

~~This document is a draft for CC discussion.~~

A. The national question and British imperialism

1. In the world today, it is the peoples and nations of the Third World who are the main force for revolution and who are striking the main blows against imperialism. As the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the USA collude and contend, carving up the world between them, and the lesser imperialist powers fight to hang on to their share, they are faced with increasing resistance - in Afghanistan, Eritrea, El Salvador, Palestine, Namibia and so on. Imperialism is in crisis, and particularly British imperialism whose decline started before that of the other imperialist powers. Within Britain today, a declining imperialist power of the Second World, the working class and national minority people face intensified exploitation and oppression.

2. Resistance to imperialist rule in Britain has given rise to the uprisings in 1981, when mainly young black people rebelled against their oppression - a rebellion that was able to draw sections of the white youth in its wake. These uprisings took place in the context of years of oppression and resistance of black people, and particularly, they took place in a year when thousands of black people had marched through London in anger at the massacre of 13 black children in New Cross, thousands had demonstrated against the racist nationality bill, and increasing numbers of national minority people were waging campaigns against deportations and divided families. The state repression following the uprisings provided another focus for resistance through the Bradford 12 campaign.

3. In the same year, the Irish people's struggle for freedom forced its way into the consciousness of people in Britain and around the world with the heroic hunger strike undertaken by 10 prisoners of war. The bravery of these 10 men generated opposition to British imperialism on an international level as well as gaining support for the Irish struggle in Britain, particularly amongst the Irish and black communities.

4. The sharpening of contradictions in time of crisis means that the potential for revolution is increased. But is the RCL in any shape to take advantage of this situation? There is an urgent need to build a higher level of unity in the League around a genuine anti-imperialist stand - an urgency which became increasingly apparent as the events of 1981 highlighted serious weaknesses in the RCL. Over the past year or so, there has been some measure of agreement on the need for an "anti-imperialist orientation", but no agreement on what such an orientation means. Overall, our lines and policies did not reflect the reality of the events taking place around us and were unable to take us forward.

5. In developing a strategy for revolution in Britain, it is essential that on the one hand we look at Britain in its international context and on the other, that we have a correct understanding of the national question and its relationship to class struggle in Britain. It is no accident that the resistance to British imperialism has been led by national minority people. It is this phenomena that we are making some initial progress in understanding with a more correct line on the Irish struggle and beginning to develop a line on national minority people and the significance of the black struggle in Britain.

6. The national question does not always have one and the same character:
"The national question in the period of the Second International
and the national question in the period of Leninism are far from

being the same thing. They differ profoundly from each other, not only in their scope, but also in their intrinsic character."

(Foundations of Leninism, p.70)

With the development of imperialism and the October revolution, the national question has become part of the general question of the proletarian revolution. It has been transformed into:

"..... a general and international problem, into a world problem of emancipating the oppressed peoples in the dependent countries and colonies from the yoke of imperialism."

(Foundations of Leninism p.71)

No longer can the national struggle be seen as one against feudalism and for bourgeois democratic rights - predominantly a struggle of the bourgeoisie to form nation states. As Lenin pointed out, the developments since 1917 have resulted in the division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations and he stressed the importance of the role of oppressed peoples in colonial countries in world revolution. (Report on the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions, 1920). Today the oppressed nations have to fight against imperialism for their right to national independence. The very struggle of oppressed nationalities brings them up against imperialism.

"No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies."

(Mao Zedong, On New Democracy p11)

Thus national struggles in the era of imperialism are essentially struggles of oppressed peoples against imperialism - revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles.

7. Within the world today, the most sharp contradiction is that between the oppressed nations and peoples of the world and imperialism. Within Britain there are national contradictions, including the contradiction between British imperialism and the oppressed nations of Wales and Scotland. In the past we have under-estimated the strength of the national struggles in Scotland and Wales, and at the present moment we have only just begun to understand their nature and significance. Residing within the British state are fragments of oppressed nations - from Britain's oldest colony of Ireland, and from the oppressed nations of the Third World - India, Pakistan, Jamaica, Bangladesh, Antigua, Malaya etc. These people form national minorities in Britain, and what they all have in common, the Third World peoples, the Irish, Scottish and Welsh, is that they suffer from national oppression by British imperialism. The nature, form and degree of that oppression varies, but a correct understanding of the national question gives us a framework within which we can analyse each situation. It is the sharpness and severity of the national contradiction, and the resistance of the nationally oppressed to their oppression which has resulted in the fact that these struggles against British imperialism are the most advanced.

