the intervention fall on the living conditions of the working class and masses of people.

If such an intervention does occur, the revolutionary communists must support every blow waged against their own imperialist army,

support the just cause of the national liberation movement — even if not led by the proletariat in its anti-imperialist demands — and seek political and material links with the authentically revolutionary forces present in those countries. In accordance with the development of the mass movements in the imperialist countries, they must develop the most appropriate forms of struggle to weaken the fighting capacity of their own imperialist state from within. They must work tenaciously for the proletariat to understand that every military and political success of their own imperialist state reinforces the bourgeoisie, spurs on new imperialist undertakings and strengthens the role of the military

The Role of the Political Newspaper
As Lenin brilliantly pointed out, in every phase of the revolutionary battle, and especially during the first steps towards building the party, the revolutionary communist political newspaper plays a central and decisive role.

The communist newspaper must provide solid and systematic political guidance and give real answers so as to provide political leadership to the movements of the workers and the masses. It must bring the proletarians a broad vision of the political struggle by responding with exposures and analysis to every aspect of bourgeois oppression in every field, according to the priorities required by the political situation. It must be a tool to



Demonstration of unemployed in Torino

in political life and in the reactionary process, while every defeat can favour the development of the revolution if the proletariat gets prepared for it.

The transformation of the antiwar movement into a revolutionary movement requires going over to the disintegration of the imperialist army and the arming of the proletariat itself.

The revolutionary communists must consider this a crucial task in their work of preparation. They must be able to utilise every manifestation of the imperialist state's violent and dictatorial nature to educate the proletariat and all the oppressed about the proper forms of struggle and organisation.

organise and to give practical education in organisation, through all the aspects of its functioning: its editing, printing, financing and circulation. It must have its own mechanisms for printing and circulation, so that it can exist and develop its work under any conditions.

Without such a newspaper it is impossible to carry out the practical process of party building.

Some Particularities of the National Question in Imperialist Countries

In some of these countries there are national minorities which make up a part of the proletariat and which are often in the poorest areas of these countries. This gives rise to the

struggle for national self-determination in the heart of some imperialist states.

The revolutionary communists should denounce every aspect of the economic, political and cultural oppression carried out by the imperialist state.

They support self-determination where it is applicable; they support the struggles and utilise the resulting contradictions to weaken the overall and united rule of the bourgeoisie and its state.

It is necessary to chalk out a strategy aimed at achieving the unity of the proletariat of the different nationalities that exists in these countries, under the leadership of a single party, against the common enemy — the bourgeoisie and its state — and fight for the socialist character of the revolution throughout the whole country.

The Countries of the East

The countries of the East, of the Warsaw Pact, must be considered overall as unevenly developed capitalist countries which have been politically and militarily integrated into the social-imperialism bloc dominated by the USSR.

Here, obviously, there are specific features to be investigated in order to formulate a plan for revolution.

There are certainly, however, some points that can be affirmed: the proletariat is the leading class in the revolution that must be made, a revolution whose character is socialist. The main enemy is the state bourgeoisie of one's own country. Nationalism, as the case of Poland shows, is used as a weapon of class collaboration by the bourgeoisie itself.

At the same time it is necessary to take Soviet social-imperialism's oppression into serious consideration and constantly prepare the proletariat for the USSR's direct intervention when the proletariat's struggle endangers social-imperialism's overall domination. □

Britain

(Continued from page 42).

why the Marxist-Leninists in Britain have failed to build an enduring, truly revolutionary communist party and movement can be put down to their own shortcomings of an ideological and political kind. These can generally be characterised as a failure to take Marxism-Leninism really seriously, really to struggle to achieve a true unity of proletarian revolutionary theory and practice specific to British conditions.

The new anti-revisionist movement which arose in Britain during the 1960s consisted of a number of small organisations and groups, some of them claiming to be parties. However, none of them ever developed into proper communist parties of the Leninist type. By a "proper communist party" we mean a highly organised, tightly disciplined body of committed Marxist-Leninists who are firmly based within the working class and are intimately involved in the struggles of that class, who are clearly and openly committed to the goal of violent proletarian revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and struggling for socialist transformation and who have a clear political programme, a definite revolutionary strategy to achieve these goals in the specific conditions of Britain in the world during the present period. While some of the Marxist-Leninist organisations declared themselves to be struggling to build such a party, there were, by the mid-1970s, no signs of such an authentic communist party emerging in Britain. Instead, the new Marxist-Leninist movement, despite the onset of a new world-wide economic crisis, was floundering and falling into all manner of revisionist errors.

