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FROM THE MASSES.
TO THE MASSES.

THIRD EDITION, MAY 15, 1974

This paper is being printed and distributed with very slight abridgements, omitting only details concerning organizational relationships and minor polemical remarks. The paper was originally written and distributed during the Motor City Labor League convention in the third week of March, 1974, in Detroit. Omissions include a proposed structure and program for MCLL, in addition to an addendum on security and families.

Study and more concrete work are being done in the following areas:

1. Trade Unions
2. National Question (internal to the U.S.)
3. Superstructure/economic base
4. Party building/party formation
5. Women

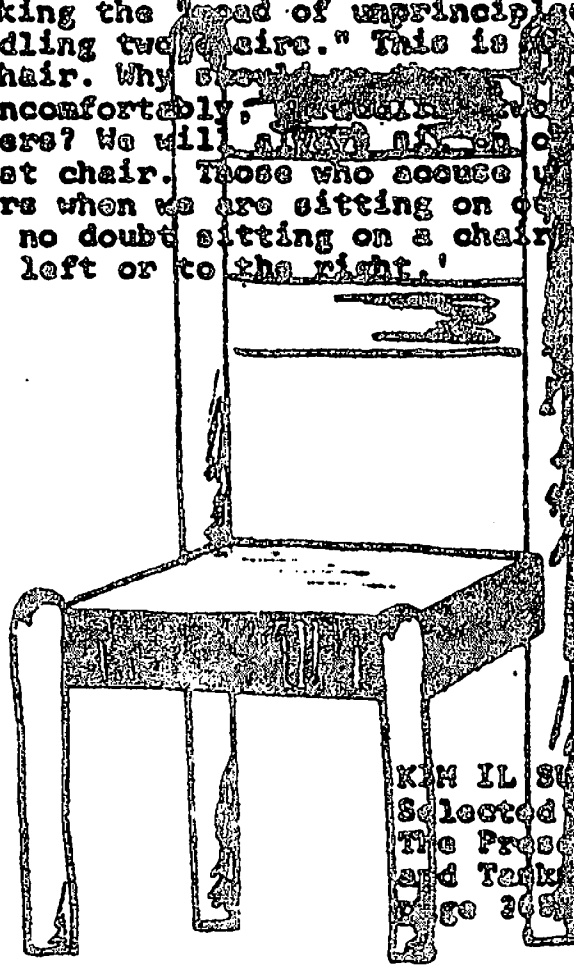
The authors of this polemic (who were formerly one-third of the MCLL) will be updating and improving on this document many times as our study and work continues. People are urged to examine the paper in detail and raise questions and criticisms. Please address these to "A Study Circle", c/o Trinity United Methodist Church, 1310 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

NOTE: We believe that resolution of the contradiction between minimum and maximum political lines around which we can unite in order to keep advancing the process of building the party remains a difficult and essential problem to resolve as our life and death struggle deepens and the cost of advancing increases. This problem is dialectically linked to the question of how do minorities, tendencies, trends, and/or factions and the use of democratic centralism function within circles during the party-building process and prior to the party's formation. This is an historical, international, national, and class problem of unity, struggle, unity.

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Abridgements: Pages 1, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, and 51.

— Analyzes entire epoch, major contradictions world-wide, etc.

'Certain people now attach the labels of "centrism," "eclecticism," "opportunism," and the like to our Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. They allege that we are taking the "road of unprincipled compromise" and are "straddling two chairs." This is nonsense. We have our own chair. Why should we throw away our chair and sit down uncomfortably, ~~straddling two chairs~~ belonging to others? We will ~~always sit on~~ our steady Marxist-Leninist chair. Those who accuse us of straddling two chairs when we are sitting on our sturdy chair, are themselves no doubt sitting on a chair which is crooked to the left or to the right.'



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PREFACE

"When a prolonged, stubborn and heated struggle is in progress, there usually begin to emerge after a time the central and fundamental points at issue, upon the decision of which the ultimate outcome of the campaign depends, and in comparison with which all the minor and petty episodes of the struggle recede more and more into the background."

(V.I. Lenin, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back)

"For revolutionaries, the past must always be understood, analyzed and its consequences accepted, but it must never be dwelt upon. Our view is toward the future. Our task is to unify the working class from which we come, to overcome the divisions within it. MCLL is, for the moment divided. To resolve those divisions is in our view to strike a mighty blow at the ruling class. Their power, after all, rests on the suspicion, mistrust, individualism, hostility and lack of political struggle and development which they are able to foster and sustain within the proletariat. We do not seek to evade the concrete issues facing the organization nor the conflict around them. We believe that we are proceeding from unity through struggle to unity. The class overcomes its divisions because it must in order to defeat the bourgeoisie. The process of struggle in which we have engaged has operated to oppose the personalization of conflict in favor of its politicization. Conflict within MCLL and within the party to come will inevitably revolve around personality, power, and politics. The first is bourgeois, the second pre-revolutionary and the third, given our politics as Marxist-Leninists, is revolutionary.

"Leadership is not perfect, nor is it an example of some end quality or goal. All should strive forward. Leadership in the broadest sense is the highest level of struggle, both personally and politically. Leadership is a function, not simply a person (s). Leadership is a process by which cadre through their interaction with the highest level of struggle come to a clearer understanding of internal and external contradictions and a sharper ability to move towards revolutionary objectives. Leadership's ultimate responsibility is to the masses not to others insofar as a distinction is necessary. It is out of concern for the development of class that leaders create, sustain and when necessary destroy organizational forms. Leaders must be exemplary in not confusing contradictions among the people, including those within the party with contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. As growing numbers of the class overcome their passivity, fear, and aversion to fighting for power, leadership must constantly struggle to politicize the struggle against the class enemy and resist the reversion to intra-class fighting. As the party is built and the struggle intensifies, there will be casualties; too personal a loyalty becomes a burden. Excessively personal loyalty strains comradeship which must be based on shared political objectives. As the struggle intensifies, we will increasingly find ourselves working with people we do not know closely but whom we must trust. Intense personal loyalty can, will, and should exist. It must not, however, be used, especially by leaders, as a standard of greater political comradeship. Leaders must exemplify comradely struggle. The presumption of comradeship must obtain unless decisively proven otherwise. Comradeship is assessed not only through personal trust and relation but through relationship to the masses and to struggle against the enemy.

"What is necessary for revolutionary struggle is the combination of the willingness to fight together with the desire for power, conditioned by the politics of class consciousness which understands that power is that of the class not that of any individual or small group. Disputes within the organization or party then become not fight between personalities but rather struggles around which methods of organizing the masses and building the party are best."

(Struggle Within, MCLL, September, 1972)

In the past several months many of the Comrades who have come together to develop and put forward the political lines in this paper have been referred to in the following ways. We know that the list is not inclusive: Trotskyists, opportunists, American exceptionalists, petty bourgeoisie intellectuals, anarcho-syndicalists, Mensheviks, backward, underdeveloped, a minority which must be purged, lonely and confused people who should resign, subjective, obstructive, old leadership, individualistic, ultrademocratic, undialectical, empiricist, anti-democratic vacillators, and undemocratic. None of these labels have been struggled around in a process of criticism/self-criticism.

The "process of criticism and self-criticism with its attendant preconditions of love and respect for human beings, is the socialist method for establishing and maintaining those relationships between people which makes it possible for them to organize themselves along democratic-centralist, rather than bourgeois, lines. It is therefore the key process in the establishment of socialist relationships and organizations. Consequently, when a person or group of people reject or refuse to engage in this process political unity is impossible and a division is inevitable."

(The Wheel Turns, MCLL, October, 1972)

The failure to engage in criticism/self-criticism and the resulting breakdowns in democratic-centralism have made the development of our theory and the leaps this has continually taken since our last convention extremely perilous and difficult. Our response to these months of struggle is our paper. All of us in the Motor City Labor League bare the burden of the relationship of our history in the Motor City Labor League to the future of the class in the building of the revolution and the victory of communism. This history is not without its class victories and defeats.

"Whatever particular difficulties the next four years and beyond may bring, a vast change in the distribution of power and the purposes for which it is used remains necessary and inevitable in Detroit and throughout the United States. The condition of most people---black and white, women and men---remains one of powerlessness and exploitation. The capacity of imperialism to expand here and abroad will continue to shrink. The ruling class has neither the ability nor the interest to solve the day-to-day problems which affect ordinary people. In short, class, racial and sexual struggles which emerged, from which the MCLL was born, continue. And, as in any period of social ferment and change, differences will inevitably emerge as to the best methods of providing leadership, program, organization and direction. Conflicts about how best and who best to lead over the long, intricate, zig-zag and dangerous path to revolution are to be expected. Perhaps more than any preceding revolution in history, the U.S. revolution will require great change in the human beings making the revolution in the very process of struggling for power. We have no illusions about how much change is possible before the seizure of control of the material and state resources of the society. We do know, however, that the divisions created by imperialism along exceedingly complex lines....must be overcome. The fear of winning and the responsibility inherent therein on the one hand, and the temptation on the other to seek at best reformist, individual, or small group gains as a substitute for class power, will require constant vigilance. Indeed, the failure to retain the unity of the MCLL is a tribute to the capacity of the ruling class to inculcate division among us."

(The Wheel Turns, October, 1972)

"It is our task to learn from history, from the combined experience of the working class and revolutionaries all over the world and to apply that knowledge, theory, and understanding to the concrete conditions present in the world in 1973. We should begin systematically learning about, finding unity where it exists, and struggling through disagreements with the various circles that are out there....We do not want three parties or a group carrying out incorrect politics because we did not struggle with them toward a correct line. We must

come to understand the diverse perspectives and practice exhibited by the various circles and move to create Marxist-Leninist unity among us....We all need to build a stronger base and carry on struggle to clarify our line and theoretical positions.'

