

## The Party Program

Attached is the Table of Contents of Lenin on The Revolutionary Proletarian Party of a New Type, published by Foreign Language Press Peking 1960.

Please read the "Contents"...then return to this sheet. I want to highlight some points I believe are crucial to our organizational politics.

"...The program must formulate our basic views, exactly establish our immediate political tasks, point out those immediate demands which must mark out the range of agitational activity and give it unity, broaden and deepen it, from fragmentary agitation...to agitation for the whole body of Social-Democratic demands. Now, when social democratic activity has already roused a considerably wider circle of socialist-intellectuals and conscious workers, it is urgently necessary to consolidate the links between them with a programme and thus give them all a firm basis for further wider activity.

"Draft Programme for Our Party" 1899 Lenin (underling mine)

What is the programme of various circles?

What programme do we support?

from ESSENCE OF PARTY'S PROGRAM.....

As we see it, the task of Social\*Democracy is to organize and help to carry on the class struggle, to point out its essential aims, and to analyse the conditions which determine the methods by which this struggle should be ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ conducted. "The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves." But while we do not separate Social-Democracy from the labor movement, we must not forget that the task of the former is to represent the interests of this movement ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in all countries as a whole, that it must not blindly worship the particular phase in which it may find itself at any particular time or place. We think it is the duty of Social Democracy to support every revolutionary movement against the existing state and social system, and we regard its aim to be the capture of political power by the working class, the expropriation of the exploiters, and the establishment of a socialist society.

from Draft Declaration of the Editorial Board of Iskra and Zarya 1900 (underling mine)

Work only in workplaces is a function of lack of resources, and lack of party organization. It should not be held up as a model of communist work.

Rectifying the errors of the anti-war or anti-imperialist

.....

movement should not lead us to economism or national chauvinism by placing our struggle only at workplaces and only on the question of proletarian revolution in this country.

again....

11 The recognition of internationalism in word, and the substitution of petty-bourgeois nationalism and pacifism for it in deed, in all propaganda, agitation and practical work, is a very common thing not only among the parties of the Second International, but also among those who have withdrawn from the International, and often even among those which now call themselves Communist Parties. The struggle against this evil, against the most deeply rooted petty-bourgeois national prejudices, comes the more to the forefront, the more the task of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one (i.e. existing in one country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e. a dictatorship of the proletariat covering at least several countries and capable of exercising decisive influence upon the whole of world politics) becomes a pressing question of the day. Petty-bourgeois nationalism proclaims as internationalism the bare recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more, while (...) preserving national egotism intact; whereas PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM DEMANDS, FIRSTLY, THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE IN ONE

COUNTRY BE SUBORDINATED TO THE INTERESTS OF THAT STRUGGLE  
ON A WORLD SCALE, and secondly, THAT A NATION WHICH IS  
~~STRONGER~~ ACHIEVING VICTORY OVER THE BOURGOUISE BE ABLE  
TO MAKE THE GREATEST NATIONAL SACRIFICES FOR THE SAKE OF  
OVERTHROWING INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL.

Thus, in states which are already fully capitalists, and  
which have workers parties that really act as the vanguard  
of the proletariat, the struggle against the opportunist  
and petty-bourgeois pacifist distortions of the concept  
and policy of internationalism is a primary and most important  
task.

from "Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and  
Colonial Questions" 1920 (caps and underling mine)

As I stated at the convention I believe we are already  
engaged in party building. I believe the question of  
proletarian internationalism is the cornerstone on  
which a party in this country must be build. Including,  
but not limited to, the Negro Nation. ~~Te~~

Including but not limited to all nations and peoples  
oppressed within the boundries of U.S.A.

## Democratic Rights

see excerpt from State and Revolution

## Oppertunism

"One of the essential ~~tasks~~ conditions for preparing the proletariat for victory is a prolonged, persistent and ruthless struggle against oppertunism, reformism, social chauvinism, and similar bourgouise influences and tendencies, which are inevitable as long as the proletariat acts under capitalist conditions. Unless such a struggle is fought, and unless a complete victory over oppertunism within the working class movement is preliminarily gained, there can be no hope for the dictatorship of the proletariat "