Some of the comrades in the movement engaged in ideological and political struggle to try to illuminate our fundamental failings so that struggles could be inaugurated to rectify these errors. We eventually concluded that the fundamental error of the Marxist-Leninist movement during the 1960s and 1970s was the failure to achieve any sort of true unity of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and

practice. Instead there was a massive gap between the professed theory and the actual practice of the movement. There was dogmatist theorising and empiricist practical action. While the movement expressed adherence to the theoretical conclusions drawn from the experiences of the international class struggle, as expressed in the works of the great leaders, they were not actually used to guide day-to-day political work around various aspects of the class struggle. Instead, such practical political activities were usually conducted in a somewhat impulsive, unreflective way, no different from that of the reformist practice of various revisionists and Trotskyists. An obvious example is the economist attitude to trade union work that was taken by most of the Marxist-Leninists. Similarly no real attempt was made to apply materialist dialectics to analysing the experience of practical struggle so as to draw theoretical conclusions and in turn use these as a guide for improving and making practical struggles more effective. Theory was theory and practice was practice and never did they meet. "Theorising" consisted of dredging up a few quotations from the Marxist-Leninist classics to justify all manner of revisionist practice. The dialectical unity of revolutionary theory and practice demanded by the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism was not achieved and instead the Marxist-Leninists in Britain were groping in the dark, easy prey for all manner of revisionist monstrosities such as the "Three Worlds Theory."

Nonetheless, many comrades had committed themselves to the working class revolutionary cause and had devoted much time and energy to the struggle. What was necessary was to draw some theoretical conclusions from this experience so as to begin to develop an integrated revolutionary strategy, to develop an all-round programme for making revolution in Britain in relation to the rest of the world. Only in this way could the movement develop some long-term perspectives and plans, begin to win a base in the working class and establish a party. Basing themselves on this assess-

ment of the Marxist-Leninist movement the Nottingham Communist Group and the Stockport Communist Group issued an appeal, "Build the Party!" in 1981. This called upon the existing Marxist-Leninist organisations in Britain to set up a Programme Commission whose sole task would be "to develop a revolutionary programme embodying a thorough scientific analysis of the character of contemporary British capitalism and on the basis of this scientific knowledge to elaborate a strategy for the conduct of revolutionary struggle in Britain." The revolutionary programme was to form the political basis for a national organisation of a pre-party kind which would use the programme as a guide for participation in the class struggle with the aim of establishing a base within the working class and, through experience, deepening and developing the revolutionary programme. Only then would the conditions have been created for the formation of an authentic Marxist-Leninist Party.

For nearly a year the two Marxist-Leninist groups struggled with various other Marxist-Leninists, both organisations and individuals, to gain their participation in setting up the proposed programme commission. However, the confusion and chaos attendant upon the revisionist seizure of power in China meant that some of those who showed interest in the project were not prepared to wholeheartedly uphold the achievements of the international communist movement under the leadership of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and to reject the new revisionist regime in China and their reactionary "Three Worlds Theory." The initiators of the "Build the Party!" appeal had underestimated the degree to which the fledgling Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain had undergone political and organisational decay and degeneration. Even so, the Nottingham Communist Group and Stockport Communist Group were determined not to give up the struggle to develop a revolutionary programme and in the summer of 1982 they established the Marxist-Leninist Programme Commission with this objective in view.