(Towards a New Communist Party, Service and Production Commission in MC11, 1973)

"The purpose of political propaganda and agitation is indeed to organize the masses; only by organizing them one way or another will conditions be created for educating them and building up the immense strength of the revolution, for once organized, their power will increase one hundredfold. It is for combat that the masses are organized; conversely, it is through combat that they are organized and educated and the forces of the revolution expanded. Therefore, propaganda, organization and struggle must go hand in hand, the common purpose being to form and enlarge the political army of the masses in preparation for the decisive leap."

(The Vietnamese Revolution, Fundamental Problems, Essential Tasks, Le Duan)

We believe the party is the organizer of all victories. And that the "hallmark of the revolutionary movement led by the proletariat is its high organizational standard". (Same as above.) We believe this paper is agitation and propaganda for political lines that will advance these organizational standards.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

"To struggle for the future today means to fight for the victory of communism. The people who love the new, who love what lies ahead, are sure to become Communists. A Communist is the kind of person who cherishes the ideal of building a communist society and resolutely fights to translate this ideal into reality."

(Kim Il Sung, Vol, 3, p.51)

The aim of the world revolution is a communist society, a society without classes, without war, without the exploitation of any person by another. The revolution is presently occurring in the era of the transition from capitalism to communism. It is the era of socialist revolution, the era of the rise of proletarian revolution and the decline of imperialism, the period of moribund capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The universal contradiction of capitalism is between labor and capital. In the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution this contradiction manifests itself in four fundamental contradictions. To understand the present situation and the tasks of communists, we must examine the four contradictions, the contradictions internal to each, and the relationship of the four to each other. We must see which aspects are dominant in the present period and which direction change is taking within the contradiction. Only in this way can we determine the correct strategy and tactics for communists in the present period. Quite
Leninist
The Contradiction between Imperialism and Social-imperialism on the one hand, and the Oppressed Nations and Peoples on the other.

Imperialism is still in the dominant position within this contradiction. It is the most powerful counter-revolutionary force in the world today. All nations and peoples are oppressed by some form of imperialism: by the U.S., Japan, Germany, Great Britain, France, Israel or the social-imperialism of the USSR. However, U.S. Imperialism is by far the dominant imperialism, oppressing more nations and people's than any other imperialist power in the world.

"Regardless of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world, U.S. Imperialism remains the chief enemy of all peoples, the greatest oppressor and exploiter of other countries, the bastion of international reaction."

(Enver Hoxha, Report to 6th Party Congress of the ALP, November, 1971, p. 19)

Other great powers engaged in imperialism constitute a grave danger for the world's peoples, and a grave threat to peace. Japanese militarism is asserting itself once again in Asia. USSR social-imperialism is threatening China in the East and Albania in the West.

In terms of its relationship to the oppressed nations, the USSR has to, at various times, act like a socialist nation in terms of material support for socialist national liberation movements. From the perspective of the oppressed nations, motivation is of secondary importance to the fact of receiving material support for armed struggle and socialist revolution. This contradiction in which the Soviet revisionist are caught, has been turned to the advantage of socialist revolutions and national liberation struggles, and strengthened these forces in the face of the primary enemy, U.S. Imperialism. As Kim Il Sung says, "....even if someone reluctantly opposes U.S. Imperialism and supports the Vietnamese people, under pressure from the people, that will be also favourable and not inimical to the anti-imperialist struggle." (Vol, IV., 1966, p. 359) We discuss later in the paper the dynamics among imperialist nations. This assumes no
socialist force
in USSR making
itself felt.

Imperialism is the primary enemy of the world's peoples in this era, and the major cause of its decline is the success of socialist, national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Those movements are, almost completely, being waged against the U.S. Imperialists and their puppet dictatorships. National liberation movements are the primary revolutionary strategy of the oppressed nations. They are the primary strategy which is shifting the power within this contradiction in the favor of the oppressed nations and peoples. Imperialism is losing its dominant position steadily, and the oppressed nations and peoples are gaining more power. As Lenin pointed out in 1916:

"It is precisely in the 'era of imperialism', which is the era of nascent social revolution, that the proletariat will today give especially vigorous support to any revolt of the annexed regions so that tomorrow, or simultaneously, it may attack the bourgeoisie of the 'great' power that is weakened by the revolt."

(Lenin, Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism, p. 137)

It is precisely this weakening that is occurring for imperialist powers due to the success of national liberation movements which lead to socialist revolutions. The first major blow for the present-day imperialists was the Russian Revolution, which achieved state power in 1917. The achievement of state power by the Albanian Revolution (1944); Vietnamese Revolution (1945); Korean Revolution (1948); and the Chinese Revolution (1949); Cuba (1959); Algeria (1962) were defeats for imperialism.

Capital penetrates all national boundaries and brings all corners of the world into an international system of exploitation, and develops a division of labor among nations which unites the economies of various nations, thus reducing the importance of national boundaries as far as the imperialists are concerned. However, it is not from the stance of the needs of the imperialists that we must look at the current situation. From the standpoint of the forces of revolution, within the context of a global system of imperialist plunder, the importance of national boundaries is INCREASING rather than decreasing in this period. With the awakening of the world's peoples to the tide of revolution and the rise of their resistance to oppression, the imperialists must rely more and more on the state apparatus of the imperialist nations and the 'governments' of the nations they seek to control. Revolutionary forces in the oppressed nations must struggle for POLITICAL independence, for the right to political secession from colonial and semi-colonial rule, for political independence from puppet dictatorships serving the interests of the U.S. Imperialists. The battle is political and military first, and economic second. The national question is, therefore, the primary question in this period.

In 1918, Stalin said, 'the national question, from the particular question of combating national oppression, is growing into the general question of emancipating the nations, colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism'. (Selections from Lenin and Stalin on National Colonial Question, p. 114). And, in analyzing the critical factors in the Albanian revolution, The ALP puts forth the following:

'This is not to say that the economic factors did not play any role. The sufferings and the poverty of the working masses served as an important basis for our revolution. The Party continually exploited the situation to raise the people in struggle against the invaders and the

Amplify

?
loosely worded

on the contrary!
All-sided
approach
needed!

what does this mean?

appears to put nat'l q. above class q.

traitors. However, this factor played a subsidiary role. The main ground for raising the people in struggle was occupied by the cause of national independence, because the fundamental contradiction which had emerged in the first place amongst all the other contradictions, was the contradiction between the people and the fascist invaders. Therefore, it was precisely this contradiction which had to be solved first as an indispensable condition to open the road to the solution of other contradictions.

UB

Albania is not the only country where the principal cause of the political crisis, of the revolutionary situation have been the political factors."

(Some Questions of Socialist Construction....Struggle Against Revisionism, ALP, p. 41)

The law of the development of the socialist revolution is that it is won, first of all, in the political field, later, in the economic field and finally in the ideological field. (Ibid, p. 106)

From the standpoint of the oppressed nations fighting against imperialism, national boundaries are of primary importance. It is exactly the strategy of imperialism which makes this necessary. National liberation movements are the most militant and powerful movements for revolution in the present period, and the most costly to imperialism on a world-wide scale. Although economic domination can occur without direct political control by the imperialists, economic independence is possible only with the taking of state power as has been made clear to all the world's peoples by China, DRV, DPRK, and Albania. A state department strategy study done for Kissinger, January 22, 1974, implies that the U.S. might exacerbate the political differences among the raw-materials-producing countries who are attempting to organize common fronts of raw-materials-producing countries to bargain for higher prices on raw materials. The prediction is that such an effort at exacerbation of the political differences will undermine current efforts at organization by the producers of copper and bauxite in particular.

'Although a copper producers' group, CIPEC, which includes Peru, Zambia, Zaire, and Chile, has existed since 1967-- differences among them have been and probably will continue to be an obstacle to concerted action, the study says. These differences, however, were being overcome prior to the September 11 coup in which Chile's socialist president Salvador Allende was overthrown. In February, 1973, CIPEC finally agreed to fix prices on copper. Since the coup, Chile has been uncooperative with the other CIPEC members, and coordinated action has been effectively blocked."

(International Bulletin by Internews, Vol. I No. 4, Feb. 25-Mar. 10)

The imperialists will always resort to political and military tactics when pure economic warfare fails. And nations seeking economic independence are well aware of this.

In Asia, Africa, and Latin American, the movement to take state power is the dominant movement, the primary form of battle against imperialism in this period.

The national liberation movements which are of primary importance in this current period, the ones which are presenting the strongest challenge to the imperialist system, are in Indochina, the Phillipines, Puerto Rico, Mozambique and Palestine. ^{Guinea-Bissau?} ^{Angola?} ^(Ireland?)

Of these, Indochina is the focal point of the battle between the imperialist forces and the revolutionary forces of the world, on the political, military, and diplomatic fronts.

"Now the proletarian revolution must be regarded primarily as the result of the development of the contradictions within the world system of imperialism, as the result of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front in one country or another....The front of capital will be pierced where the chain of imperialism is weakest, for the proletarian revolution is the result of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front at its weakest link." (Stalin, Foundations, p. 29)

Where is the weakest link for the chief imperialist power in the world today? Indochina. Revolutionary forces all over the world are agreed on this point.

"U. S. Imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the struggle of the Vietnamese people against it are the focal point of the struggle between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution at the present moment."

(Kim Il Sung, Vol, LV, p. 340, 1966)

"Indochina has now become the main battlefield of the liberation struggle of the peoples against U.S. imperialism, therefore, the victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have been a great revolutionary inspiration for all those who oppose imperialism, who fight for freedom and national independence, for democracy and social justice. In particular they have raised the morale, the fighting spirit of the small nations and have strengthened their confidence in their own strength and in their future." (ALP, 6th Congress, p. 32, 1971)

The victory of the Vietnamese in the north of Vietnam, the victories of the NLF/PRG in the south, and the victories in Laos and Cambodia, have been a severe blow to the entire imperialist strategy and system. The aggressors have tried one strategy after another, and still they fail; still they revise their strategies and fight on in Indochina. Because Indochina has become the testing ground for the strength of imperialism, it has also become the testing ground for the strength of the world revolution.

The contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand, and imperialist and social-imperialist countries on the other.

A country is a political entity characterized by a state apparatus for control over a definite territory and population. The actual boundaries of a country change from time to time, and the control of the state apparatus either diminishes or increases. A country is not the same thing as a nation. For the definition of a nation we use the definition agreed upon by Lenin and Stalin in 1913 and put forth in Stalin's article, 'Marxism and the National Question'. A country is defined by a government, a state apparatus.

We consider the following to be socialist countries at this time: The People's Republic of China, The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, The Provisional Revolutionary Government of south Viet Nam, The People's Republic of Albania, The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Laos, Guinea-Bissau.

We consider the following to be imperialist countries: The United States of America, West German State, Japan, the State of Israel, Great Britain, and France. We consider the USSR to be the only social-imperialist country.

There is presently no center for the world communist movement. There is no hub.

"Ever since the dissolution of the Third International there has been no 'center' or 'hub' in the international communist movement. It is therefore impossible for a 'hub' of the revolution to shift from one country to another. It is also impossible for any country to become the 'hub' of the world revolution for for any party to become the 'leading party' in the international communist movement.....

Communists accept no 'hub' or 'center' whatsoever in the international communist movement, because that would mean giving one party a privileged position...No party is entitled to a privileged position in the international communist movement."

(Kim Il Sung, 1966, Vol. IV, p. 362)

There will be an International again in the future and there should be. It will become the hub. The building of an International is a process, just as the building of a party is. In the meantime, no party can determine the tasks of another in relation to the strategic necessities of the world revolutionary movement. And in the absence of an International, unity and struggle within the world communist movement will be defined in terms of the relationship of socialist countries and communist parties to the leading battles of the day, their positions on the focal point of the revolutionary struggle in any particular historical period.

In the contradiction between unity and struggle within the world communist movement, struggle is in the dominant position at the present time. Nevertheless, the power and influence of socialist countries and the international communist movement are on the rise.

There is a center for the capitalist countries and the imperialist system. The U.S. is the center and the leading force in the world imperialist system.

"The United States is the ally and sponsor of all reactionary and fascist regimes, the chief defender of the international system of capitalist exploitation."

(ALP, 6th Congress, 1971, p. 20)

Nevertheless, U.S.-led imperialism and its stooges, including the Soviet social-imperialism are on the decline in influence and power. The U.S. remains the center because it has the most power to do things which other powers oppose. | weak

The USSR is the leader of the revisionist countries within the imperialist system, but at present cannot wield the power and influence in the world which is wielded by the U.S., and instead is subject to the strategies of the U.S., more often than the U.S. to USSR strategies; and within this contradiction, struggles on the side of the U.S. and against the socialist countries. However, due to the

internal contradiction of social-imperialism and revisionism mentioned above, the USSR is unable to wage the struggle consistently and with full force against the socialist countries. It functions at this time as a stooge of the U.S. in the open U.S. strategy of imperialism and counter-revolution.

The growing power and influence of the socialist countries in the world can be seen clearly in the victory of the admission of China into the U.N. through the leadership of Albania, and in the positions taken by peoples and countries all over the world in support of The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. It can be seen in the fact that 38 countries recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government in the south of Viet Nam, while the U.S. imperialists deny its very existence.

Within this contradiction, the socialist countries are moving toward the dominant position.

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The contradiction between and among imperialist and social-imperialist countries.

Inherent in the very nature of capitalism, with imperialism as its highest stage, is the need to compete for markets and sources of raw materials, the need to export capital, the need to secure a captive and cheap labor force. In order to maintain and expand capitalism, it is necessary for imperialists to compete with each other to varying degrees for the same territories and resources. It is necessary for them to seek hegemony in the world, and protection for their sources of profit. As long as imperialism exists as a world system, wars are inevitable.

At various points in the period of imperialism the imperialist powers form alliances with each other to forward mutual interests in the face of forces hostile to imperialism. They also form alliances in blocs, one imperialist camp against another, to periodically re-divide the world in conformity with changes in the relative power positions of different imperialist countries.

Within this contradiction, therefore, the contradiction between competition and alliance operates. Competition is a fundamental law of capitalism, and generally the dominant aspect of this contradiction. But at certain times, such as the present period, alliance moves to a dominant position. Such a position of dominance within this contradiction can only be temporary. The internal laws of capitalism allow for no permanent alliances among imperialist powers, particularly in a world where the playing ground for imperialists is shrinking day by day.

As much as the imperialists may move to "rationalize" imperialism for temporary advantages, they cannot in fact do it. There is at this time no such thing as an international bourgeoisie or a multi-national corporation which functions independent of a state apparatus, and is therefore able to "rationalize" the competing interests of the imperialists. Multi-national corporations have and use a national base. They use the state apparatus of their base country of operation to gain access to new markets and sources of raw materials, control the population and work force in the oppressed nations, and organize counter-revolution.

In the 19th century the predatory industrialists often had their own armies and were able to penetrate and divide up the world without the direct power of a state apparatus, in the initial states of penetration. The Dutch East India Company is a good example. In the twentieth century, however, the trend has been for the capitalists to rely more and more on a state apparatus to secure their interests, and as a result the power of the state has increased tremendously. H

To imply that the economic base is now able to function in such a way as to decrease the importance of boundaries, is to imply that the power of states is decreasing. The exact opposite is the case as U.S. military intervention in Indochina, southern Africa, Chile, the Phillipines and elsewhere indicate. Though it is true that capitalists have allegiance only to profit, and not to nations or countries, they nevertheless are only able to hold their power in the age of revolution by using the power of a state apparatus.

We include Soviet social-imperialism as part of this contradiction because it functions like any other imperialist country in the world. It moves for hegemony and exploits the resources of other countries, particularly the countries of Eastern Europe. The invasion of Czechoslovakia was a clear imperialist invasion, as is the presence of Soviet troops in all the countries of Eastern Europe. Because it is in many ways a Johnny-come-lately to the imperialist arena, it has to overcome the dominance of the U.S. just like Germany and Japan are, once again, attempting to do.

For the countries of Eastern Europe, Albania, and China, the increasingly imperialist character of the USSR poses a particular national threat, since these are the areas of the world which the U.S. power-brokers are least likely to interfere in if the USSR moves to attack socialism. However, on balance, the U.S. remains the dominant power and the most pervasive imperialist power when the entire world is taken into account. Particularly for the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the question of imperialism is clearly identified first of all with the U.S. Attempts by the USSR to establish spheres of influence are presently being carried out within the context of the so-called "detente". Such attempts at the peaceful re-carving of the world have been attempted before, prior to the outbreak of new imperialist wars. To date, the USSR has made some gains in India, where it has reached trade agreements that allow for Soviet exploitation of India's resources. In the Middle East, the U.S. has recently re-asserted control, and broken the illusory notion that the crisis was a stand-off between two equal powers.

"During the past year, the USNA imperialists with the aid of the USSR have used the Middle East war to further their interests. The results have been the re-emergence of the USNA dollar as a stable currency and the expansion of USNA spheres of influence. Both of these have brought about the further consolidation of USNA hegemony over the rest of the capitalist world. The USNA imperialists, in order to get an increased hold on the international market, had to crush their two major contenders, Western Europe and Japan. Since World War II they have become a real threat to the USNA's stranglehold on the international market. This movement had to be reversed. The USNA began by devaluing the USNA dollar, forcing Western Europe and Japan to revalue their currency upward. The result was that USNA commodities began to undersell all others on the international market. The USNA then flooded the international market with its commodities: wheat, soybeans, etc. But this was not enough to cripple the economies of Western Europe and Japan. Thus, USNA imperialism continued its assault to guarantee its position by creating and engineering the "energy crisis". (People's Tribune, February, 1974)

In recent years, the greatest economic threat to U.S. hegemony has come from Japan. Although the military posturing usually is carried out between the U.S.

and the USSR, the actual competition in terms of world markets has been conducted more and more between the U.S. and Japan. The U.S. strategy has been to build an alliance among what it used to refer to as the "three-and-a-half" super-powers, a United Europe, the USSR, the U.S., and Japan (the half-power). The strategy has moved colonialism to a higher level. Rather than concentrate colonial strategies only on the "under-developed" areas of the world, the U.S. has, since World War II, been colonizing Europe and Japan. It has moved enough capital into the former colonizing countries to lock their economies into the U.S. network, thus colonizing the colonists. At this level, what appears as a "rationalizing" of the competition among imperialists, is in fact a streamlining of the U.S. empire and an increase in its hegemony among imperialist powers.

The U.S. imperialists maintain total hegemony among imperialists powers in Latin America through very direct control. The U.S. imperialists are in control, either directly or through having colonized the former colonists, of Africa; and are increasingly using their foothold in South Africa to expand influence there. In the Far East and southeast Asia, the Japanese have been allowed some regional power, but the U.S. still controls the way in which such power is exercised by controlling the military relationships in the area. The increased militarism of Japan, and the renewed threats against Korea by the Japanese serve to relieve the U.S. of some direct methods of control, but do not at this point in any way lessen its control of Japan, particularly since the "energy crisis" has put Japan in such a weak position relative to the U.S.

Attempts by the USSR to extend influence in Asia through a military alliance comparable to SEATO have been rebuffed. The nations invited to participate simply turned down the offer (Peking Review 2/74, Soviet Revisionists Foreign Policy Up Against Stone Wall Everywhere). Having lost whatever influence it may have had in Chile, the USSR presently has influence and power only in Cuba as far as the Western Hemisphere is concerned. And even here, the U.S. is re-asserting itself by using Argentina as a mediary to develop economic and diplomatic ties again with Cuba, playing on the untenable position Cuba has been in (due to the original U.S. strategy of isolation) in terms of its reliance on the USSR for its continued existence. Equally important is the U.S.-Brazil relationship to dominate Latin American.

