

Workers' Weekly

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20p

Condemn the US Imperialist Occupation of Haiti

ON Monday, September 19, thousands of US troops "swept ashore" to occupy Haiti, to be followed in the next few days by thousands more to a total of at least 8,000, plus 1,000 US Military Police.

These troops were led by US army Lieutenant General Hugh Shelton who was also involved in the imperialist aggression and intervention in Vietnam and in the war against Iraq. In spite of all the propaganda barrage that the Haitian people were "welcoming" US troops, many questions are now being asked

about the nature of the US intervention and many Haitians have been cursing the US government. The troops had gone in soon after the surrender agreement signed by the military junta was brought back to Washington by the former US President Jimmy Carter, Chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee Sam Nunn, and former Chief of Staff of the US Armed Forces Colin Powell. The US has proved once again that it does not subscribe to any requirements of modern democracy or the interna-

tional rule of law. They are imposing the law of the jungle that "might is right".

The occupation of Haiti by US imperialism in connivance and full cooperation with the military junta, themselves on the payroll of the CIA, is not the end but the beginning of another stage in the anti-imperialist democratic struggle of the Haitian people for their national sovereignty, peace and prosperity. At this stage of their struggle, not only do they have to cope with the US occupation – as they have

had to do before when the US had occupied Haiti from 1915 to 1934 and during long periods of fascist dictatorships – but they will have to also fight the forces of treachery and betrayal which have sold the country out to the foreign invaders at this time.

The Haitian people, who have a history of long struggle against imperialism and colonialism, are bound to further develop their struggle. The people of the region and peoples of the Americas are bound to provide sup-

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Strengthening the Mass Party Press

THE Party press is a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class in the struggle to organise itself for its own interests and to achieve its emancipation.

This press has a long history in Britain, stretching back to the days of the fore-runner organisations of the

Party in the early 1970s. The first issue of *Workers' Weekly* was published to coincide with a major demonstration in support of the Irish people in Birmingham in March 1971.

To strengthen the mass Party press is one of the key tasks which RCPB(ML) has set itself at the present time. The programme of work RCPB(ML) has set for itself in this period has not only led to the strengthening of *Workers' Weekly*, but makes its consolidation and further

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THE PARTY AND ITS WORK**The line must be verified by the class**

What is the starting point for the work of the basic organisations? What space must they occupy? Can they be content with saying merely, as in the past, that they "do what the party says"? Of course, since they are basic organisations of RCPB(ML), and since the Party's organisational principle is democratic centralism, they are bound to implement the Party's line and programme, but can this in itself be said to be sufficient to solve today's problems? Today's problems demand solutions based on today's theoretical and ideological considerations, as well as modern definitions. If the units do not take account of these in developing their work, then today's problems will remain unsolved and the unit will remain an empty shell devoid of content. In fact this problem has already been brought into focus in some areas and is being grappled with by the units concerned.

The key point is that the Party's line and programme must always, at minimum, be verifiable by the working class as well as by all sections concerned to unblock the road to progress. Democratic centralism is devoid of content if the class is unable to verify the line and work of the Party; and the struggle against medievalism cannot be taken to a conclusion if the middle

strata remain unaware that their own problems cannot be solved without the leadership of the working class, and do not act on this knowledge. It is this consciousness - that our programme means nothing if it is not taken up by the people themselves - that separates the Party of the working class from the bourgeois parties, all of which hold themselves accountable to only a hand-

ful of leaders, and this within a small fraction of the people.

So the first question that arises is how are the units to ensure that the line and programme of the Party are verifiable by the class - i.e. how do we ensure that our work is precisely in line with the aims and demands of the class and that the class itself perceives this? The second question is what measures should be taken at this time if the working class is to be empowered to build the Party and itself open the path to its own emancipation? The point common to these two questions is that neither can be answered without developing means and mechanisms to involve workers and others directly and actively in the Party's programme - what does empowerment mean if not being involved in preparing as well as carrying out a programme; while to verify

a programme means to establish its truth or otherwise. This must mean that such a mechanism cannot be based solely on the discussion of ideas, either general or particular ideas, but must be based primarily on practice. Neither can such mechanisms be built on the assumption that all involved either support the Party or accept its discipline; indeed their very existence presupposes that this will not be the case.