The members of the Marxist-Leninist Programme Commission were not completely isolated because they had the support of various Marxist-Leninist organisations in other countries, the ones who adhered to the Joint Communiqué of the 1980 International Conference. Furthermore, as the programmatic work proceeded and was publicised it was hoped to win further support for the Commission and participation in its work, something which did happen on a small scale. The Nottingham Communist Group and the Stockport Communist Group intended, in addition to their Programme Commission work, to continue with their participation in various aspects of the class struggle, such as the anti-war movement and Irish solidarity movement. However, two related problems arose in the work of the Commission. One was that given the limited experience, knowledge, resources and time available from the limited membership of the Commission it was difficult to make more than a limited amount of progress in developing clear and correct positions on the programmatic questions which were addressed. The other problem was that the burden of Commission work on the two small local Marxist-Leninist groups meant that continuous participation in the day-to-day class struggle was increasingly neglected and the precious, vital unity of theory and practice was being lost. It was becoming clear that the weakness of the conscious Marxist-Leninist forces in Britain, together with the limitations imposed by the objective political situation meant that it would not be possible immediately to develop a revolutionary political programme at the high level originally envisaged. These difficulties in carrying through the programmatic task gave rise to a number of intense ideological and political struggles within the Marxist-Leninist Programme Commission which eventually resulted in a minority repudiating the struggle to develop the revolutionary programme and deserting to the ranks of the pro-Peking revisionists. This brought the work of the Commission to a crisis point and the remain-

ing majority of members had to consider in a very searching manner the position of the Marxist-Leninist Programme Commission in relation to the general political situation.

It was concluded that while the commission had made a certain amount of progress with its programmatic work it was not likely in the circumstances to be able to proceed much further. Indeed attempting to do so would probably result in serious errors in the political position put forward.

At the same time, a number of very positive developments were taking place in the overall political situation. A new wave of intensification in the national liberation struggles in many parts of the world was occurring, as for example in Peru and the Philippines. The inter-imperialist contradictions between the USA and the Soviet Union have been intensifying with the consequence of a growing awareness in the imperialist countries of the possibility of a major inter-imperialist war in the foreseeable future. In the imperialist countries, including Britain, the contradiction between the working class and the monopoly capitalist class has been sharpening as a result of the deepening world economic crisis of capitalism. Within Britain, as in many other countries, these developments have had two significant political consequences for proletarian revolutionaries. On the one hand there has been a growing awareness among some workers and other people that only the most radical of solutions will resolve the problems with which they are faced. On the other hand it has been precisely within these conditions of growing political crisis that most of those elements who previously made some claim to being "revolutionary," i.e., various revisionist and Trotskyists, have dropped all pretence of taking a stance of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and have run for cover with one or another "big brother" — the Labour Party, Soviet social-imperialism, Chinese revisionism, etc. Just at the moment when there is a crying need for a truly revolutionary organisation in Britain, no such body exists.



Scene during British miners' year-long strike.

A most important and timely response to the tightening knot of contradictions on a world scale was the convening of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninists in 1984, its drafting of a political line for the international communist movement and, on this political basis, its formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the first step towards the reconstitution of a proper communist international. This meant that the Marxist-Leninists in Britain were no longer largely isolated but through their participation in RIM could draw upon the ideological,

political and organisational support of comrades around the world. A qualitative step forward had been taken in the international communist movement and the *Declaration of the RIM* constituted a powerful new political weapon for Marxist-Leninists everywhere, including Britain.

Given these increasingly favourable international circumstances, the members of the Marxist-Leninist Programme Commission considered that it was urgently necessary to establish a nationally based Marxist-Leninist organisation in Britain which would

adhere to the political line of the *Declaration of the RIM*. While neither the basis of support within the working class nor a fully developed revolutionary programme yet existed which would justify the formation of a proper Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party it was appropriate to establish a pre-party organisation on the basis of the programmatic work which had been done by the Marxist-Leninist Programme Commission and also on the basis of the *Declaration of the RIM*. To hesitate to establish such an organisation would be to ignore the developing objective



Unemployed in Liverpool.

situation and to neglect those elements in Britain who were striving towards revolutionary action. The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent in Britain is based upon a political line, expressed in the manifesto, and upon a basis of proletarian internationalism in the form of RIM, far in advance of those previous Marxist-Leninist organisations established within Britain during the last quarter of a century. The whole international nexus of the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism is intensifying. If the working class in Britain are to have the opportunity of making revolutionary breakthroughs in the upheavals which will occur in the coming period then they need to build a communist party and movement with great speed. It is the duty of all genuine Marxist-Leninist communists to engage in this task by rallying round and working as part of the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent in Britain.

