

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 12 OF 16

FOLDER 1

MASS PARTY MOVEMENT
MCLL HISTORICAL REPORT

This paper is written to give up to comrades the information that the MCLL has obtained in a number of its struggles over the years--information about the "mass parties" that are being organized at the present time. This paper is organized into a discussion of the different organizations that are presently being put together (it is a misnomer to say they are being organized); a discussion of the consistent political themes that are used; and finally a discussion of the CPUSA's relationship to these organizations and present political stance.

The organizations which provide a focus for these "movements" are: 1) the National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People (the Kinoy formation); 2) the People's Party (Dr. Spock's Party); 3) the New American Movement; 4) Social Democratic Party of American (led by Michael Harrington).

The general history of these formations arises specifically out of the struggles of the 1960's and particularly the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement. Many of the people who are now leadership in these organizations also provided some of the most consistent leadership particularly in the anti-war movement and were the anglo-americans who were attracted to the civil rights movement. For instance, Staughton Lynd (the Kinoy formation) was a professor at Yale University who left that job to organize freedom schools in the Nation during the height of that struggle; he then became involved in the anti-war movement and spent his entire life (including resignation from Yale) in organizing the anti-war struggle and is now in Gary Indiana, helping to organize the "Right to Strike Committee" which brought the lawsuit by the steelworkers to eliminate the ENA which was negotiated by Able. Lynd is now going to law school and hopes to practice workmen's compensation when he gets out of law school. Of course, this is only one person but it represents one section of people who form the backbone of this movement. The other section of people are the younger people, many of whom come off the campuses and who have now obtained jobs. Finally, the other section consists of ex-CPUSA people who have remained active--e.g. Arthur Kinoy (attorney and law partner of Wm Kunstler); Robert Lewis (attorney for the UEW); Dorothy Healy--regional director of the California District of the CPUSA and a member of the Party for 25 years.

The class base of these organizations is invariably petty bourgeois. The organizations contain many lawyers, professors, small businessmen, as well as students etc.. The political line reflects this class base: it is ultra-democratic, anarcho-syndicalist, feminist, and always emphasizes parliamentary struggles. These formations are of course explicitly anti-Leninist. They demand absolute democracy and state that since we live a bourgeois democracy, it is unnecessary to create the "militarist" party that

Lenin described.

We have said that the deep instinctive fears of "national organization" are well founded. In developing such an essential national strategy and forms of political organization suited to implement it, the left must learn from the bitter mistakes of the past, both in this country and throughout the world, and struggle against the rigidity, bureaucracy, narrowness, cruelty, elitism, and suffocation of individual and collective initiative which sprang, sometimes from the mechanical introduction of theories of political "vanguard" organization developed to meet the particular needs of Czarist Russia of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and sometimes from the elitism of the new left itself. But to permit the errors of the past, no matter how devastating, to become a justification for the rejection of *any* concept of a national strategy for the taking of power, and for the building of permanent political forms of organization to implement and develop such a strategy, would be to surrender to the enemy.

Arthur Kinoy, p. 13, Liberation Magazine, December 1973.

It may become a surprise to these petty bourgeois intellectuals that Marxists addressed this problem many years ago. We can properly say that the problem is with them and not with us:

"As an isolated individual, the proletarian is nothing. His whole strength, his whole progress, all his hopes and expectations are derived from organization, from systematic action in conjunction with his fellows. He feels big and strong when he forms part of a big and strong organism. This organism is the main thing for him; the individual in comparison means very little. The proletarian fights with the utmost devotion as part of the anonymous mass, without prospect of personal advantage or personal glory, doing his duty in any post he is assigned to with a voluntary discipline which pervades all his feelings and thoughts.

Quite different is the case of the intellectual. He does not fight by means of power, but by argument. His weapons are his personal convictions. He can attain to any position at all only through his personal qualities. Hence the freest play for his individuality seems to him to be the prime condition for successful activity. It is only with difficulty that he submits to being a part subordinate to a whole, and then only from necessity, not from inclination. He recognizes the need of discipline only for the mass, not for the elect minds. And of course he counts himself among the latter..."
(Lenin, quoting Kautsky in One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, p. 363)

The second consistent theme of these groupings is the anarcho-syndicalist positions that they repeatedly support; this is of course totally consistent with their class base. Stanley Aronowitz is a self-proclaimed anarchist; he has written a book called False Promises: The Shaping of the American Working Class, published by McGraw Hill. It should be noted that he has aligned with the From the Ground Up Forces and is attempting to move to Detroit to set up a labor school at Wayne County Community College. This move has received considerable support from Reginald Wilson (who recently made a trip to China). The rationale that Aronowitz puts forward is that capitalism has reached such a high stage of development that it is unnecessary to pass through the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat because by reason of a mass uprising we can pass directly to the stage of communism. I have not done an extensive study of his work and he tends to change his position with the wind so that it is difficult to pin him down. But this is the position as I understand it. Another aspect of his position is that he does call for and support work place organizing including educationals, the formation of caucuses, and militant struggles supported by the Mass Party of the People. In addition, he does have some experience in this arena.