At this time the bourgeoisie is bringing great pressure to bear to block any programme in society and in particular to prevent the working class taking up its historic mission. The central committee is grappling with the problem of preparing a draft programme of action, in the knowledge that without such a programme the working class cannot pursue its aims on a self-conscious and independent basis. Basing themselves on the theoretical and ideological considerations of the Party presented at the June 25/26 conference, the units must give full attention to developing those forms and mechanisms through which the working class and people can be drawn into the practical work of analysing their problems, finding the means to present the results of their analysis to their fellow workers or peers, and using the results to develop the overall work of the Party.

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WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

What problem is the General Council trying to solve?

THE main theme given to this year's Trades Union Congress was the relaunch of the TUC, summed up in the title of the General Council's Report: "Campaigning for Change", also the title of the relaunch document of March 1.

What is the problem that John Monks, TUC General Secretary, and the General Council are trying to solve with the relaunched, new UC?

The overriding problem facing the working class at this present time is the need for an independent programme of the class. This programme must enshrine the short- and long-term aims of the class, and take up the task of the class of leading society out of the crisis.

But, whatever can be said about the composite motion which was the subject of the debate on the new TUC, one thing that stood out was that this problem remained unaddressed and unaddressed. This should give rise to serious concern among the workers.

Why is it that the working class needs its independent programme? One reason is that though it is clear that the policies of the government in the conditions of the present all-round crisis are totally against the people's well-being, the expression of discontent against them is not enough. The frustration and anger of the people, for instance against the attacks on the health service, on education, and on

people's rights, must be given a consciousness and direction. The lack of power that working people feel, which is indeed a reality, over the crucial decisions which affect their lives, must be remedied. If the working class does not cut itself free of and diametrically oppose the direction that the government is taking society – an attack on the very idea that a modern society must take responsibility for all its members, and that within this society each and every human being has rights – then it cannot advance its cause and that of society. Furthermore, the working class has a vision of society where in the long-term it will eliminate all the conditions which give rise to people's exploitation. And to do this the workers must engage in politics themselves, fight for their values and aims. In other words, the question of *What Kind of Society?* must come top of the agenda.

But the aim of John Monks and the TUC appears to be set on tackling a different sort of problem and they are attempting to tie down the whole of the working class movement in this problem. In a nutshell, it is that the days of beer and sand-

wiches at No.10 are a thing of the past, and that the labour aristocrats must adjust to this fact. They do not question the kind of society we live in, but are intent on finding ways to maintain a space for the trade union leaders within the existing system. So, with their logic, workers should not challenge the status quo. Instead, they should support a TUC which, according to its mission statement, is to become a "high profile organisation which campaigns successfully for trade union aims and values, assists trade unions to increase membership and effectiveness, cuts out wasteful rivalry and promotes trade union solidarity". Perhaps John Monks position was even more clearly spelt out when he said at an eve of Congress rally, among other things: "this rally tonight is a celebration of British trade unionism ... a celebration of

our role in many workplaces as a respected partner essential to the smooth running of the establishment".

With this attempt to create illusions in and make the working class movement impotent, even the effective defence of workers' rights and interests will remain lacking and the growing consciousness of the workers of the need to raise the question, what kind of society, will be thwarted on the one hand, and the TUC become increasingly sidelined on the other. The TUC will become further entrenched in trying to bolster trade union membership, but keep workers out of politics, with the aim of trying to maintain the spoils of privilege of the TUC bosses. The vital role of a centre of resistance of the working class will be left completely off the agenda, while a perspective for the future will be increasingly opposed.

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FOR BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM IRELAND!**Shameful policy of TUC on Ireland**

ONE of the most shameful aspects of the activity of the TUC in recent years has been its support for British government policy on Ireland. Even on those occasions when Congress has passed resolutions demanding British withdrawal from Ireland, nothing has been done to implement them.