Although alliance is presently still in the dominant position, it appears to be cracking, and competition is beginning to assert itself. The alliance has served the U.S. imperialists well, particularly in terms of diverting attention from the defeat in Indochina and buying some much-needed time to prepare a new offensive in Indochina. Kissinger's strategy to divert attention to the Middle East, and achieve a re-assertion of U.S. hegemony among the imperialists through super-power bargaining and the phony "crisis" and "detente" with the USSR, has succeeded in strengthening the position of the U.S. in relation to its "allies" whether they like it or not. It is only a temporary phenomena, however. The war rages on in Indochina, and the U.S. will in no way be able to ignore this fact or divert the attention of the rest of the world from it. Kissinger has gotten Nixon some time to build for an offensive in Indochina, this time using the technology which allows for a silent, pilotless, soldierless war, a technology we only got a glimpse of in the last offensive in Indochina (thermo-nuclear warfare). Massive military aid to Thieu of conventional weaponry is being used merely as a holding action until the re-alignment of forces globally allows the U.S. to try again to conquer Indochina. As the temporary alliances with other imperialists begin more and more to break down (and the recent Kissinger Brussels conference indicates that is happening), the U.S. will be forced to wage another desparate assault on its empire and its "allies".

Production
Unit
25 started

Competition, and with it the possibility of another world war, are moving to the dominant position within this contradiction.]

The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist and revisionist countries.

Within this contradiction, the bourgeoisie is still in the dominant position, and still holds a high degree of hegemony in the capitalist and revisionist countries. (the revisionist countries: Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia.) Yet, in the last decade, there has been increased militancy on the part of the proletariat, particularly in England, France, and Italy, among the European capitalist nations. The new proletarian forces in Latin America, particularly oppressed by the remnants of feudalism, and the comprador and national bourgeoisie, have heightened the struggle. The bourgeoisie of advanced capitalist countries still has the capacity to breed high levels of opportunism in the proletariat with the super-profits of imperialism, but this capacity is weakening as imperialism receives growing challenges from the oppressed nations. Capitalist forces contending to defeat feudalism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and thereby creating new proletarian forces in these areas only add to the challenge to the advanced powers, and increase the internal contradictions in advanced capitalist and revisionist countries.

As empires objectively shrink, inspite of endless strategy changes on the part of the capitalists, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in advanced capitalist and revisionist countries can only increase. Unable to freely exploit Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and faced with growing movements for national liberation and political and economic independence, the capitalist's capacity to buy off their own proletariat must continue to decrease. Recent crises in this country (Watergate, food and gas shortage, unemployment, inflation) signal the shift within this contradiction, and indicate that the proletariat at home will more and more be required to pay the price of a declining imperialist empire. Although the bourgeoisie is frantically searching for scapegoats and attempting to whip up its propaganda machine to direct the frustration of its own proletariat onto the workers of other capitalist or revisionist countries, in possible preparation for new wars, the proletariat is increasingly directing its militancy against the bourgeois state apparatus within the capitalist and revisionist countries.

The internal laws of capitalism offer the bourgeoisie no other options than increased exploitation of the proletariat in their own countries when it is not possible to export it to other parts of the world. As socialist revolution in the form of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America bring more and more setbacks for the imperialists abroad, the proletariat in advanced capitalist and revisionist countries will more and more pay the price of profit.

Revisionism and Social-imperialism

In view of the apparent confusion around the question of revisionist countries and social-imperialism, and their relationship to the fundamental contradiction, we think it is necessary to clarify our position on this question.

"To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for

the real or assumed advantages of the moment--such is the policy of revisionism."

(Lenin, Marx on Revisionism, 1908, Vol. I, pg. 76)

Such has been the policy of the USSR, beginning after the Second World War. It has been a process of counter-revolution, carried out over a period of time, until the counter-revolution achieved state power with Khrushchev. Although socialist relations of production have not been totally eliminated, it is clear that the USSR ruling elite is in control of the productive forces and the superstructure to a sufficient degree that it is now moving to re-establish capitalist relations of production, with the assistance of the U.S. technocrats.

It is important for all communists to examine not merely the fact of revisionism but its sources. Revisionism has existed as long as there has been Marxism to revise. However, there are features which distinguish the revisionism of the USSR from previous forms. Not the least of these distinctions is the fact that the revisionists have assumed state power. The Albanian Labor Party outlines three features which distinguish the modern revisionist counter-revolution: (1) It was not carried out by the former ruling class who had been overthrown from state power, but rather by a new ruling class created in the conditions of socialism "as a result of the bourgeois influence from inside and the pressure of imperialism from outside"; (ALP gray book, 1969, p. 85, "Some Questions of Socialist Construction in Albania and of the Struggle Against Revisionism") (2) It began from above rather than below; (3) It was carried out in a peaceful manner and did not involve the use of the military as counter-revolutions usually do.

What were the causes and sources of revisionism in the USSR? We consider that there were two fundamental causes.

The first, and we believe the most critical, was the successful strategy of the U.S. bourgeoisie. Following the War, the U.S., under the Truman Doctrine, implemented an all-out assault on the USSR.

"Atomic blackmail became the official policy of the USA. The capitulation to this pressure of imperialism to its threats of a devastating war, was one of the circumstances which led to the birth of revisionism in the present."

(Some Questions of Socialist Construction...Struggle Against Revisionism, 1969, p. 135)

It was the reaction of the leaders of the USSR to this offensive from the U.S. which laid the groundwork for revisionism to surface within the USSR. Already torn apart by WWII, weary of war and faced with economic chaos within the USSR, the Soviet leadership was faced with two basic choices in response to the offensive of the U.S. It could choose to compete with the U.S. in the realm of the productive forces, and defend itself by heightening the revolution in technology to the primary position, or it could respond by strengthening the political revolution, consolidating the revolution in the superstructure. The USSR chose the first approach, and that was the first fundamental revision of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin and Stalin both warned consistently of the dangers inherent in the Bolshevik Party having taken over the old superstructure virtually intact, having inherited all the worst of Russian bureaucracy. They consistently urged a revolution in the superstructure. Faced with famine after WWI, and then with the threats from the German and Japanese fascists in the thirties, the revolution in the superstructure was never really waged sufficiently. Socialist relations of

production and the development of the productive forces had moved forward, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets had been formally established, but the cultural revolution necessary to consolidate it all had not been carried out sufficiently. The seeds of a revisionist victory were contained in this failure in the superstructure.

"...the modern revisionists, who absolutize the importance of the material conditions of life, of the base, of the economy, thus slipping into a new variety of economism, of vulgar materialism, of the theory of spontaneity...the changing of the party into an economic organization for the management of industry and agriculture, to the putting of material interest at the basis of all the activity of man.....

The materialist viewpoint that social being, the base, the economy are primary, remains completely valid in socialism, too, but their relationship with the conscious factor, with the superstructure, with politics is greatly changed. In socialism, as an order which is not born and developed spontaneously, the role of the subjective factor takes first-rate importance.. taking the objective factor as primary and giving firsthand importance to the subjective factor." (ALP, Ibid., pp. 94-96)

It is not difficult to see how the pressures brought to bear on the first socialist country by the combined might of the imperialists, led by the US, might prove too much to overcome, and allow the forces of revisionism to emerge. Revolution is at times a "one step forward, two steps back" process. Much has been learned in the course of socialist revolution since 1917, and much of it has been learned because of the errors of the USSR.

In spite of equally massive assaults by the imperialist world, the parties of China, Albania, Korea, and Viet Nam, have consistently fought revisionism by waging a constant revolution in the superstructure at the same time that they consolidated the socialist economic base. The current new phase of the cultural revolution in China, the battle against Lin Piao is being fought precisely against the revisionist notion of the primacy of the productive forces in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Korean Workers Party has achieved amazing results in the process of socialist construction precisely because it has given primacy to the revolution in the superstructure. The capacity of the Vietnamese to continue to defeat the most mighty imperialism the world has ever known, stems from the fact that the Viet Nam Workers Party has always considered people a more important factor in revolution than technology, and has had complete faith in the power of the political line over the technology, and has armed the people with correct ideology first and foremost. It is precisely this capacity to trust in the people, and not become intimidated by the bellicose ravings of the enemy, which has strengthened the existing socialist countries and weakened the imperialists.

"The revisionist counter-revolution is not an objective law of the development of socialism because it does not stem from the nature of socialism itself, as revolution stems from the very nature of capitalism." (ALP, Ibid, p. 86)

"Overestimation or absolutization of this danger (revisionism) sows pessimism, lack of confidence in the future, paralyzes the will and efforts of men, just as underestimation of them leads to lack of vigilance and endangers the victories achieved."

(ALP, Ibid., p. 105)

"When the party recognizes and applies the objective laws of

society, follows a correct Marxist-Leninist line, has as its ideological basis the Marxist-Leninist theory, and educates its members, the working class, and all the masses with it, develops the class struggle consistently and without interruption, applies the Leninist norms in the internal life of the party, preserves its ranks pure, continually strengthens its links with the masses works for the revolutionization of the party and the whole life of the country, sharpens the revolutionary vigilance of each communist and worker, the danger of the birth of revisionism is avoided." (ALP, Ibid., p. 143)

It is precisely in terms of the positive assertion of correct Marxist-Leninist lines and policies, precisely in terms of the stance one takes on the issues of the day and the course of the revolution, that one defeats revisionism in practice. A correct analysis of the dialectics of the fundamental contradictions facing humankind, and a correct strategy to assert one's revolutionary responsibilities in line with given historical conditions and the aims of the revolution at a particular stage of its development, will defeat revisionism in practice and confirm its defeat in theory.