Political Programme of the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent in Britain

The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent in Britain is a revolutionary proletarian organisation of a pre-party kind committed to the overthrow of imperialism and

the development of a worldwide communist, classless society. The theoretical basis for its work is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It is a proletarian internationalist organisation and the leading centre to which it adheres is the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

The long term strategic aim of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries in Britain during the coming period is to prepare so as to be ready to provide decisive leadership when the intensifying international contradictions reach a crisis point. Our aim must be to create a vanguard of conscious, committed Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries within the ranks of the working class. Only if this has

been achieved will it be possible for the working class in Britain, in conjunction with workers and oppressed peoples elsewhere, to either prevent the next major imperialist war or to turn that war into a revolutionary civil war.

For this strategic aim to be achieved it is necessary not just to develop a body of proletarian revolu-



tionaries but also they must be organised into a disciplined revolutionary party of the democratic centralist type. Only if the conscious revolutionary elements are highly organised will they be in a position to provide clear decisive leadership for the working class at a time of major crisis for the British monopoly capitalist class. Thus the short term strategic aim of the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent is to build a genuine revolutionary communist party in Britain.

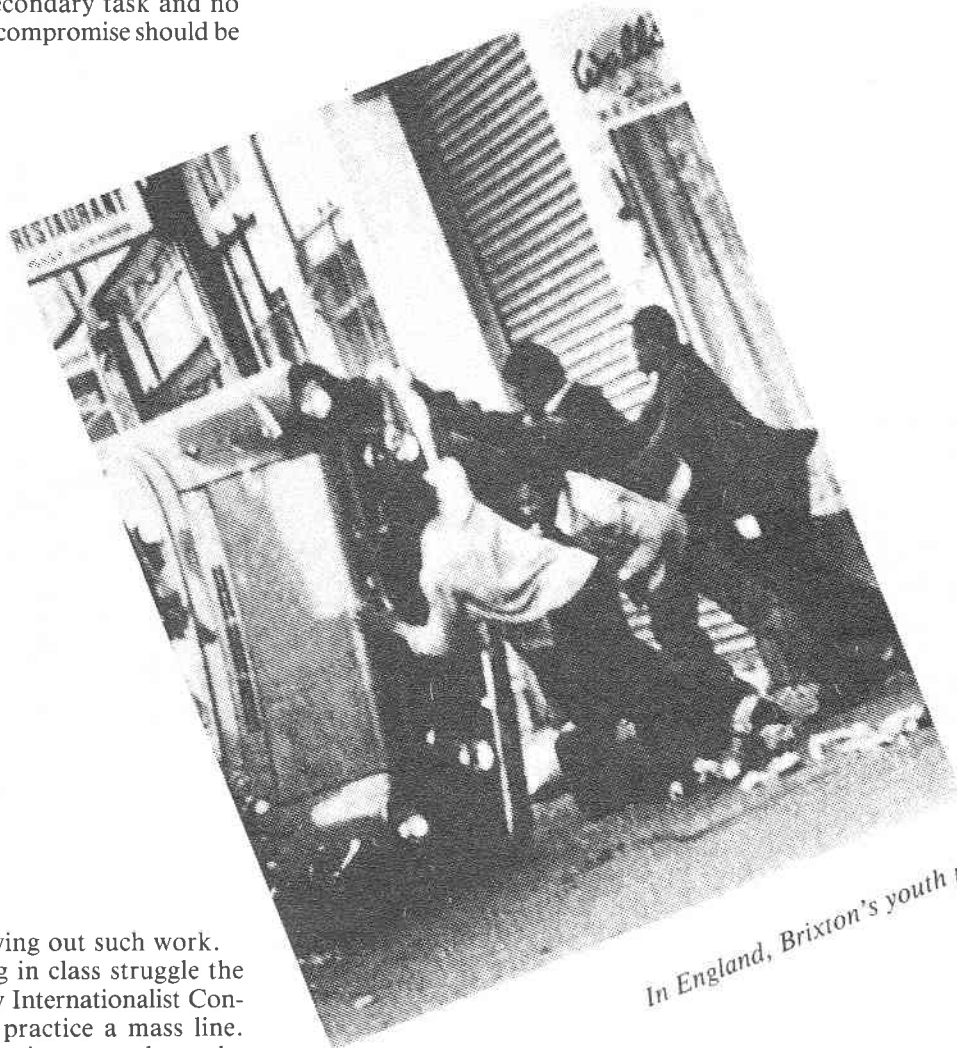
If there is to be a communist party then there must be a significant contingent of communists within the working class. Those people who are most likely to develop a revolutionary outlook and become com-