Another supporter of this position is Staughton Lynd who is now doing considerable work with the steelworkers--he received \$40,000.00 two years ago in order to get this work off the ground. Lynd's position is not explicitly anarchist and he rather takes the position that they need to build an American Labor Party to avoid the "manipulation" of the traditional communist parties.

Perhaps most important, the ULP opposed the practice of creating front organizations to set people in motion and then discarding them when a "higher" stage of struggle had been attained. The ULP was careful to talk about public ownership of industry in American terms, as an extension of the democratic principle; it talked about ultimate as well as immediate goals in all its campaigns. With respect to both

program and organization, then, the ULP departed from what Arthur Kinoy has called a two-stage way of thinking about radical politics. It attempted to be a party of the people as Kinoy has described it:

Such a party can only be built openly and honestly; with participation, from the beginning, of people who are not thinking and functioning in a two-stage fashion; but who are fully and honestly building a one-stage instrumentality. Such a party can only be built in an atmosphere of trust and give-and-take, which reflects a total commitment to the mass party of the people, and not to some "higher," and smaller, self-anointed group.²

Liberation Magazine

p. 39.

The concrete manifestations of the anarcho-syndicalist positions of these organizations is illustrated in their position of the women's question and on the national question. Kinoy states that the national question in this country presents a "a unique problem" not faced by other capitalist countries. Barbara Deming states that the women's question is also a unique problem which Marx, Lenin etc. never talked about sufficiently. The conclusions drawn from this "uniqueness" are cultural nationalism and socialist feminism. Kinoy states:

There is a tendency in the radical left today cavalierly to brush off the lessons of the monumental struggles of the Black people of the South in the early Sixties as a "liberal" phase. Nothing could be more destructive to the emergence of a long-range strategy than a failure to understand the

fundamental revolutionary significance of that struggle to complete the incompleated democratic revolution. For as long as this revolution remains incomplete, the struggle to fulfill the promises of democracy and freedom will flare up again and again, led in this era by the Black people—both in the heartland of colonial oppression, the South, and in the colonial areas transplanted north, the urban ghettos of the nation.

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The party of the people should develop the closest alliances and forms of alliance on the community, state and national levels with Black political organizations committed to the struggle for the freedom of the Black people, and for the transfer of power to the people. But also—since the problems of Black liberation are both separate and distinct, growing out of the special characteristics of internal colonial oppression within a

capitalist "mother" country, and simultaneously intertwined and interrelated to the overall problems of American capitalist society—full equality and participation on every level of activity and decision-making is essential between Black and white people *within* the new mass party of the people.

This *dualism* in organizational and political approach seems to be *contradictory*, placing emphasis upon working alliances on every level with predominantly or exclusively Black political organizations, *together* with the simultaneous building of a mass people's party in which, *also on every level*, Black people participate fully. But this reflects the reality of the *interrelation* between the unfolding of a national liberation struggle *within* the heart of an advanced capitalist country and the unique impact of this struggle upon all the other problems involved in the unfolding of an overall strategy directed at the monumental task of the taking of power in the last stronghold of world capitalism. Only a mass party of the people—whose program has at its center the understanding that the struggle for the freedom and liberation of the Blacks is the "Achilles' heel" of American capitalism—can develop this difficult but essential *duality* of organizational approach.

What is essential is that a way of work—a way of life, if you will—be built into the relationships between these organizations of the people and a mass party of the people which reflects equality and mutual respect. Such respect and equality rather than domination and direction have rarely characterized the thinking and conduct of the parties of the left throughout recent history, both in this country and abroad. A mass party of the people has no chance for survival, much less success, in this country unless it fore-swears from the first moment of its organization the hierarchical attitude towards the other organizations of the people which the so-called “vanguard” parties of both the past and the present so often manifest. Nothing could be more destructive to the generating of creative energy, so desperately needed at this moment, than a re-creation on any scale of the distortion of the “vanguard” role.

Liberation Magazine, p. 15, 16.

The other acute manifestation of anarcho-syndicalism is when these same people take a position of socialist feminism. Barbara Deming states:

In the paper in which Arthur Kinoy proposes a mass party of the people, he states that “at the party’s very core” there must be an understanding of “the unique quality of the struggle for Black freedom in this country.”