8. Those national minority people originating from the Third World face a particularly severe form of national oppression - racist oppression. The ideology of racism developed in relation to particular economic developments i.e. originating in the slave trade of developing capitalism and becoming fully defined with the development of capitalism into imperialism. It was developed in order to justify the exploitation and oppression of the peoples and nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. As such, racist oppression is not separate from national oppression but the highest and most vicious form of it. For black people in Britain, the effects range from racist immigration and nationality laws, institutionalised racism, discrimination at work, school etc,

police harassment, physical attacks on themselves and their homes and denial of cultural rights.

9. The counterpart to the racist oppression and denial of national rights has been the strong assertion of national identity and the development of an anti-imperialist tradition powerfully expressed in the ideology of Black Power. Black Power identifies the white power structure as responsible for imperialism and also sees the corrupting effect of racism on the white population as a whole. It lays stress on the autonomy of the black people's struggle and the need for black people to unite with each other before entering alliances with the majority nationality.

10. Ever since coming to this country, black people have fought back against their oppression. They have formed organisations which reflect their interests and struggles. Many of these have been on specific national lines such as the IWA, PWA, BWA, West Indian Federation, whilst others are not so specifically national - Black Parents, Race Today, Southall Black Sisters, Afro-Caribbean Self Help Group and so on. But most organisations within the black community have national aspects and an identity which is distinct from that of the majority nationality. The AYM for example has a distinct Asian identity, whilst many of the Afro-Caribbean organisations consciously assert their origins in Africa, and have close links with political developments in the Caribbean. Many cultural and religious organisations also provide a focus for the struggle against racist oppression e.g. Sikh Temples, Mosques, Valmik Sabha, black churches. The fact that some of the organisations are 'workers' organisations reflects the recognition of the need for working class leadership, and there is sharp class struggle taking place in the black community - a struggle for the leadership of what is essentially a black peoples struggle. The practice and identity of all these organisations is very much with an oppressed community.

11. The main force of the struggle against racist oppression derives from organisations defined in one way or another by their origins in oppressed nations (demonstrated by the solidarity and support given to struggles in the Third World) but the main struggle is concerned with conditions of life here as the immediate issue. In the course of this struggle new forms and aspects of national identity are developed reflecting the fact that the struggle is not only a struggle against racist oppression but a positive one for national rights.

12. The development of imperialism resulted in a division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations. The English working class is the working class of an oppressor nation and is thoroughly imbued with racist ideology. This racist ideology has been used to enlist the working class onto the side of imperialism in its oppression of nations. This also means the oppression of national minority people here. It is insufficient to say that a section of the working class - a labour aristocracy - has been corrupted by racism and imperialism.

The present day social structure of Britain is built on imperialism, is built on the oppression of nations. This is not to say that the whole of the English working class has been 'bought off' that they are no longer exploited. The working class is still exploited by capital, but in relation to the contradiction between the oppressed nations and peoples of the world and imperialism, they are, temporarily at least, in alliance with imperialism. This is why the racist oppression suffered by national minority people here does not only come from the state and the ruling class, but also takes the form of attacks and insults on the streets, white workers collaborating with management to maintain discriminatory practices in work places, actively organising against black workers e.g. Imperial Typewriters, Heathfields etc., and failure to support black people in their struggle against racist oppression and for national rights.

13. Objectively, the working class and national minority people face the same enemy - British imperialism, although the working class struggle is still contained within the parameters of social democracy. British imperialism exists on exploitation and national oppression and both these struggles are necessary to overthrow it. The majority working class can be mobilised on the basis of the struggle against its own exploitation and oppression by British imperialism. Any unity between the two struggles must start from mutual recognition of them, and particularly from majority working class support for the struggle of national minority people for free national development. It is in this sense that the concept of a strategic alliance is put forward - an alliance between the majority working class and the oppressed nationalities. This is the only way that the racist alliance can be broken and the struggle taken forward on a principled basis. Whilst many black organisations see the need to make alliances with the majority working class and progressive white organisations, they always retain their organisational autonomy.