The restoration of capitalism in the USSR is a setback for the world proletariat. A setback is not, however, the same thing as a primary enemy. It is the power of the primary enemy which has allowed for the setback, and we cannot allow ourselves to get confused on this point. To do so, to divert our attention away from the primary enemy of all humankind for a single minute, under the illusion that we are battling an enemy of equal strength, is to play into the hands of the very bourgeoisie we must defeat. It would be metaphysical and express a lack of faith in the masses and in the laws of revolution to assume that revisionism will swallow us up if we do not treat it as the prime enemy of the world's peoples.

Put U.S. clearly
as the enemy,
not USSR.

Within the communist movement, it is essential to wage a constant battle against all forms of opportunism, particularly revisionism. Within the total world revolution, it is essential to wage a battle always against the primary enemy. And in this historical period that is none other than the US imperialists.

The proletariat in the USSR will have to wage another revolution to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The class struggle has already begun to heighten in the USSR. Recent reports indicate an increase in strikes, alcoholism, exposures of profiteering in the Soviet press, and the struggle for bourgeois democratic rights.

It is our responsibility to counter the bourgeoisie's anti-communist strategies in this country. One of these strategies is to continually label the USSR as a communist country. We must make it perfectly clear that the USSR is not a socialist society any longer, one of the primary reasons being the successful strategy of the world people's primary enemy, the US bourgeoisie. In fact one of the grounds for attack on the US bourgeoisie must be for its role in undermining the first dictatorship of the proletariat, the first country where the proletariat had power and democracy might have been a reality. Our offensive must remain focused on the primary enemy at all times, if we hope to counter the multiplicity of the anti-communist tactics of the bourgeoisie, which are most responsible for diverting the spontaneous working class movement back to the bourgeoisie.

ON THE DIALECTIC OF THE FOUR CONTRADICTIONS

"There is no doubt at all that at every stage in the development of a process, there is only one principal contradiction which plays the leading role."

(Mao, "On Contradiction", Selected Readings, p. 111, 1937)

The Marxist method of dialectical and historical materialism teaches us to understand the world in terms of the contradictions in it, in terms of continuous motion of all things, the interrelation of all things, quantitative-qualitative change, the unity and struggle of opposites. Applied to the study of the historical development of human society, the dialectical-historical method allows us to analyze the world in order to change it. Marxism-Leninism makes its class stance quite clear; it is the science of proletarian revolution and the transition from capitalism to communism. The purpose of applying a dialectical-historical analysis to the forces operating in the world, is to determine a strategy for revolution in a given historical period, to determine the existing alignment of forces within the principle contradiction, the relationship of the principal contradiction of a given historical period to the secondary contradictions which effect it, and therefore the correct disposition of forces necessary to move the revolutionary process forward.

There is always a principal contradiction in every process, whose outcome affects all other contradictions. To say that of the four fundamental contradictions of imperialism there is not one which is principal, is to deny the laws of dialectics, and the laws of Marxism. This is the correct understanding of the passage in a General Line of a Proposal concerning the International communist movement on Page Six. The identification of the principal contradiction is one aspect of the method for analyzing how contradictions are interrelated and influence each other. It is the opposite of "obliterating any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substituting one for all the rest".

PC = In the era of rising socialist revolution and declining imperialism, we must ask, which of the four fundamental contradictions (occupies a position in the flow of events such that its outcome produces a qualitative leap in all the others) and moves the revolutionary process forward toward the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world-wide scale? It is the contradiction between imperialism and social-imperialism on the one hand, and the oppressed nations and peoples on the other. Why is this the case? *Is this the proper question? What of about historical development of each?*

We must ask first of all what is the single-most important enemy of the world's peoples. It is imperialism. Then we must see where imperialism gets its strength. It is in the exploitation of the oppressed nations and peoples. Then we must ask, what forces are most weakening imperialism? They are the forces of socialist national liberation in the oppressed nations, which are shrinking the world for the imperialists and heightening the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie all over the world. The laws of socialist revolution make it clear that revolution occurs when the internal crisis is heightened for both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, when the bourgeoisie is no longer able to rule and the proletariat is no longer able to tolerate their rule. Such a crisis can come only from a weakening of the strength of imperialism. And ever since the Russian Revolution, the source of that weakening has clearly been the success of socialist national liberation movements, particularly those in the East, as Lenin and Stalin predicted. The writings of all communist theoreticians emphasize the importance of these movements in this historical era. And the changes which have taken place in the world since the success of the Chinese Revolution, and continuing through the

Korean and Vietnamese revolutions, simply vindicate the position that this contradiction is the principle one in this historical period.

What about during
WWII?

"Now the proletarian revolution must be regarded primarily as the result of the development of the contradictions within the world system of imperialism, as the result of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front in one country or another...The front of capital will be pierced where the chain of imperialism is weakest, for the proletarian revolution is the result of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front at its weakest link."

We repeat the point made by Stalin in Foundations, because it is a critical point, the understanding of which can determine our entire outlook on the world revolution. What will heighten the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the US? The defeat of the imperialists in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the resulting heightening of the contradictions internal to the US when the super-profits of imperialism are no longer available and the bourgeoisie increasingly turns on American workers. What will strengthen the position of the socialist countries in relation to the capitalist and revisionist countries? The weakening of imperialism and the addition of more and more socialist countries through socialist national liberation movements. What will strengthen the world proletariat's capacity to either speed up the revolutionary process as a consequence of another imperialist war, or prevent another imperialist war by speeding up the revolutionary process? The victories of revolution in the oppressed nations of the world which are engaged in the most revolutionary struggles at the present time.

With all this in mind, we must examine the concrete aims of the world proletariat in this era, and the strategies necessary for the US proletariat within the context of the world revolution.

STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution." (Stalin, Foundations, p. 84)

We have used as a method of analysis for this paper, the methods put forward by Stalin in Foundations of Leninism, Chapter VII. We have applied this method to the historical period in which we find ourselves in order to determine the strategies and tactics required to carry the revolution forward. Having defined the stage of the world revolution as the stage of rising socialist revolution and declining imperialism, it is necessary to identify the strategic aims of the world proletariat in this stage. They are two: to bring imperialism to crisis and defeat it, and to strengthen the forces of proletarian revolution. These are the principle strategies of communists in this era for moving forward in the transition from capitalism to communism.

Given this strategy, we must ask, what are the MAIN FIGHTING FORCES of the revolution in this period? We believe there are three main fighting forces, identified within the context of the principle contradiction in this period and

the strategic aims of the world revolution. They are identified in order of importance within the strategy for this period.

1. Socialist national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Why? Because these movements are occurring in the weakest links in the chain of the imperialist system, are posing the most serious danger to imperialism. Because the struggle has already reached a high level of armed struggle, particularly in Asia. Because these are the movements of the people most oppressed by imperialism. Because these movements are playing a positive role in weakening the anti-communism ingrained in the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries in the late 40's, the 50's, 60's, and which is still pervasive in the seventies. Of these movements for national liberation, the most critical in this period is in Indochina. And it is the most successful current model of national liberation. Others which are particularly critical are in the Phillipines, Mozambique, Puerto Rico, and Chile (turning a negative into a positive).

2. The dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries. The strength and influence of successful revolutions in China and Viet Nam, Albania, Korea, Cambodia, and Cuba. The revolutions in China and Viet Nam have been particularly strong fighting forces for the world proletariat. The revolutions in all these countries have taught valuable lessons to other revolutionary forces, and offered invaluable material and ideological aid to national liberation movements and to the International Communist movement as a whole.

3. The U.S. proletariat. Why? Because in the era of imperialism it is the proletariat of the leading oppressor country, the proletariat in the belly of the most dangerous imperialism of all times, and the proletarian force in the most strategic position to take advantage of the crisis produced for imperialism by the success of the socialist national liberation movements. It is precisely our responsibility and our strategic position as the proletariat of the oppressor nation in the context of the national question, the most critical question of the day, that makes us a main fighting force for the world revolution in this period.

What are the IMMEDIATE RESERVE FORCES of the revolution in this period? There are essentially three:

1. The proletariat of other advanced capitalist and revisionist countries. The proletariat is the main fighting force within any capitalist or revisionist country, and the force which will lead the revolutionary struggle against its own bourgeoisie. In terms of the international revolutionary struggle, these proletarian forces are reserves of the main fighting forces, though not engaged in battle at their full potential, and not strategically located at this point relative to the primary enemy to the degree the main fighting forces are.

2. The national bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations. The degree to which the imperialists, via the multi-national corporations or some new interlocking service relationships, have merged the national bourgeoisie into the comprador bourgeoisie is unclear to us. The article on Africa in the Peoples Tribune (Jan., 1974) discusses the role of the national bourgeoisie. The Albanian Labor Party and the Korean Workers Party both refer to national bourgeoisies in their writing. Information to date on the struggle in the Phillipines indicates that there is a national bourgeoisie which is aligned with the revolutionary forces from time to time against the comprador bourgeoisie and the imperialists. To find evidence of an increasingly important role for the comprador bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations as a result of current strategies of the imperialists, does not allow for the conclusion that there is no longer any such thing as a national bourgeoisie left in these countries. The position offered in the MCLL paper that communists must refuse alignment with the national bourgeoisie and engage in no united front work, and rather, they must push the struggle against the

national bourgeoisie to the primary position and not subordinate it to the struggle against the imperialists, such a position contradicts the basic strategies employed by the proletariat in all previous revolutions.

Amplify?

"To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie" says Lenin, "a war which is a hundred times more difficult, protracted and complicated than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to refuse beforehand to maneuver, to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to reject agreements and compromises with possible (even though temporary, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies-- is not this ridiculous in the extreme?" (Stalin, Foundations, pg. 98)

3. Countries that attended the Conference of Non-aligned nations..

"Non-aligned" we take to signify a political strategy rather than an objective reality at this time, in terms of relationships with the super-powers.