## Constituent Assembly Elections and the D of P" 1919

There is NO doubt in my mind that a struggle must be systematically waged against oppertunism, revisionism, reformism, and that a struggle is the pre-condition of building a truly vanguard party. Howerer, I believe it is shortsighted and narrow to focus the struggle against revision as the main enemy. Oppertunism, is a concept and political reality which includes, but is not limited to, revisionism. More than the ideology of the DP is undermining the working class movement. The ideology of trade unionists, social chauvinists, working



# V.I. Lenin

*Jan. 21 this year marks the 50th anniversary of Lenin's death. In commemoration the following excerpt from Lenin's classic work, "State and Revolution," is reprinted below. Lenin here describes, in telescoped form, the process of transition from capitalism to communism, ending in the withering away of the state.*



In its first phase or first stage communism cannot as yet be economically ripe and entirely free of all tradition and of all taint of capitalism. Hence the interesting phenomenon of communism retaining, in its first phase, "the narrow horizon of bourgeois rights." Bourgeois rights, with respect to distribution of articles of consumption, inevitably presupposes, of course, the existence of the bourgeois state, for rights are nothing without an apparatus capable of enforcing the observance of the rights.

Consequently, for a certain time not only bourgeois rights, but even the bourgeois state remains under communism, without the bourgeoisie!

This may look like a paradox, or simply a dialectical puzzle for which Marxism is often blamed by people who would not make the least effort to study its extraordinarily profound content.

But, as a matter of fact, the old surviving in the new confronts us in life at every step, in nature as well as in society. Marx did not smuggle a scrap of "bourgeois" rights into of his own accord; he indicated what is economically and politically inevitable in a society issuing from the womb of capitalism.

Democracy means equality. The great significance of the struggle of the proletariat for equality, and the significance of equality as a slogan, are apparent, if we correctly interpret it as meaning the abolition of classes. But democracy means only formal equality. Immediately after the attainment of equality for all members of society in respect of the ownership of the means of production, that is, of equality of labor and equality of wages, there will inevitably arise before humanity the question of going further from formal equality to real equality, i.e., to realizing the rule, "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." By what stages, by means of what practical measures humanity will proceed to this higher aim—this we do not and cannot know. But it is important to realize how infinitely mendacious is the usual bourgeois presentation of socialism as something lifeless, petrified, fixed once for all, whereas in reality, it is only with socialism that there will commence a rapid, genuine, real mass advance, in which first the majority and then the whole of the population will take part—an advance in all domains of social and individual life.

Democracy is a form of the state—one of its varieties. Consequently, like every state, it consists in organized, systematic application of force against human beings. This on the one hand. On the other hand, however, it signifies the formal recognition of the equality of all citizens, the equal right of all to determine the structure and administration of the state. This, in turn, is connected with the fact that, at a certain stage in the development of democracy, it first rallies the proletariat as a revolutionary class against capitalism, and gives it an opportunity to crush, to smash to bits, to wipe off the face of the earth the bourgeois state machinery—even its republican variety: the standing army, the police, and bureaucracy; then it substitutes for all this a more democratic, but still a state machinery in the shape of armed masses of workers, which becomes transformed into universal participation of the people in the militia.

Here "quantity turns into quality": such a degree of democracy is bound up with the abandonment of the framework of bourgeois society, and the beginning of its socialist reconstruction. If every one takes part in the administration of the state, capitalism cannot retain its hold. In its turn, capitalism, as it develops, itself creates prerequisites for "every one" to be able really to take part in the administration of

With such economic prerequisites it is perfectly possible, immediately, within twenty-four hours after the overthrow of the capitalists and bureaucrats, to replace them, in the control of production and distribution, in the business of control of labor and products, by the armed workers, by the whole people in arms.

From the moment when all members of society, or even only the overwhelming majority, have learned how to govern the state themselves, have taken this business into their own hands, have "established" control over the insignificant minority of capitalists, over the gentry with capitalist leanings, and the workers thoroughly demoralized by capitalism—from this moment the need for any government begins to disappear. The more complete the democracy, the nearer the moment when it begins to be unnecessary. The more democratic the "state" consisting of armed workers, which is "no longer a state in the proper sense of the word," the more rapidly does every state begin to wither away.

For when all have learned to manage, and independently are actually managing by themselves social production, keeping accounts, controlling the idlers, the gentlefolk, the swindlers and similar "guardians of capitalist traditions," then the escape from this national accounting and control will inevitably become so increasingly difficult, such a rare exception, and will probably be accompanied by such swift and severe punishment (for the armed workers are men of practical life, not sentimental intellectuals, and they will scarcely allow any one to trifle with them), that very soon the necessity of observing the simple, fundamental rules of everyday social life in common will have become a habit.