14. Ireland is Britain's oldest colony and the oppression of the large Irish national minority here is based on the centuries-old oppression of the Irish nation. Anti-Irish chauvinism is deeply embedded in the English national consciousness. As the struggle for national liberation in Ireland intensifies, national oppression here increases and so does national consciousness and resistance by Irish national minority people. The struggle for liberation in Ireland is of central importance to British imperialism. This is because of many factors: its long history; the closeness of Ireland to Britain; the large national minority here and other factors. Hence the close connections between the struggle in Ireland and in Britain itself. Historically, Irish people have often played a leading role in working class struggles in this country. Winning support for the national demands of the Irish people among the majority working class is a key task for communists.

15. The increasing support for the Irish struggle, and our position in support of the Republican Movement has meant that we are able to learn from the rich ideology of Republicanism, as put forward by Connolly and others, which is a living revolutionary tradition in Ireland and is strongly upheld by Irish people in this country.

16. The ideological basis for links between the Irish and black struggles already exists. The main black national minority organisations were not slow to recognise the operations of British imperialism in Ireland and have long supported the Irish struggle. During the uprisings, black youth spontaneously identified with the IRA. Prisoners in the H-Block sent a message of support to the demonstration against the Nationality Act and Sinn Fein Britain is attempting to forge links with black organisations here. Such an alliance between the oppressed will provide a powerful opposition to British imperialism and show clearly the revolutionary nature of national struggles.

17. With the present crisis of imperialism, the racist alliance is weakened, and if policies are put forward on a correct political line, there are good prospects for breaking the majority working class away from pro-imperialist ideology as the first step to building the strategic alliance.

18. As communists we must uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Cedong Thought and use it creatively. After the Second World War the predominant trend in Europe was for revisionism to destroy the living essence of Marxism and this was accompanied by growing social-chauvinism. Comrade Mao Cedong developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of the Chinese revolution and in the struggle against Soviet revisionism and upheld its revolutionary nature. It is Comrade Mao and other Third World revolutionaries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who have upheld Marxism-Leninism particularly using it to take forward the national struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism. We must learn from their theory and practice and link Marxism-Leninism-Mao Cedong Thought with the revolutionary traditions and ideologies that already exist in this country.

B. Self-criticism

1. The history of the RCL since its foundation in 1977 has been complicated: having adopted the 'Manifesto' as our basic political position, we took up the Zimbabwe campaign; we went through sharp internal struggles and attempted to carry out a rectification campaign; we united with the CWM and the BCA, held a history conference and a unity conference; attempted to adopt a major programmatic document and ended up with 'Section 7' at the 2nd Congress in July 1981. Since that Congress, we have failed to make progress on the international situation and continued to struggle over contradictions in our statement at that time. In this period we have also changed from doing only industrial work to taking up Ireland solidarity work, anti-racist work and other broader areas of work.
2. There were obviously many factors in these struggles and developments; there were positive and negative aspects to our work; there were left and right errors. The central theme, however, has been the struggle against social-chauvinism in the RCL: the central political error was the social chauvinism of the RCL's policy which came out most clearly on its stand on Ireland and on the struggle of black people within this country, both of which related to our understanding of British imperialism, and the struggle against it, both internationally and in this country.
3. The history of the old RCL and its predecessor, the CFB(ML) does not make up the whole of the history of the present RCL. However the RCL was the dominant organisation and the 'Manifesto' was the basis for unity with other organisations. In the course of unity with the RCL, in some cases a relatively strong position became subordinated to the 'Manifesto' as in the case of the CUA and ELMLA. The CWM and BCA joined the RCL at a later stage and played an important role in the struggle against social chauvinism.
4. One of the urgent theoretical tasks which should have a high priority in the next period is for the RCL to sum up scientifically its own history. Many questions need sorting out on the basis of a good self-criticism and summing up of past work. In this document we pick out some of the most important points.
5. The 'Manifesto' only paid lip-service to the struggle against British imperialism. The principle of proletarian internationalism, the need to support all struggles against imperialism, including British imperialism, was not included. Within this country, the main contradiction was seen as between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and other contradictions were either ignored or subordinated to this. The industrial working class was seen as the leading and main force for revolution and the effects of imperialism on class relations within the country was not understood. The other side of this was that the 'Manifesto' ignored the sharpness of national contradictions within the British state. The struggle of black people was ignored, and that of the Irish people, and the people of Wales and Scotland. The working class was limited to the industrial working class and the only important arena of mass work was the industrial work place. The struggle for women's liberation was also reduced to the struggle in factories.
6. Ireland: In the 'Manifesto' the question of Ireland came under the heading of national oppression within Britain and in the context of a general statement pointing out the need to "strengthen the fighting unity of the working class of the British Isles against the British monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie". We did not oppose Partition specifically, and advocated building the RCL in northern Ireland. We did not recognise the nature of