This year was no different. The TUC adopted resolutions which, whilst welcoming the IRA ceasefire, failed to welcome the government's recognition in the Downing Street declaration that the Irish have the right to self-determination. Neither did it call for the government to respond by taking this opportunity to announce its intention to withdraw. The TUC resolution said that "Congress shares the hopes of all people of goodwill and believes that the announcement by the IRA of the complete cessation of its activities will open the way to the end of all violence and destruction in Northern Ireland and that there is, for the first time, a real opportunity for a unifying peace, reconciliation and reconstruction to be achieved in Northern Ire-

land ... Congress ... calls for the lifting of the Broadcasting Ban imposed by the British government." The trade union chiefs are of course not ignorant of the history of Ireland, of the fact that Britain partitioned Ireland, that it has never ceased to use violence and destruction for its aims and that its rethinking of the situation at present is determined by necessity. With John Major now having lifted the Broadcasting Ban, the TUC will consider this a victory for its policy. But what it proves is that the TUC is merely an adjunct of British

policy in Ireland, defending "British interests" and the union. Just like the government, it presents the IRA and "sectarianism and division" as the problems which have prevented peace.

It is crucial that the working class movement ditch the policy of supporting colonialism and neo-colonialism and British policy abroad. Can the working class movement have its own independent programme within Britain if it echoes that of the government abroad? The working class has to overthrow this policy of the labour aristocracy and in its own programme adopt a policy based on proletarian internationalism. Just as within Britain a policy to get out of the crisis must be based on a policy opposed to that of the government on all fronts, so must this hold internationally as well. The class has to stand against the policy of blocs, of intervening in the affairs of others, of using the UN Security Council to justify aggression, and for the self-determination of nations, non-intervention in the affairs of others and for relations based on equality.

With regard to Ireland, an opportunity has opened up to bring about peace based on a genuine solution to the long-standing problems in Ireland. The Irish government has declared that it will not forcibly take over the north. The IRA has

Strengthening the Mass Party Press**Continued from page 1**

strengthening even more important. In the conditions of retreat of revolution, the bourgeoisie would love to see the press which upholds the aims of the working class disappear altogether. But this is not possible. The working class cannot be without its voice. On the contrary, as the work to develop a draft programme for the class and to take this programme widely amongst the workers moves forward, the class will not only build its own Party but strengthen its newspaper as well.

This involves deepening the analysis of the problems in the working class movement and bringing forward the advanced elements of the class who will discuss and from their own experience

write about and take out to others the problems facing the class and the way forward. Through this, the work to achieve the overall aims of the Party press to educate the class in communism and to wage the class struggle for its own interests will be enriched.

As well as strengthening the Party press on the journalistic front, another crucial task is to make further advances in the technical base. At the present time it is clear to see that this work must advance if the work to unite the advanced elements of the class around the Party press is to advance. *Workers' Weekly* has to become a newspaper whose form and content befit its role as the voice of the class. Strengthening the technical

base of the Party press will also open the way for building the non-party press as another important front of work.

Such a task cannot be achieved without the necessary human and material resources. RCPB(ML)'s perspective in this has always been to rely on the masses of the people, based on the principle that anybody who supports the Party and its aims at any particular stage politically should be asked to do so financially as well. Such work has to be a political mobilisation which is also used to advance the work of the class to build its Party.

Strengthening the mass Party press has to be a central part of the work at present.

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Dublin Forum calls for unconditional British withdrawal

On Monday, September 12, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) hosted a public forum on the very important issue of the IRA ceasefire, which began on September 1. The forum was held at a Dublin hotel, and attracted a good attendance. Workers' Weekly is printing below a report on the forum.

A most lively and all-round exchange of views on the implications of the IRA ceasefire and the kind of opportunity it presented to the Irish people was concluded with a unanimous resolution. This called for an unconditional British withdrawal as the only logical implementation of the British government's recognition that "it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone . . . to exercise their right of self-determination . . . without external impediment", as

expressed and signed by John Major in last December's Downing Street Declaration.

The chairman opened the forum by introducing a representative of CPI(ML) to launch the discussion with an exposition of the Party's views on the new phase of struggle opened up by the IRA ceasefire. In his presentation, the Party spokesperson for the occasion, Rod Eley, hailed the achievement of the Irish people, especially the people in the north. With their struggle given shape by the Republican Movement, they had brought about the collapse of the British policy of military repression. For 25 years, at the cost of great sacrifice, including the lives of many patriotic martyrs and the imprisonment of many more, they had defended and upheld their democratic rights and vindicated the national rights of the Irish people and their integrity as one people on the island of

Ireland. Britain's public acknowledgement of the Irish people's right to self-determination, for the first time in history, was their heroic achievement.