The door will then be wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase, and along with it to the complete withering away of the state.

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Strengths of MCLL

1. Developing Marxist-Leninist theory
2. Survival as an organization of leaders with a revolutionary theory.
3. Base in the TEP and service sectors of the class (base meaning that we are in positions of leadership)
4. More people at the point of production than one year ago.
5. National and international relations
6. Experience in the class struggle.
7. Experience in military situations.
8. democratic centralism
9. commitment of cadre to struggle and work

Weaknesses of MCLL

1. Lack of clear political lines.
2. Lack of a strategy for organizing the subjective (consciousness) of the class.
3. Uneven development of cadre in both theory and practice.
4. Underdeveloped cultural life in the organization.
5. Pace - misuse of cadre time, energy, and skills.
6. Lack of a base in the industrial proletariat.
7. Isolation from other progressive forces.
8. Family-children relations
9. Petty-bourgeois tendencies
10. Use of criticism/self-criticism.

Successes of MCLL since May convention

1. Theoretical production on the multi-national corporation.
2. Study of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung, Ho Chi Minh, Le Duan, Trong Chinh, and other.
3. Promulgation of the mass line on Vietnam.
4. Development of skills for linear propaganda: leaflets, newspaper,
5. Bookstore, darkroom, video equipment.
6. A & P strategy for work in the MEA.
7. Coffeebreak
8. Theoretical production on the woman question.
9. Leadership in WEU
10. Food-Coop
11. Leadership at Metropolitan Hospital
12. Legal work for point of production workers.
13. Theoretical production on trade unions.
14. Marxist-Religious Dialogue
15. Theoretical production on class composition
16. Control, Conflict and Change
17. Building a material base - the office, machines, etc.
18. Labor Day
19. Leadership in TEP and service sector trade unions.
20. Developing understanding of culture, the superstructure, and the means to strengthen proletarian culture.

Failures of MCLL since the MAY convention

1. Failure to do theoretical work on the areas in III A-D of the convention document.
2. Failure to develop the means of theoretical production listed in II A-E of the constitution.
3. Failure of the CC to lead the organization toward the clarification of political lines immediately after the May convention.
4. Failure to implement or re-evaluate the Three-stage strategy.
5. Failure of the CC to engage itself and the rest of the organization in process of criticism/self-criticism.
6. Failure of the CC to unify the membership, hold regular meetings as required by CC vote, and lead to the early clarification of tendencies in the organization and unified struggle around them.
7. Failure of the CC to implement the organizational priorities stated in the May constitution, and unite around the promulgation of the mass line on Vietnam passed at the last convention.
8. Failure of the CC to develop organizational security.
9. Failure of the CC to define and implement disciplinary measures.
10. Failure of the A & P commission to develop a strategy for implementing the commission description (VI, paragraphs 1 and 2) and commission priorities B, 2 & 3, and C.
11. Failure of the Women's Commission to carry out theoretical work as outlined in the commission description and disseminate it to the class.
12. Failure of S & P commission theory for the organization and the class around items D,E,H,I,J,K,L,M of commission description.
13. Failure of S & P to develop strength and a base in the industrial proletariat.
14. Failure of TEP commission to disseminate theoretical production on VIV, B in commission description.
15. The Alliance
16. MIC
17. CCC Institute
18. Work in the industrial proletariat (loss of Richard, Michael, Sam, Michael Berger, almost VB, almost Mark A.)

Clarification of organizational lines adopted at May Convention

mass line: that we would take Vietnam into all organizational and external work.

political lines:

1. commitment to developing a "strategy for organizing our class to the stage necessary for the creation of a revolutionary party."
2. "The ability to develop our own superstructure is an integral necessity in revolutionary struggle." "We must arm ourselves with the tools and skills of cultural control and influence."
3. Dictatorship of the proletariat.
4. "develop class unity, class consciousness and class struggle within the community, work place, and with the State."
5. "develop theory and practice to overcome class divisions and bourgeois power."
6. commitment to develop "strategies and tactics in such a way as to struggle against all forms of sychophancy and/or chauvinism (personality, sector, racial, sexual, age, regional, national); as well as left sectarianism, dogmatism, and elitism."
7. Acceptance of democratic-centralism as principle of organization.