WHAT IS THE DIRECTION OF THE MAIN BLOW?

We must ask now, within the strategy of the world proletariat, where must we direct the main blow; what is the target of the revolutionary strategy of the world's peoples in this period? The main blow internationally must be directed against the primary enemy of the proletariat internationally, against the U.S. imperialists. "The battle against U.S. imperialism is the inescapable duty and the principle revolutionary task common to all peoples of the world." (Kim Il Sung, 1968, Vol, V, p. 245). It is the strategic task that is the touchstone of proletarian internationalism. The "attitude towards U.S. imperialism is a touchstone that distinguishes the revolutionary position from the opportunist position." (Kim Il Sung, 1967, Vo. IV, p. 606). "The struggle against U.S. imperialism has become the supreme duty for all the revolutionary forces of our time, for all the peoples." (ALP, 1971, 6th Congress, p. 21)

The relationship which the strategy of particular revolutionary forces, parties, or countries has to the principle strategy of the world proletariat, depends on the stage of the revolution in a particular country, concrete conditions in that country, the strategic location of revolutionary forces relative to the international objectives of the revolution, and the focal point of the revolution in a particular period. There is no mechanical formula which determines the specific tasks of communists within the general task of the revolution in a particular era. The main task for each stage of the revolution in a country must be determined according to the necessities of that stage and the current alignment of forces. The critical thing which must be determined is what role particular revolutionary forces play in the world revolutionary strategy. And that role is not the same in its specifics for each force. (Comrades are urged to re-read Chapter VII of Foundations of Leninism; p. 46-50 of Some Questions of Socialist Construction on Albania and of the Struggle Against Revisionism; and particularly Stalin's article, "Comments on Current Affairs in China", in Selections from Lenin and Stalin on National Colonial Question.) What therefore have the main strategic tasks been in this period for communists in different situations internationally? What tasks have they focused on in relation to the common international task of defeating U.S. led imperialism and strengthening the revolutionary forces, by directing the main blow at the U.S. imperialists?

For socialist countries, where the dictatorship has been established, there are two main tasks directly related to striking a blow against the primary enemy and strengthening the revolution. These are: the struggle against revisionism and socialist construction. The class struggle continues under socialism and the bourgeoisie and imperialists constantly seek to undermine the revolution from within and without. The struggle against revisionism and for socialist construction assumes primary importance as the form of the struggle against imperialism. The international communist movement has learned lessons from the experiences of the revisionist countries about the strategies of the US imperialists for capitalist restoration. To successfully prevent the restoration of capitalism is to strike a might blow at US imperialism, and the entire capitalist class.

"Individual countries where the proletariat has seized power under conditions of international capitalist encirclement cannot be free from the danger of imperialist aggression and capitalist restoration until communism is triumphant on a world-wide scale. Therefore, in order to win final revolutionary victory, the proletariat of each country that has assumed power should consolidate its own internal revolutionary forces in every way, while receiving active support from other contingents of the world socialist revolution and cementing true internationalist solidarity with the working class of all countries and the oppressed peoples of the entire world." (Kim Il Sung, Vol V., p. 177, 1968)

Clearly for China and Albania, under fire from hostile imperialist forces led by the US, and understanding their role in the world struggle, the battle must assume the form of a battle against revisionism and for socialist construction. To do anything else would mean risking a loss to the imperialists such as occurred in the USSR.

For nations seeking liberation, nations which have established state power for the proletariat in only part of the nation or none of it (Korea, Viet Nam, Cambodia, etc.), the main blow is against U.S. imperialism and its puppet fascist regimes. The main tasks are therefore to defeat the imperialists and their puppet regimes and engage in socialist construction in the liberated territory where state power has been achieved. The task is to build the world united front against US imperialism while engaging in the armed struggle directly against the imperialists. This is to fight revisionism in practice.

Specific international task of the US proletariat. Where must the US proletariat direct the main blow to strike at US imperialism? It is obviously at the US bourgeoisie and its state apparatus, its superstructure. It is through the apparatus of the State that the bourgeoisie wages wars and oppresses other nations. It is through the apparatus of the state, through all the arms of the state, that the US imperialists divert the spontaneous movements of the US proletariat, a main fighting force in the world revolution, back into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

"The victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat signifies the suppression of the bourgeoisie, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, the end of imperialism and the substitution of proletarian democracy for bourgeois democracy."

(Stalin, Foundations, p. 49)

Soviets are the most all-embracing mass organizations of the proletariat, for they alone embrace all workers without exception. This is one of the essential differences between anarcho-syndicalism and Marxism-Leninism. Our

international objective is soviet power in the US, the direction of the main blow against the US imperialists and their state, against the primary enemy of the world's peoples. We can have no other primary task as the proletariat of the leading oppressor nation in this period. And we cannot allow ourselves to confuse our primary specific tasks with those of countries that have already achieved the dictatorship of the proletariat. To adopt the party line of any other party and transplant the specific tasks it outlines to the US, is to engage in "flunkyism".

"The leaders (the Oppositionists in the Comintern in 1927) are distinguished from the real leaders by the fact that they always have in their pockets two or three ready-made formulae which are suitable for all countries and "obligatory" under all conditions. For them, there is no problem of taking into account the national character and national peculiarities of each country...From this follows the attempt to apply mechanistically certain general formulae regardless of the concrete conditions of the revolutionary movement of each country. From this follows the endless conflict between formulae and the revolutionary movement in each country, which is the essential outcome of the leadership of these unfortunate leaders."

(Stalin, "Comments on Current Affairs on China", p. 204, Lenin and Stalin on National Colonial Question, 1927)

".....those who were infected with flunkyism and dogmatism did not study our reality but sought to copy foreign things mechanically, continuing to doubt their own strength and looking to others".

(Kim Il Sung, Vol. V, p. 501, 1970)

INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY OF THE U.S. PROLETARIAT

This is the question of the plan for the disposition of forces. How will the main fighting forces and the reserve forces move in relation to each other and to the primary enemy in this historical period, in order to deliver the most mighty blow to the enemy?

The correct disposition of forces can only be an alliance of the US proletarian revolution with the liberation movements of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

"Just as the fate of the revolution in each particular country depends on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, so on the international arena the fate of the world revolution depends on the same condition, and, in this case, is expressed as an alliance of the socialist countries and the workers' movement of the advanced capitalist countries with the anti-colonial, liberation, and democratic movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Any stand disregarding or denigrating the struggle of the peoples of these continents, which contain the overwhelming majority of the population of the world and where imperialism is being dealt the heaviest and most direct blows, is in essence another aspect of the negation of the role of the peasantry, which inflicts very great harm on the cause of revolution." (ALP, 6th Congress, 1971, p. 221)

"The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of colonial slaves who are oppressed by capital." (Lenin, Second Congress of Communist International)

These are two principle reasons why this alliance must be realized as the correct disposition of forces at this stage of the revolution in this country and internationally. We should simply indicate at this point that we do not believe there can be any revolutionary strategy for the proletariat of an imperialist nation in this era which is not an international strategy. There can be no purely "national" solution to revolution in this period. Proletarian dictatorship can and must be established in one country after another. But it is not carried out in isolation from the world communist movement. In revolution the whole takes precedence over the part. And in the era of imperialism, the part can go nowhere except in relation to the whole. In more specific terms, why must the US proletariat implement this strategy?

The source of the crises of imperialism and the weakening of the US bourgeoisie is the success of the national liberation movements. We are all aware of the way in which the war in Indochina has effected the political and economic dynamics within this country in the last ten years. The continued inflation produced by a military economy, exposures of the corrupt nature of bourgeois rule, and the social unrest from opposition to the war, have in fact moved us one step closer to a revolutionary situation. As the pressures from imperialism in retreat are increasingly brought home and the material base for opportunism is gradually reduced, our capacity to organize and lead our class toward proletarian revolution will be increased. We cannot of course be passive observers of the process. Our task is to prepare the proletariat to respond in a revolutionary way to the crises when they occur, AND, to engage in revolutionary work which will strike enough blows at the enemy in order to bring the situation to crisis. Both elements of revolutionary work are necessary.

"Only when the 'lower classes' do not want the old way, and when the 'upper classes' cannot carry on in the old way-- only then can revolution triumph....revolution is impossible without a nation-wide crisis (affecting both the exploited and the exploiters), It follows that for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand that revolution is necessary and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes should be passing through a governmental crisis, which draws the most backward masses into politics....weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overcome it rapidly."

(Lenin, Left-wing Communism)

Revolution grows out of crisis, crisis produced by the conscious motion of people in relation to objective conditions, and the necessities of historical progress. We are the motive force in history, and therefore do not prepare ourselves merely to await the proper moment to assume power. We prepare the moment as well. Since the crisis within the US will occur when imperialism is in sufficient crisis that the rulers can no longer rule and bourgeois society can no longer deal with the material needs of the proletariat,

our responsibility at all times is to align ourselves with the main revolutionary forces, increase pressure on the bourgeoisie, and coordinate our attacks from the rear with the frontal attacks of the peoples who have risen up in arms against the imperialists. To assist in the victories of the oppressed nations, is to speed the development of the necessary conditions for victory of the proletariat of the oppressor nation. It can work no other way. And it is our revolutionary responsibility to prepare such conditions.

It is also our responsibility to prepare our class for proletarian revolution, to prepare it for the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism. This requires not only a correct analysis of objective conditions, but the constant education of the workers in proletarian internationalism and the constant application of theory to practice.

Theory alone will never mold a party or a revolution. It is also the practical experiences of the proletariat and the masses, their political experience, which creates the conditions for developing revolutionary consciousness, not the mere study of the classics. This applies as much if not more so for communists who intend to lead the revolution.