The British government must immediately demilitarise the situation in the north, which includes the cessation of their well-established collusion with loyalist terrorist gangs. They must release all the political prisoners they hold in the north of Ireland and Britain. They must pay compensation to the victims of their colonial regime for the damage done to people and property over the last 25 years.

Rod Eley explained that the opening of the Irish peace process followed the pattern in other areas of conflict in the world, such as Palestine and South Africa. Abandonment of the failed Anglo-American imperialist policy of repression in these places was their response to the new situation of international disequilibrium, opened up with the collapse of the former bipolar system. But the American blockade and military threats against Cuba and Britain's recent an-

nouncement that it was sending troops to join the US-led invasion force being assembled for Haiti showed that there could be no illusions about any change of heart of imperialism in favour of the democratisation of international relations.

This also posed the scale of the task which faces the Irish people in the new phase which has been opened up. Peace process or not, imperialism and the various big powers, including the European Union as well as Anglo-American imperialism, were not simply going to let Ireland exercise self-determination, or allow the Irish people to resolve their problems and set their own course on their own. No one should forget the interests of monopolies and multinational companies which are dominant in Ireland's economy, north and south. They will insist that the governments which represent them must keep Ireland safe for their exploitative system. Every pressure would be exerted to use the peace process to try to reassert imperialist domination in some new way.

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Shameful policy of TUC

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declared a ceasefire. It is only Britain, whose policy of violence, sectarianism and division created the problems in the first place, which since the Downing Street Declaration has made no serious move. The working class has to demand that it makes the decisive move of declaring openly that it will carry out in practice its recognition of the right of the Irish to self-determination by preparing to withdraw its armed forces and instruments of government from northern Ireland. It will have to fight against the TUC and the labour aristocracy for this to become the policy of the movement.

THERE IS A WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

Draft document released by the Central Committee of RCPB(ML) for discussion,
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Dublin Forum calls for unconditional British withdrawal

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Should this happen, any settlement, even were it to bring a semblance of peace, would only leave behind new bones of contention like the last in 1921, which could give rise to even worse conflict at some time in the future.

There should be no illusion that the bourgeoisie will address the root cause of Ireland's problems. The mechanisms so far outlined for the conduct of the peace process show this clearly. Only "constitutional parties with an electoral mandate" are being invited to participate so far, we understand, the speaker said, along with the two governments. But the whole system of representative democracy was one designed to exclude the masses of the electorate from any real say in governance. The alienation of the masses of ordinary people from the political process in northern Ireland, in the first place the working class, whatever their persuasion or background, has been one of the most sinister means of British manipulation, divide and rule, and political diversion, with reaction being mobilised in the name of "democracy" and "the will of the electorate, the majority", etc.

Parties with a vested interest in perpetuating divisions held the ring in the representative system, only their candidates were put forward for election, and this on the basis of the deliberate ghettoisation of the constituencies in the north on a sectarian basis. The vested in-

terest of such parties is the perpetuation of the outdated exploitative system, and therefore to keep Ireland subjugated to world imperialism.

Only by the involvement of the masses of the people in any peace process, led by the working class, can the bitter divisions engendered by foreign intervention be overcome and Irish people come together to address their common problems.

Speaking of how CPI(ML) was the first party to pledge that it was not organising to ever come to power itself, but was organising the working class and masses of the Irish people for political empowerment and the role in governing society themselves, Rod Eley explained how the Party had to mobilise the working class to provide a solution to the national question, for this was the democratic prerequisite for the working class to advance further to unite all the working and exploited people of Ireland to replace the anachronistic system of capitalism by the modern system of socialism.

In the enthusiastic discussion which opened up, a number of issues of concern were brought up. One was whether this peace process was simply a trap set by the British government to disarm the patriotic movement and then use their own forces, which they have not disarmed, to achieve their original aim to reduce the north to colonial subjection again. A number of other people in the forum agreed that it was

important to have no illusions about the British government's fundamental interest or their democratic credentials in Ireland, but it was important not to overestimate the power of the imperialists or underestimate the political consciousness and powers of resistance of the people. The people in the north who had waged the armed struggle themselves were the ones most confident that with this ceasefire they were inflicting new blows against British colonial domination in Ireland. The British government could not just do what it liked; the last 25 years had proven that already, plus there is more at stake today with increasing international interest in a settlement in Ireland.