Proposed general/specific tasks/policies

General Task of MCLL: Organize and consolidate the subjective conditions of the class to the stage necessary for the creation of a revolutionary party of the proletariat based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

Specific Tasks: (not in order of priority)

1. Consolidate, strengthen and expand MCLL:
  - a. develop democratic-centralism to a higher level
  - b. internal education
  - c. investigation and analysis of objective and subjective conditions in the US (application of the science of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions in the US, Detroit, and internationally.)
  - d. application of the principles of struggle, work, and comradely relations as found in the work of Mao Tse-Tung.
  - e. expansion of MCLL in the direction of the industrial proletariat, as well as expansion to people presently close-in to MCLL.
  - f. development of the material base of MCLL - further deprivitization of material resources.
2. Develop, clarify, and implement political lines. Determine which lines are the political lines of the organization, and which are mass lines for external projection in each sector of the class, under specific objective conditions.
3. Develop a base (position AND leadership) in the industrial proletariat.
4. Organize an army of cultural workers, attack the bourgeois superstructure and culture, and build a proletarian culture.
5. Use a Marxist investigation and analysis of objective conditions to clarify the fundamental, principle, and secondary contradictions internationally, nationally and locally at the present time, and determine which aspects of the contradictions are dominant.
6. Engage in joint work, communications, and political struggle with all other progressive and revolutionary groups and organizations.
7. Build the international united front against imperialism.
8. Build an apparatus for disseminating to our class the ideology of proletarian internationalism and Marxist-Leninist analysis of objective conditions, at the work place, in the local community, and nationally.

Proposed political lines: (General)

1. MCLL is an organization of communist revolutionaries guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of struggle, work, criticism/self-criticism and discipline put forth by Mao Tse-Tung.
2. MCLL believes in the necessity of socialist revolution through political, military, and cultural struggles, which leads to the seizure of state power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the creation of a socialist state, the consolidation of the rule of the proletariat, the implementation of a full cultural revolution, and the preparation for a communist society.
3. The vanguard of the proletariat, its general staff in the revolutionary struggle and after the achievement of state power, is a Marxist-Leninist party. It is therefore necessary that we guide our work toward developing the class consciousness and class organization which allow for the formation of the vanguard party of the proletariat.
4. The party of the proletariat is nothing without both a political and a military army of the proletariat, willing to accept the leadership of the party in the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, and uniting all classes which can ally themselves with the proletariat and against the bourgeoisie. It is therefore essential that communists work tirelessly toward the development of, and give leadership to, a broad united front of the people which will fight for proletarian democracy, freedom, equality, and international solidarity on the political, diplomatic, cultural and military fronts.
5. The four principle international contradictions are:
  1. The contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations.
  2. The contradiction between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp.
  3. The contradiction between and among capitalist nations.
  4. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries.

Of these, the contradiction which must be heightened in order to weaken imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, and strengthen the position of the world proletariat, is the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations. It is therefore our obligation as communists to give support to national liberation movements and help build the international united front against imperialism.
6. The primary focus of the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations has been and still is Indochina. The struggle in

1963  
CPC

Indochina has brought about the first major defeat for US imperialism, united the world's progressive forces, and heightened the internal contradictions in the US. It is in the fundamental interest of the world's proletariat to complete the victory of the Vietnamese and support in every way the consolidation of a socialist state in all of Vietnam. It is particularly critical that communist forces within the US, the leading imperialist nation, organize continuously in support of the struggles of the people's of Indochina in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

7. The principle antagonistic contradictions internal to the US are:
1. the contradiction between the form of organization of the means of production and the social relations of production.
  2. the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.
  3. the contradiction between bourgeois ideology and culture and proletarian ideology and culture.

Of these, the contradiction which must be heightened in order to weaken bourgeois power and develop the conditions for the formation of a vanguard party of the proletariat to lead the masses in the revolutionary struggle is the contradiction between bourgeois ideology and culture and proletarian ideology and culture. The material (objective) conditions for socialism exist in the US, as clearly described in Marx and Lenin. What does not exist are the subjective conditions necessary to transform the spontaneous motion of the class into a revolutionary force for the defeat of the bourgeoisie.