mitted communists are to be found among the middle and lower sections of the industrial proletariat and among the lower sections of the semi-proletariat. The practical activities of the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent will be focused around and directed at these sections of the working class with the aim of generating revolutionary consciousness among them. Particular attention will be paid to the struggle of women, black people and youth in these sections of the working class because these elements tend to suffer the greatest oppression and exploitation and thus, at least in the long run, have the greatest potentiality for revolutionary development. While some attention should be paid to winning over to the revolutionary ranks some elements from the intermediate strata this is definitely a secondary task and no opportunistic compromise should be

plotted suffered by the working class and their struggles to resist capitalist domination. Then the Marxist-Leninists must strive to see the possibilities of such struggles being developed in ways which will lead to the generation of revolutionary consciousness. We then have to engage in political struggle to persuade the working class to adopt the right policies. Our general approach to class struggle should not be that of arrogant know-alls who think they have all the answers. Rather, communists should become intimately involved in various working class struggles, so as to achieve real knowledge about them and only then work patiently so as to stimulate sections of the working

class to themselves take the initiative and move forward to a higher level of class struggle. Our task is not so much to get the working class to follow us as to encourage the working class to take the lead for itself in class struggle.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent will participate in the day-to-day struggles to help workers develop revolutionary consciousness. In participating in those struggles such as to defend living standards and jobs, against racism and sexism, etc., there are two opportunist errors we must be careful to avoid. The right opportunist error is to tail behind the popular movements and refraining from struggling to provide political leadership of a revolutionary kind. This approach results in sustaining and even strengthening reformist il-



In England, Brixton's youth rebel.

made in carrying out such work.

In engaging in class struggle the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent must practice a mass line. Our starting point must always be the various oppressions and ex-

lusions among the working class. The left opportunist error would be if we held ourselves aloof from the piecemeal, day-to-day struggles of the working class to defend itself from oppression and exploitation, on the grounds that such struggles are not revolutionary. While not in themselves revolutionary, essentially defensive organisations such as trade unions and black people's groups are nonetheless necessary for the survival of the working class until such time as capitalism is overthrown.

The Marxist-Leninists must support struggles while at the same time struggling to help those involved to see that only a revolutionary solution will fundamentally resolve the problems the working class faces under capitalism. Our task in such struggles is to provide political leadership which will attract more rebellious elements and lead them to develop revolutionary consciousness. Exercising political leadership is not necessarily the same thing as occupying the leading position in various organisations such as trade unions and women's groups. Rather it is a question of projecting

and winning support for a clear revolutionary political line on the issue at hand. While it is essential that the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent becomes intimately involved in various continuing working class struggles it is also vital that we always keep in view our revolutionary objective of the overthrow of the British monopoly capitalist state and direct the attention of the working class in this direction.

During the present major depression the sections of the working class which are identified here as having the greatest revolutionary potentialities find themselves increasingly and directly confronted by the British state. As the depression has deepened the state has played an increasingly active role in forcing the less privileged sections of the working class to bear the brunt of the sacrifices necessary if capitalism is to survive. The social security benefits on which the unemployed and low-paid depend are being steadily whittled away as is the labour

legislation which offered some minimal protection against the extremes of exploitation. The pressure is on to erode some of the reforms in terms of civil rights and employment which women have won in the post-war period. Young people, who are particularly badly hit by unemployment, are perceived by the ruling class as potentially disruptive and thus attempts are made to control them by initiatives such as the Youth Training Scheme. Black people have also shown their capacity for insurrection and so the state has carried further its attempts to sustain racist divisions within the working class by means such as immigration laws.

What the struggles of these sections of the working class have in common is that those involved are confronted not so much by this or that individual capitalist employer but rather that they are faced directly by the capitalist state apparatus.



Irish-Catholic youth heave Coca-Cola petrol bombs at authorities.