Another question was how to deal with that section of ordinary people who, for historical reasons, had been ensnared in Britain's policy of divide and rule. Was it the case that raising the demand for British withdrawal might push them further into a corner? People joined in discussion of this important question with the seriousness that it deserved. It was pointed out that in the conditions where the Irish government had already guaranteed that no forcible annexation of the north would take place, it was now the British government's duty to withdraw Britain's involvement in Ireland to allow genuine self-determination of the Irish people to take place.

A number pointed out that CPI(ML)'s plan to attack the anachronism of rep-

resentative democracy would help create conditions where the mass of ordinary people were brought into the political process. In particular, the call of CPI(ML) for the peace settlement to be brought to the whole Irish people for discussion, and for representatives of the working class to be invited to participate in the negotiations, should bring workers from all sections of the community together.

CPI(ML) has pointed out that a complete solution of Ireland's problems should be addressed as part of the struggle to build a new equilibrium under the leadership of the international proletariat. Only by fighting for such a world order could the freedom and prosperity of each nation be a matter of the achievement of the same for all countries.

The meeting unanimously adopted further resolutions to set in motion a plan of campaign to bring the masses of the people into the discussion about self-determination and to demand their input to achieve a complete solution and thereby lasting peace in Ireland. The progress of the weekly programme of agitation is to be summed up in a further general meeting to raise the level of the struggle in the New Year. In the meantime every effort is to be made to unite the movement and all organisations in a single plan to ensure that an unconditional British withdrawal is the outcome of the peace process, thereby opening the path to Irish self-determination free from external impediment.

On the Eighteenth Anniversary of the Death of Mao Zedong:

The foreign policy of the PRC and proletarian internationalism

The following article is reprinted from The Marxist-Leninist, Organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), dated September 9, 1994.

Mao Zedong, the founder of the People's Republic of China and the Chairman of the Communist Party of China died eighteen years ago on September 9, 1976. Much has changed in People's Republic of China since that time, but the basic orientation of the foreign policy of the PRC has not changed. A variation of "the theory of three worlds" still guides the PRC.

Mao Zedong declared many times in his life time that "all foreign things must serve China." This was presented as a matter of principle. The attitude of Mao Zedong towards Marxism-Leninism was the same. Marxism was given an "indubitably Chinese character" by Mao Zedong and his followers.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, there is increasing pressure on the PRC that it must submit to the interests of the "west". The present leaders of the PRC, in response to this pressure from the "west," have re-affirmed their commitment to the "five principles of peaceful co-existence." In his recent visit to the Russian Federa-

tion, Jiang Zemin, President of the PRC, issued a joint statement with Boris Yeltsin that all countries big or small have a right to find their own socio-economic system.

While this statement of Jiang Zemin may look progressive, there is another truth which needs to be considered as well. All people have the right to overthrow the conditions which enslave them. People also have the right to express sympathy and provide support for people who are struggling to overthrow their oppressors. It seems that the PRC does not subscribe to this revolutionary content of the principle that every people have the inviolable right to choose the system of their liking without any foreign interference. It is also clear that the purging of this revolutionary content from the foreign policy of the PRC began before Mao Zedong died and has been brought to conclusion since then. This purging of revolutionary content from foreign policy has its basis in the thesis that "all foreign things must serve the PRC."

Eighteen years after the death of Mao Zedong, one of the greatest revolutionary and anti-imperialist figures of the twentieth century, the world has undergone great changes. However, the suppositions of the PRC's foreign policy have remained the same. As the "west" puts more and more pressure on the PRC to submit to its interests, the PRC is bound to take the road of building its own "sphere of influence". Such a thing has already started with Jiang Zemin declaring in Moscow that the PRC will not enter into any alliances at this time. In other words, the PRC would like to put its own pressure on various countries to break away from the alliances which exist at this time for the purpose of preparing the terrain for its own alliances.