A communist does not withdraw from the struggles of the masses to prepare for revolution or to build the party of the proletariat and then return to "lead the masses" with a correct line and organization. The correct line of the party of the proletariat and its recognized leadership in the struggles of the masses are forged by uniting scientific socialism with the political experience of the masses, by forging a higher level of unity and struggle within the context of the political experience of the masses and pointing out the aims of the movement at each stage of its development.

Alliance with national liberation movements is the only correct strategy communists can adopt to prepare the proletariat here for revolutionary struggle that is grounded in proletarian internationalism, that is truly communist struggle. The only way the proletariat can move for its own liberation is through a practical understanding of its chains. Class-consciousness means consciousness of the source of oppression (the capitalist system) and the source of liberation (overthrow of the capitalist class by the proletariat). In the age of imperialism, it means consciousness that proletarian internationalism is the revolutionary process as well as the objective. The international proletariat becomes conscious of the necessity to struggle against and overthrow the international bourgeoisie. Only when the U.S. proletariat understands the relationship between its fundamental class interests and the interests of the peoples of oppressed nations---the common irreconcilable antagonism to the bourgeoisie--can it move to revolutionary class consciousness. And only communists steeled in the practice of proletarian internationalism have sufficient revolutionary will to form the party of the proletariat and develop true proletarian consciousness among the masses.

"... in their fear of playing into the hands of the bourgeois nationalism of oppressed nations, people play into the hands not merely of the bourgeois but of the reactionary nationalism of the oppressor nation."

(Lenin, Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism, pg. 10)

"Hence the necessity for a stubborn, continuous and determined struggle against the dominant=nation chauvinism of the "Socialists" of the ruling nations (Britain, France, America, Italy, Japan, etc.), who do not want to fight their imperialist

governments, who do not want to support the struggle of the oppressed peoples in 'their' colonies for emancipation from oppression, for secession.

Without such a struggle the education of the working class of the ruling nations in the spirit of true internationalism, in the spirit of closer relations with the toiling masses of the dependent countries and colonies, in the spirit of real preparation for the proletarian revolution is inconceivable."

(Stalin, Foundations, pg. 78)

[Alliance of the U.S. proletariat with liberation movements of Asia, Africa, and Latin America represents the only correct stance on the national question for the proletariat in an oppressor nation.]

*what about
RNL, CNL, etc?*

"...the interests of the proletarian movement in the developed countries and of the national liberation movement in the colonies call for the union of these two forms of the revolutionary movement into a common front against the common enemy, against imperialism;

"...the victory of the working class in the developed countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without the formation and the consolidation of a common revolutionary front;

"....the formation of a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nations renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of its 'own country', for 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations'."

(Stalin, Foundations, pg. 77)

The revolutionary forces in the US (main force: proletariat) must be organized into an alliance with the national liberation movements.

An alliance is a union of strength, a joining together of forces where each strengthens the other and each requires that the other strengthen itself. While directly assisting the national liberation movements, we must build our own forces. The party and the united front can and must be built together and in relation to each other and the necessities of the revolution.

TASKS OF COMMUNISTS IN THE U.S. IN THE CURRENT PERIOD

We come now to an examination of what the tasks should be for communists in the U.S. What forms of organization do we require, what methods of struggle must we master if we are to prepare the proletariat to form alliances with the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in this period of rising revolution and declining imperialism. How can we build and strengthen this alliance? What preparation is necessary for the proletariat to realize the necessity of such an alliance and experience it in practice? In other words, what must the priorities be for the party of the proletariat as it is formed and built in struggle?

It is our position that the tasks of communists during the period of party formation can be no different, no less consistent with the correct stance

of Marxist-Leninists than the tasks we would expect a party to adopt. The party will be formed and built through the struggles among communists to determine correct objectives, strategy, and tactics for the revolution. Party-building is revolutionary work, and cannot be separated from the crucible of the revolutionary movement. The party grows and gains its strength through the test of practice in the masses, through its role as the vanguard, the leadership of the mass struggle for proletarian democracy. The painful experiences of the Bolshevik Party, in its long period of party-building, were the experiences of communists struggling to distinguish between the declared lines of those who called themselves Social-Democrats, and their actual practice in the revolutionary movement of the times. It is not a question of first form the party, then participate in revolutionary struggle with the masses.

Revolutionary struggle with the masses requires the building of a party, a general staff, to lead the spontaneous movement of the class into revolutionary class consciousness and revolutionary movement. And the relationship of communists to the masses and to the events of the day are the ground upon which the party builds itself and outlines the strategy and tactics for the revolution. It cannot be assumed that party-formation in and of itself will clarify all things and make all revolutionary work possible. It is not our theory alone which we bring to the party-building process. It is our experience and knowledge gained in the course of the struggles of the masses and the advanced elements of the class. To divorce theory from practice and take only theory to the process, would be a serious error for a communist. The application of the mass line, "from the masses, to the masses", must be a part of the party-building process as well as the general process of revolution. There can be no separation for communists.

Strongly
stresses
mass-
line.

Before putting forth the tasks of communists and the party in this period, we must clarify what has been a point of confusion and struggle in these last six months. It has taken us some time, and a lot of serious study over the past six months or more to understand why we have reacted in such a negative way when certain communist slogans or tasks were run out in mass situations. We found it an insufficient analysis to merely conclude that we were in favor of bowing to spontaneity, were anti-party building, and were somehow in favor of maintaining the same ridiculous pace we had for years. We knew that we had been agitating around the pace question for a long time, and had been agitating for clarity on political lines, and had been in fact seriously studying as much as our hectic schedules had allowed long before study was declared a priority of the organization. What was it grating wrong when the line "build a multi-national anti-revisionist communist party of a new type" was suddenly the slogan of the day for some communists in mass situations and the mass press? We quote extensively from Stalin because Stalin has best articulated what we believe is a correct analysis of correct Leninist principles for communists.

(our own underlining)

"....the question of how to transform the slogans for the Party into slogans for the masses, the question of how and in what manner to bring the masses to revolutionary positions, so that the masses should become convinced through their own political experience of the correctness of the Party slogans.

But propaganda and agitation alone cannot convince the masses. For this, the political experience of the

masses themselves is necessary. For this it is necessary that the broad masses should realise through their own experience the inevitability of overthrowing the present system and establishing a new political and social order.

It is good that the advanced group, the Party, was already convinced of the inevitability of overthrowing, say, the Provisional Government of Milyukov and Kerensky in April 1917. But this was still inadequate for them to come forward for the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the establishment of Soviet Power as the slogan of the day. In order to convert the formula 'all power to the Soviets' from a perspective of the period, into the slogan of the day, into a slogan of immediate action, one more decisive circumstance was necessary, namely, that the masses themselves should be convinced of the correctness of these slogans and render the Party some kind of support or the other in carrying them out in practice.

One must differentiate strictly between a formula, as a perspective for the immediate future and a formula as the slogan of the day. The group of Bolsheviks in Petrograd headed by Bagdatyev failed precisely in this in April 1917, when they raised prematurely the slogans 'Down with the Provisional Government. All power to the Soviets'. At that time, Lenin characterized this attempt of the Bagdatyev group as dangerous adventurism and stigmatised it publicly.

Why? Because the broad masses of the toilers in the rear and at the front were not yet prepared for the adoption of this slogan. Because this group confused the formula of 'All power to the Soviets!' as a perspective, with the slogan 'all power to the Soviets!' as a slogan of the day. Because it ran ahead, threatening the Party with complete isolation from the broad masses, from the Soviets who then still believed in the revolutionary character of the Provisional Government."

(Stalin in Lenin and Stalin, National Colonial Question, p. 212)

We believe that certain communist forces have been "running ahead of the masses" by insisting that the entire political perspective of the Party must be put forth as the "slogan of the day". Such running ahead fails to take into account the power of the enemy. It fails to take into account the actual process required to prepare the masses to accept the leadership of the party, and fails to even deal with the question of the security of the party and its leadership. In essence, a failure to distinguish between the perspective of the party, the party slogans, and lines, and the conditions of the masses and therefore the mass slogans for each period, results in the isolation of the advanced elements from the masses, and the exposure of the advanced leadership to the state.

There is a difference between a party slogan and a mass slogan, between strategies and tactics put forth in the party press and the mass press. Both represent the party lines, however, the slogans put forth to the masses and in the mass press must be consistent with the preparation of the masses, with their political experience.

The lines of political unity for the continuations committee are the minimal perspective of communists necessary to participate in a party-building process. They do not and cannot represent at this stage the political lines or

slogans for the party itself or for any communist circle. Just as the political lines of the CL are more extensive than the minimal points of unity for the Continuations Committee, so must the political lines MCLL or any other group bring to the process be more extensive and represent not only the points of unity, but the points around which we intend to struggle. It is the responsibility of MCLL and of the Party to determine what the mass slogans will be for each stage of the revolution, in conformity with the concrete conditions, objective and subjective. The tasks of communists are not the same as the slogans of the day put forth by communists, nor should they be.

We are obligated as serious Marxists-Leninists to put forth a full party program, to outline what perspective we expect the party to take, to put forth correct slogans for the party cadre and correct slogans of the day for the masses.

We believe that the party slogans should be the following. These are the principles we should struggle for in the party-building process. They are the principle political tasks of communists before, during and after the actual formation of the Party. They are not listed in order of priority.

1. Participate actively in the World United Front against U.S. Imperialism.
2. Build the united front of the working class against fascism in the U.S.
3. Fight for proletarian democracy, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power.
4. Build a Marxist-Leninist Party of a new type
5. Ground communists and advanced workers in the science of Marxism-Leninism.
6. Wage a struggle against all forms of opportunism in the spontaneous movement of the working class.
7. Struggle against all forms of opportunism, particularly revisionism, in the communist movement and in the Party.

Why are these principles of action necessary in this period? What are the present objective and subjective conditions in the U.S. and in the world which require such tasks on our part? We have already discussed the international situation and its relation to the tasks of communists. What is the national situation?