This can be a very important factor in gradually unifying the struggles of these different sections of the working class into one united counter-offensive. The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent will concentrate its day-to-day political work on supporting, encouraging and where possible leading struggles against various forms of state oppression. This must be done in a revolutionary way as opposed to a reformist way. The main aim in stimulating struggle against the capitalist state is not to win temporary concessions and palliatives but is to raise the political consciousness of the workers involved to a revolutionary level. These struggles must be conducted such that those involved come to grasp the true nature of the state as the instrument of ruling class power and come to recognise that only its

revolutionary overthrow will free the working class from capitalist oppression and exploitation. Only if in the course of these struggles clear lines of demarcation from various types of reformism are drawn will the cadre of conscious, committed Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries be created who will form the basis of the communist party.

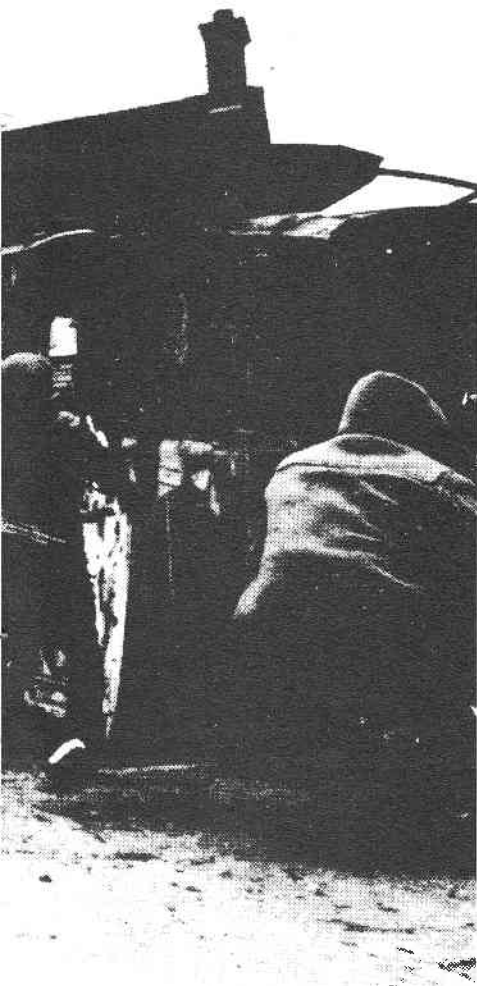
The reactionary influences of various reformist ideologies — social democracy, Labourism, Trotskyism, revisionism — have got socialism a bad name among large sections of the working class in Britain. The experience of Labour governments in Britain and bourgeois counter-revolution in Russia and China together with all manner of anti-socialist bourgeois propaganda has resulted in large numbers of workers believing that socialism and communism are utopian fantasies that do not work in actual practice. The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent must wage a fierce ideological counter-attack against all this bourgeois filth. We must thoroughly expose the reformist Labour Party for what it is and always will be; a bulwark of monopoly capitalism and a deadly enemy of the working class. In particular, we must thoroughly criticise and attack those organisations in and around the Labour Party who claim to be “revolutionary” and “Marxist.” We must unmask their rotten reformism masquerading as revolution. We must also pay attention to criticising the Soviet social-imperialists and Chinese revisionists and make it clear to the working class that these people are really a kind of fascist. At the same time we must hold up for admiration and emulation the splendid victories and achievements of the communist movement of the past. The revolutionary conquest of power in Russia and China, the struggle for socialist construction in the USSR and the Cultural Revolution in China are extraordinary revolutionary achievements of which the working class can be justly proud. In drawing the attention of our class to their wonderful revolutionary heritage it is essential that we defend and uphold for admiration and emulation the great leaders of the interna-

tional communist movement, especially Comrades Joseph Stalin and Mao Tsetung who have been subject to so much vilification from the mouths of the bourgeoisie and their stooges. The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent proudly proclaims the great revolutionary heritage of the international working class and its great leaders — Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

In the coming period political struggles should be focused around the intensifying inter-imperialist war preparations and the struggle to prevent the next imperialist war. The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent should stress to the working class that the increasing tension between the two major imperialist blocs is no accident but the inevitable outcome of inter-imperialist rivalry. We must point out that the petit bourgeois pacifism of large sections of the anti-war movement will not prevent another major world war. Only revolutionary insurrection in at least some of the imperialist countries can prevent this terrible conflagration. We must struggle to convince workers that they do have the power, if they choose to exercise it, to prevent another world war by means of revolutionary insurrection.