The international working class must be extremely vigilant about the developments in the PRC in relationship to its own interests. The foreign policy of the working class is proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary content for the creation of the new world. It must see through all bourgeois and imperialist manoeuvres and carry out its own ma-

noeuvres in defence of its own interests. The urge to see the sharpening contradictions between the big powers, especially between the PRC and the "west", as a reflection of an "advance" of the people's interests must be firmly combated. The international working class must present its own programme on the basis of modern definitions in which is the right of peoples to win their own liberation and must vigorously fight for the right to build their own system, the socialist system.

Abstract notions can be extremely dangerous if the international working class refuses to start from their true manifestations. It is imperative to start from the forms of development, from practice and develop views by using the theory of Marxism-Leninism as a guide. Present developments are calling upon the international working class to take the initiative in leading all the oppressed and create a new equilibrium on the basis of social revolution. What is lacking from the foreign policy of the PRC is precisely this essential ingredient for a foreign policy which claims to defend the right of all peoples to determine their own affairs.

Condemn the US Imperialist Occupation of Haiti

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port to the Haitian people in their anti-imperialist democratic struggle and the situation is bound to change. Events are confirming that the US troops are neither bringing peace nor democracy but are expeditionary and deployed against the well-being of the people of Haiti.

The working class cannot accept the pretexts that the US is using to occupy another country and intervene in their internal affairs. Bill Clinton has said that the present regime was threatening US "interests". How can the internal affairs of Haiti threaten US interests? It is important to note that the US imperialists claim that they had a mandate from the UN Security Council to use "all means" to topple the present regime in Haiti. In other words, the Security Council, according to the US imperialists, has a greater authority over Haiti than the people of Haiti themselves.

The US occupation of Haiti underlines the speed with which the international order is being pushed back into the colonial days when the colonial powers ruled the roost. Each imperialist power is trying to safeguard its own areas of influence, as the Russians are doing in the ex-Soviet Republics, the Germans in the Balkans

and in eastern Europe, the French in Africa and the Americans in the Caribbean. As each big power secures its zones of influence, the contention between them is bound to increase, posing the danger of an inter-imperialist world war. Factors for revolution are bound to grow in this situation as the people fight for their civil, human, national and other rights under the present conditions.

Workers' Weekly takes this opportunity also to vigorously condemn the British government for not themselves condemning this violation and rape of

Haiti's sovereignty. It also firmly condemns the British government for its part in the preparation for the intervention and for its support for Security Council Resolution 940. Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, made it clear that Britain was prepared to play a naval role. According to the Ministry of Defence, Britain has been also helping the US in training the Multinational Task Force, put together by the US under the auspices of the UN Security Council Resolution, in basic infantry skills, including urban operations.

Workers' Weekly

calls on all progressive and democratic people to fight against the imperialist drive to take the world back to medievalism and to the brink of inter-imperialist war. It firmly stands on the side of the people of Haiti in their struggle for sovereignty and for peace and progress. *Workers' Weekly* calls upon all workers, all justice and peace-loving people, to demand that the US imperialists get out of Haiti and let the Haitians settle their internal affairs between themselves and complete their anti-imperialist democratic revolution.

Report on the Proceedings of the National Consultative Conference

On June 25-26, RCPB(ML) organised a National Consultative Conference to discuss the Party's document "There is a Way Out of the Crisis".

The proceedings of this conference are now available from Workers' Publications Centre, 170 Wandsworth Road, London SW8 2LA.

The aim of the conference was to involve all forces concerned about the present state of affairs in Britain in further elaborating the document "There is a Way Out of the Crisis", which is the Party's draft general line for the period, and to begin planned work to build a practical programme based on this. Papers presented by the Central Committee included a summation of the Party's work over the past year, analyses of the

direction of the working class and democratic movements in Britain, and elaborations on the theory, and the theoretical and ideological considerations which form the foundation of the Party's general line. These papers are reprinted in the **Report**, together with important contributions from Party activists, other organisations, delegations of fraternal Parties from Canada and Ireland, as well as organisations from

the United States. The conference concluded with a resolution to immediately begin work to formulate a programme for the working class, and the summation of this work is to be presented by the Party in a further consultative conference at the end of November. In presenting the proceedings of the conference, the **Report** is an important contribution to the work for November, and should be studied by all comrades and supporters of the Party.