THE NATIONAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF COMMUNISTS

The U.S. political economy is in a general state of decline, and the state has become increasingly de-legitimized. These developments have been brought about primarily through the intensification and rise of the struggles of oppressed nations and peoples all over the world. The standard of living has been falling and will continue to do so. Every facet of the life of our class and other classes is affected. Different classes and sectors of the working class, as well as different regions of the country, have been affected differently and at different rates. A deeper understanding of these variations is absolutely necessary.

"We must learn to approach the masses with particular patience and caution so as to be able to understand the

distinctive features in the mentality of each stratum, calling, etc. of the masses."

(Lenin, Thesis on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1921, CW, Vol. 31, p. 191)

Our class has become acutely conscious, on the one hand, of the limitations of the bourgeois aspect of bourgeois democracy; on the other, it is manifesting increasing demands for democracy and equality. In general, however, the demand for democracy has yet to root itself deeply in the spontaneous working class movement as a demand for proletarian democracy. This is one of the most important responsibilities of communists in preparing the class for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As a result of the ongoing Indochina War, the Watergate, Pentagon Papers, "energy crisis", food shortage, capitalist ideology has been degenerating and is less able to sustain leadership. The general weakening and misleadership of the bourgeois parties, the CPUSA and Trotskyist revisionist parties and groups, the so-called "new left", social democrats, opportunist business union leaders, all make the following statement appropos in this period:

"the entire history of bourgeois democracy, particularly, in the advanced countries, has converted the parliamentary rostrum into one of the principal if not the principal, venues of unparalleled fraudelency, financial and political deception of the people, careerism, hypocrisy and oppression of the working people. This intense hatred of parliaments felt by the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat is therefore quite justified."

(Lenin, On the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1921, CW, Vol. 31, p. 191)

However, many sectors of our class have contradictory consciousness toward the ruling class and the state. The class views both unclearly but as the enemy. At the same time, the class still tends to view the government as an intervenor between itself and the profit machinations of those who rule the economy.

The political line of the CPUSA is revisionist and tailist to the liberal bourgeoisie, and has encouraged by its practical application, bourgeois nationalism, spontaneity, and syndicalism. However, the primary source of anti-communism and reformism has been and still is, the bourgeoisie and its colossal superstructure; the prevailing ideology generated by the capitalist relations of production....."the sanctity of private property and the right of the individual to do with his property as he wills" which maintain selfishness and individualism; and the absense of a counter-veiling force, a Marxist-Leninist Party deeply rooted in our class in general and among advanced workers in particular.

Anti-communist ideology has existed in the U.S. since before the Civil War. It has deeply penetrated and defined the superstructure and has passed from generation to generation. In the post-World War I period, following the successful Russian Revolution of 1917, the bourgeoisie accelerated and systematized its anti-communist tactics. The entire cultural apparatus is geared to anti-communist ideology. The list of specific examples of specific anti-communist tactics is endless, and goes back long before the CPUSA was ever founded.

The bourgeoisie has built anti-communist ideology by opposing both modern revisionism/social-imperialism and truly socialist movements and countries. It is able to maneuver either way. Anti-communism became the foundation of American foreign policy long before the revisionists had state power, and in fact was largely responsible for the fact of their taking state power. Modern revisionism has been manipulated predominantly by the bourgeoisie as one among many of its anti-communist tactics. The bourgeois anti-communist ideology has been weakened, but not destroyed, by the development of various international and national struggles of oppressed peoples in the last 15-25 years, and the clear model of an alternative that they have provided to both bourgeois and revisionist ideology and society. Even so, anti-communism remains a "reflex thought and action" for a huge section of the proletariat.

The number one priority in the next period is the grounding of communists and advanced workers in the science of Marxism-Leninism. This is dialectically linked to the simultaneous work of the party-building/party formation, and support for the World United Front Against U.S. Imperialism. All three are integrally related tasks for combatting the bourgeoisie, overcoming the variety and forms of opportunism in the working class; and combating revisionism within the communist movement; and they are necessary for the establishment of a united front of the working class against fascism as fascism continues to emerge as an option open to the bourgeoisie.

It is necessary that all three of these tasks be considered top priorities within the period of bourgeois democracy in preparation for a deeper political-economic crisis, which results in the proletariat having the capacity to either take power or survive through and defeat fascism.

By grounding communists and advanced workers in the science of Marxism-Leninism in this period, we will be able to clarify and consolidate more correct and consistent lines with the masses as the fundamental contradictions heighten and a higher political level becomes possible for the masses.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, the masses of the people create history and win revolutions. Socialism and communism can be built only by the conscious creative labor of millions of working people.

Objective conditions and possibilities alone, however, are not enough to stimulate a revolutionary surge for state power. On the one hand we need a Communist Party of the new type, which is the highest form of proletarian organization and therefore able to lead the masses to a revolutionary upsurge; on the other hand, the party needs the firm determination of the masses to carry through the will of the party. The party must earn unquestioned prestige and trust among the masses. Party formation, if it occurs in August, will show a very small number (less than 14,000, CPUSA), and unless protected by its own high-level of security, will be quite vulnerable to attack from the enemy. This will be so because ties between the Party and the masses, between communist circles and the masses, are weak. If we do not continually strengthen our ties with the masses, if we do not lend an ear to the voices of the masses, teach them, and learn from them, then the new party will not be able to become a party competent and alive enough to lead the proletariat and the masses of the people.

Disunity of the working masses constitutes the greatest danger in our life and death struggle with the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus. The party is the national center for creating the highest form of proletarian unity. It is

the general staff. But without the united front against fascism and participation in the World United Front Against U.S. Imperialism, the party will be unable to unite with proletarian and no-proletarian allies, nationally and internationally.

Bourgeois democratic rights have been won on the books. There is a trend toward the erosion of democratic rights, and a general lack of implementation for the ones on the books. The possibility of fascism must be seriously considered and prepared for. We must raise the concept of proletarian democracy with the broadest masses of the people and prepare a counter-offensive on the fascist wing of the bourgeoisie.

"Under the veil of the energy crisis, the drive towards fascism is mounting. The crisis is driving many of the smaller and less powerful capitalists out of business, creating even greater monopolies. The recent protests of over-the-road independent and contract truck drivers that swept the country in early December was an eloquent exposure of the degree of the fascist offensive....The mounting drive toward fascism can be seen in the vicious new welfare system being introduced throughout the country."

(People's Tribune, January, 1974)

Americans have always believed that democracy could and should be a reality of American life. It has been an ideal for as long as the country existed. We must once again raise the ideal to the level of a conscious political demand, and educate the class in the meaning of proletarian democracy. To do this properly, we must put it in the context of our own history as a country, use the aspects of our own heritage and history we can be proud of as proletarians and throw out the rest. We must use the actual political experiences of the masses to raise the banner of proletarian democracy.

Our position on the importance of constant work in the World United Front Against U.S. Imperialism should be clear from the entire paper. It is directly linked to our positions on how to struggle against revisionism and how to build the party.

"Modern revisionism above all finds expression in a weak-kneed attitude towards imperialism and a passive approach to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples, we therefore cannot slight the struggle against modern revisionism."

(Kim Il Sung, Vol. IV, 1966, p. 350)

"The attitude one takes towards U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam and towards the Vietnamese peoples struggles against it, is a criterios showing whether or not one is resolutely opposed to imperialism, and whether or not one actively supports the liberation struggle of the peoples. The attitude towards the Viet Nam question is a touchstone that distinguishes the revolutionary position from the opportunist position, proletarian internationalism from national egoism."

(Kim Il Sung, Vol. IV, 1966, p. 341)

This statement applies as much today as it did in 1966. The war is not at all over, the Indochinese people continue to confront the entire arsenal of U.S. Imperialism, and it is our international responsibility to take a consistent and militant stance.

EPILOGUE

"Throughout its life our Party has fought unceasingly to keep the party norms unblemished and have them become an integral part of the daily life of organizations and the communists. This has made our Party invincible, able to face its various enemies....These norms are not an end in themselves nor are they administrative rules. Thus internal democracy, as a very important norm in party life, is not reduced simply to democratic procedure in holding meetings, to taking decisions by majority vote, etc. Democracy in the party has a profound ideological and practical meaning and content. The essence of it is that every communist should take an active part in formulating and implementing the party line, freely express his ideas about the work and the people, only criticize shortcomings, and make self-criticism of his own weaknesses.

"Democracy is strengthened through debates, the clash of opinions and viewpoints, the putting forward and overcoming of contradictions. The struggle of opinions along correct lines is not an expression of the lack of unity, but on the contrary, an effective means for strengthening it. Where there is a lack of debate, where there is peace and harmony, there is stagnation, and the democracy and unity have a formal character. Fear of debate is not a characteristic of the communists but a feature of the petty bourgeoisie and bureaucrats who want no troubles or worries. But democracy would still remain formal, were it limited only to discussions and debates. It becomes effective and serves the strengthening of the party when the communists consistently carry the decisions taken through to the end, when they act like a single body and have a common will.

"The problems of the party are problems that concern the masses, therefore, we must seek and find them among the masses, discuss and solve them together with the masses, because it is precisely the broad popular masses that create, build, transform the world and society. The mass line multiplies the forces of the party a hundred fold, further deepens democracy in its internal life, and strengthens the ties of the party with the people. What harm is there, if over any important problem taken up for discussion in the basic party organizations or forums, not only is the opinion of the masses solicited, but also, after each party meeting, the working people are informed about the questions they are interested in, and, together with them, the most appropriate forms and means are sought for their solution? Placing the entire activity of the party organizations and communists under the control of the working class and the working masses is a question of great principled importance to prevent the separation of the party from the class and the masses, if we want it to remain to the end a revolutionary party loyally serving the interests of the people."

(Enver Hoxha, Report submitted to the 6th Party Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, pg. 193-198)

THE BEGINNING!!!