This is our first line of strategy. However, we must also struggle against the petit bourgeois defeatism which claims that if there is another major world war then this is the end of human life as we know it. While such a conflagration would be massively destructive there would still be millions of people left alive in Britain and our task then would be to lead the working class into turning the inter-imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war to overthrow the monopoly capitalist class. This is our second line of strategy. Proletarian revolutionaries are optimists and we are determined to turn even the most adverse conditions to the advantage of the working class.

The struggles of the oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America serve to weaken and undermine the imperialist powers. Thus these anti-imperialist struggles are striking at the same enemy faced by the working class in Britain, the monopoly capitalist class. The op-



pressed peoples of these regions are our natural allies and the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent will campaign for the working class to support such struggles, especially those directed against British imperialism such as the Irish and Azanian national liberation struggles, because those are the ones we can most effectively support. We must clearly expose those who claim that Britain is a neo-colony of America, rather than a junior partner in imperialism, and we must also expose those elements who try to disguise the oppressive and exploitative nature of Soviet social imperialism. The position of the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent is one of uncompromising opposition to all forms of imperialism. In carrying out this task it is our duty to give particular support to and help for the Marxist-Leninist forces involved in the various national liberation struggles. The struggle for proletarian socialist revolution in the imperialist countries and the struggle for national democratic revolution in the oppressed nations are integrally linked.

If communists are not proletarian internationalists then they are nothing. The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent in Britain is a participant organisation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and adheres to the political line of its *Declaration*. We must struggle to make workers in Britain aware of the RIM and the political activities of its constituent organisations. The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent must emphasise to the working class in Britain that they are but one section of an international working class who have a common struggle against capitalism and imperialism. The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent will do everything in its power to further the development of

the RIM and the establishment of a new communist international. This is absolutely vital to the advancement of revolutionary struggle here in Britain for we shall not be able to secure revolutionary victory here on a lasting basis if the communist movement does not make advances in other countries as well.

The methods of struggle adopted by the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent will be whatever ones are necessary, without reservation, for the advancement of the revolutionary cause. From its inception the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent should take all necessary steps to ensure that it is as secure as possible from penetration and disruption by the British state and other enemies. The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent will be organised in such a way that it can carry on the revolutionary struggle however extreme the repression it faces. As well as agitation, propaganda, and various organisational activities the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent will begin to prepare itself for all forms of revolutionary activity including the highest methods of struggle. We must be bold and not confine ourselves to traditional methods of political work but develop new ones as well. Our organisational method is that of Bolshevism but one that is truly dialectical in that it takes into account changes of circumstances and adapts to them. The Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent must strive to become a fist of iron striking out from amidst the masses at the monopoly capitalist class.

If the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent is to succeed in creating the conditions for the formation of a proper communist party in Britain then it must not only raise revolutionary consciousness among sections of the working class and win a following but it must also

deepen and expand the revolutionary programme set out here. This will only happen if a definite and conscious effort is made to draw theoretical conclusions from political practice. For this to occur systematically and speedily definite organisational arrangements must be made within the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent to develop the programme for proletarian revolution. This is no desultory matter as we are engaged in a race against time with the imperialist war preparations to build the revolutionary party and movement. The task of the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent is to create the conditions for its own dissolution and replacement by a proper revolutionary party as soon as possible. This can only be done by practising the highest possible level of organisational efficiency and revolutionary discipline.

We call upon all committed adherents of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to immediately apply for membership in the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent in Britain.

We call upon all workers and other people of revolutionary inclinations to make contact with the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent, comment on this manifesto, acquaint and involve yourselves with our political work and struggle to unite with us in the revolutionary cause.

We call upon all workers to strive to raise the level of your struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation and to work with the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent so as to hasten the day when our class finally takes its destiny in its own hands and strikes down our oppressors.

“The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.” □