the revolutionary struggle being carried out by the Irish people under the leadership of the Republican Movement in Ireland, and openly opposed National Liberation organisations in 'Class Struggle'.

7. A full criticism of old lines on Ireland is well documented in 'The Irish Struggle, the CFB and the RCL' printed in the Internal Journal.

8. The failure to support the struggle of the people of Ireland, Britain's oldest colony, exposed the RCL's anti-imperialism as a sham. It also showed our failure to learn from the Irish national minority people in this country who have a history both of playing an active role in working class struggles in this country, and of support for the Republican Movement in Ireland.

9. Black Struggles: In the 'Manifesto' the question of national oppression of black people was reduced to a question of 'double oppression' within the working class, and the struggle against it to one for unity within the working class. Racism was seen as "the most serious... divisive ideological tendency" and its importance was that it was used to bring in fascism i.e. it enabled the ruling class to oppress the class as a whole. We only supported the struggle against racism in as much as it served the struggle of the working class as a whole.

10. The RCL was in fact ignorant of the nature and form of the struggle against racist oppression. Although the struggle against the Immigration Act and the need for self-defence are mentioned, there was no understanding of the history of resistance to racist oppression, the organisations that black people have built, or the revolutionary nature of these struggles.

11. The question was reduced to one of winning working class unity at the industrial work place. This ignored the fact that the history of black people's struggles was one based mainly in the different national communities and of alliances between the different communities. Although black workers have been at the forefront of many industrial struggles, this has not been the main arena for the fight against racist oppression. These struggles have been against racist oppression and for national rights: for example, the right to wear turbans, for language teaching, against deportations, for the right to self defence etc. Racist oppression affects black people and it is they who have fought back relying on their own communities, often on a multi-class basis, as the main force in the fightback.

12. In the course of these struggles different organisations have been built to lead and coordinate the fightback, usually based in the different communities. The 'Manifesto' ignored the need for independent black organisations and the fact that religious and cultural organisations have in some cases become centres of resistance for black people.

13. A blatant example of our chauvinism dates back to the CFB(ML): our attitude to the IWA(GB) at that time led by Comrade Jagmohan Joshi, that we dismissed as a 'cultural organisation'. We ignored the leadership Comrade Joshi gave to the struggle against racism, in popularising 'Black Power', in the struggle against Soviet Social-Imperialism and imperialism in general, and in support of revolutionary forces in India. He was a leading communist who gave a lead to all communists, white and black, in the anti-revisionist movement and the struggle to rebuild the Marxist-Leninist movement.

14. Another example was our refusal to take part in a "Anti-Racist National Demonstration" in 1976, saying that we supported it, but were too busy with other tasks.

15. We would stress that these are just examples and there is much we have to learn about the past and present of black people's struggles.

16. One result of these lines was that we saw the RCL being in a position to lead these struggles. We did not uphold the need for black leadership and organisation. We saw the RCL, a small mainly white organisation, with no understanding of the struggle as being able to take up a leading role.

17. In the section on "Racism" in the 'Manifesto' para 22, we equated white racism with 'narrow black nationalism'. For an organisation of mainly white comrades to target narrow nationalism clearly demonstrated our chauvinism. We had an incorrect understanding of the struggle against racist oppression, we negated the whole Black Power Movement and demanded that the oppressed change their attitudes towards their oppressors.

18. A clear demonstration of the application of these lines is found in 'Revolution' Vol.3.3. August 1978. In an article "Firmly Establish the Factory Cells" two different factories were discussed. One factory has "a high level of class consciousness and is well organised from the trade union point of view." The example given is of workers uniting to defend a worker who is victimised. This is a large factory apparently with a work force of mainly white men. Another factory is described which has a work force consisting of many national minority women workers. The article says: "They were also prepared to talk about a wide range of subjects like racism, liberation struggles in Africa and some had read about China, and the achievements of the Chinese people under socialism....Later when leafletting started some of the national minority women workers were prepared to read them on the basis of what they said, as opposed to rejecting them on the grounds that they were "Communist propaganda". This section of the work force is certainly not backward. They are among the most solid of the middle elements." The implication is that the work force at the first factory is more advanced because of its unity in relation to trade union consciousness. The workers at the second factory are defined as 'middle elements' even though it is clear that on a general understanding of imperialism, they are in advance of those at the first factory.

19. Criticism of these lines came from many comrades as we began to understand how incorrect they were. The RCL took up a position of making ARAF work its 'second priority' after industrial work. At the time there was agreement on the importance of this area of work but the debate about relation between national and class struggle was only touched on. Since then the struggle between different lines has continued. In the course of this struggle new positions have developed. Two incorrect views emerged which have in the main been defeated: that the struggle against racist oppression is a peripheral issue; that we define the struggle against racist oppression in terms of opportunist mainly white-led organisations such as the ANL.

20. Women: In line with its condemnation of the national liberation struggle in Ireland as petty bourgeois, and of the struggle of black people as narrow nationalist, the RCL criticised the women's liberation movement as bourgeois feminist and reduced the struggle against women's oppression to a struggle for equal pay in factories. The oppression of women had to be fought because "it is an attack on the class as a whole" and attitudes of male superiority and bourgeois feminism were both criticised.

21. A detailed criticism of these lines appears in 'October' 1.2. A point that should be emphasised that we have learned from experience, is that sections of the women's movement has consistently taken a stand in support of the struggles of Irish and black people.

22. Our lines were reflected in the internal life of the RCL and many women comrades have left. For example our lack of understanding of women's position in the family meant that married women comrades found it impossible to play a full part in the RCL. We did nothing to combat chauvinist attitudes and practices to women within or close to the RCL, or to women in mass work.

23. Industrial base-building line: Following from these positions the RCL took a decision to concentrate exclusively on mass work in factories. Previously the CFB(ML) had taken part in anti-imperialist solidarity work (Indochina and Palestine); Ireland solidarity work (TOM); ARAF work and work in the women's movement.

24. There were positive aspects to this decision. It was a break in the practice of the 'left' who took trade union bureaucrats to be the working class and represented a desire to go 'lower and deeper into the masses'. It represented an attempt to transform the class nature of the RCL. But after five years of implementing a policy of cell-building, we can see from practice that it has failed. We have only succeeded in mobilising a few workers to the M.L. movement and for some time now the RCL has in practice been devoting more resources to ARAF and Ireland solidarity work. It has been a misuse of our limited cadre resources at this stage and the effect on individual comrades has been serious and far-reaching and needs summing up. Most intellectual comrades who volunteered for base-building were not used well and many do not work in industry now, and in some cases have moved away from the RCL altogether.

25. The founding of the RCL on the basis of the 'Manifesto' was marked by a high level of unity and great optimism about our ability to build a new communist party in this country. The cracks appeared very soon. The struggle to develop a correct line has taken many twists and turns. As we have argued, the main aspect of this has been a struggle against the RCL's social chauvinism.

26. Another consistent theme must be our lip-service to theory. Although the 'Manifesto' claimed that 'theory is primary over practice', the RCL had a workerist attitude to theory which stopped us applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to solving the problems of revolution in this country. The 'Manifesto' itself epitomised what the RCL meant by theory. Although there has been much criticism of this attitude, little theoretical work has been done apart from work on Ireland and on the national question in Britain. 'Intellectualism' was one of the five cardinal errors named by the CFB(ML) and this attitude has had long-lasting effects in preventing us from developing serious theoretical work.

27. Basis for Change: In summing up this history we have to understand the relation between struggles within the RCL and outside it. The basis for change is in the struggles carried on inside the RCL for an anti-imperialist position. Events outside the RCL, particularly the Hunger Strike in Ireland and the development of black struggles culminating in the uprisings in 1981, were the conditions for change as they showed up sharply the failure of the RCL to understand the reality of the world around us and support the struggles of the most oppressed. The struggle over unconditional support for the Republican Movement in Ireland was long and complicated but the 2nd Congress marked a major change in the RCL's position on Ireland. The social-chauvinist line had been discredited by then. But the debate on the national question in this country was only beginning to be opened up throughout the RCL at the time of the 2nd Congress. Events such as the Black People's Day of Action and the uprisings of 1981 caused struggle and debate, and at the same time theoretical work was being undertaken. It was a serious mistake of leadership for the CC not to concentrate on this struggle immediately after the Congress.

C. Our Tasks Now

1. We must rebuild political unity in the RCL round an anti-imperialist orientation. But we must recognise that we are not in a position to do this in an all-round way. There are areas where we need to do much more theoretical work and we should not look for short-cut answers. The areas where some work has been done is on Ireland and on national minorities within this country. We must reaffirm our position of unconditional support for the Republican Movement in Ireland, and the importance of solidarity work in this country. On national struggles within this country, we should take up a position on the struggle of black people as an advanced struggle of an anti-imperialist nature against racist oppression, the highest form of national oppression. We should support the need for black leadership and organisation of this struggle. We should support the strategic alliance between the national minority people and the working class as the way forward, based on the demand for Free National Development.
2. We should develop theoretical work seriously giving priority to the following areas:
 - a. Analysis of British imperialism both internationally and within this country. This should be based in sound political economy. It should include study of the national question including Scotland and Wales; class analysis; oppression of women; the danger of fascism.
 - b. International situation including relation between British imperialism and two superpowers; struggle of Third World; war and peace etc.
 - c. All-round summing up including self-criticism of RCL, organisations that make it up and role of individual comrades.
3. Our practice should reflect these priorities:
 - a. Continue Ireland solidarity work based on unconditional support for the Republican Movement and an understanding that within this country the national minority people are the firmest allies of the Irish people. In our publications we should popularise the work of Republican leaders past and present, particularly James Connolly.
 - b. We should continue to support the struggles of black people here. We have much to learn from these struggles. Part of our education and propaganda work should be to popularise the idea of 'Black Power' and the role of black leaders both here and in the Third World, USA etc. We must support independent black organisations and black leadership. We reaffirm the need to build a single multi-national communist party but recognise that at this stage many black communists will be more effective working in black organisations. Unity in one party-building organisation may come through uniting black Marxist-Leninist groups with the League at a later stage.
 - c. The RCL is an organisation that consists of mainly white communists and we must recognise that we cannot lead the struggles of black people. For white communists our main task in the long term must be to work with white people: we will mobilise them on the basis of their own oppression and exploitation and win their support for the demand of Free National Development for national minorities as the basis of the strategic alliance. As the crisis of British imperialism deepens the opportunity to break the alliance of the majority working class with imperialism, increases. This is particularly true among the most oppressed of the majority working class - women, the youth and the unemployed. The fact that most national minority people are workers also provides a good basis for unity with the majority working class.
4. We should develop other anti-imperialist work as resources permit - e.g. Palestine, Azania etc.
5. The main cause of the present bad situation in the RCL has been bad leadership from the centre, particularly lack of a good political lead. In this context in some areas, political differences have developed into sharp personal contradictions and in other areas there has been drifting and some demoralisation.

6. We can rebuild unity firstly by the struggle for a correct political line, summing up and self criticism. Secondly we must rebuild democratic centralism. This means building better political leadership and democracy. We should reaffirm the need for criticism and self criticism and for discipline of individuals. Thirdly we should continually strengthen our links with national minority organisations and with the masses. Our theory, lines and policies, must be tested in practice and we have to learn constnatly from what is happening around us.

7. These three related tasks provide us with a basis for going forward. The progress we have made so far is minute when we look at the task ahead. But it is important for us in that it provides us with the basis for further progress. As the crisis of imperialism deepens, repression grows and so does resistance. If we make a firm break with the social chauvinism of our past and deepen our understanding of imperialism and the importance of national struggles in the world today, we will be able to contribute to the building of a multi-national communist party which will lead the working class and national minority people in a successful revolution.