The role of the Black struggle is indeed special. But there is another struggle which is now gaining momentum and which the analysis put forward by a People’s Party must not slight or it will be fatally weakened: the struggle of “another tribe” (as Abigail Adams once called us) “more numerous and powerful than all the rest”—a tribe which includes more than half of those in the Black struggle, and more than half of the people in this country: women.

Liberation Magazine p 21

She states that the struggles is to place “a revolutionary in every bedroom”. But then she quotes in the footnote as follows:

*And here is Adrienne Rich speaking in a column in *The American Poetry Review*, January 21, 1973: “It was assumed by the disciples of Marx and Freud alike that man exists in one of two modes: the political and the psychological. This division is a classic ‘two horn’d reasoning cloven Fiction’ of patriarchal thought. The women’s movement of our generation is the first mass political and social movement to have seen the utter fallaciousness of this division, to look for new forms of social organization and human relationship which might begin to close it; to demand that we transform, not merely our institutions, but ourselves.”

Liberation Magazine p. 23

She then states that the goal of the party must be as follows:

The People's Party proclaims as its goal "taking of power away from the rulers on every level of life—political, economic, social and cultural." If it is truly committed to this, it must take very seriously the visions of these and of other radical women. As Shulamith Firestone says, "To question the basic relations between the sexes and between parents and children is to take the psychological pattern of dominance-submission to its very roots." Break the tyranny of the biological family, she says, and you break the psychology of power.

The sisterhood of man—the elimination of sex distinction itself (culturally speaking)—this is the goal on which more and more of us are intent.

Liberation Magazine p 23, 24.

Many quotations are used because the diffuseness of their writing makes it very difficult to pin down the exact position that is held. For instance, a dissenting position follows Deming's article which makes certain limitations on her analysis but does not indicate that the general of her analysis is rejected or the ramifications of having more than one position on the same subject. Generally, the analysis is completely undisciplined.

The final underlying theme of these groups is a great emphasis on parliamentary struggles and basically reformist politics. This position is completely consistent with the above outlined politics. But it should be emphasized that when all the shouting is over with, the most energy will go into electoral politics and only minimally into workplace struggles of any kind. And most often the definition of workplace struggles generally means some kind of legal action or lawsuit such as the right to strike lawsuit that Lynd supported.

This paper is getting long but it nevertheless is necessary to give up some history of the organizational basis of the different organizations. I have concentrated on the Kinoy formation because that is the form that we have the most information on. It is safe to say however that the above political positions generally follow each organization. The one exception would be Harrington's group which is much more virulently anti-communist while the others would remain civil libertarian for a longer period of time.

The Kinoy formation was organized in loose form about 2 years ago. The meeting that I attended included the following people: Arthur Kinoy, Robert Lewis, Staughton Lynd, Saul Wellman, David Dellinger, Muhammed Kenyatta, Robert Greenblat, Robert Rush and Elaine _____ (from the BPP), Dorothy Healy, Peter Weiss, etc. In addition, there was a representative from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, from a group called Fight Back (a "black" trade union group in NYC). Others included Carl Marzanni and Barry Commoner.


This basic group of people continue to meet and try to pull an organizational form together. In addition, because they have a considerable amount of money, they fly all over the country giving speeches, giving the impression of a considerable amount of motion. Their contacts with the proletariat are achieved primarily through the trade union bureaucracy. They have recently began to have meetings with the People's Party and the New American Movement in order to consolidate their work with those organizations.

The People's Party as I understand it was organized by Dr. Spock some 3 years ago and has been putting out a newspaper which ~~XX~~ includes the following description:

national office
people's party ★

1065 31st St., NW, Georgetown, DC 20007

The People's Party believes that we Americans ought to get our country back -- or take it back if we have to. It's called the People's Party because we believe that people -- where they live, where they work, where they study, are the real meaning of politics. Ours is a party that will never be run from the top down, a party that exists as an expression of our membership, never as an owner of that membership. We stand for radical social, economic, and political change in our country. Ours is a party which will undertake projects in our communities to implement our platform as well as organize for the long-range goal of electing local, state and national candidates.



- COMMONGOOD PARTY
- GOOD NEIGHBORS UNION
- HUMAN RIGHTS PARTY
- THE LIBERTY UNION
- NEW PARTY
- PEACE & FREEDOM PARTY
- THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

General Principles

The People's Party is a national

Coalition of autonomous state and local organizations working together to provide radical electoral and non-electoral alternatives -- independent of, and in opposition to the two capitalist parties -- Democrat and Republican, and sharing the following general principles:

- A minimum income of \$6,500 for a family of four, a steeply graduated income tax, and a maximum take home pay of \$50,000.
- An end to all forms of racist and agist discrimination. An end to the sexist discrimination against women and gays.
- Community control of public services such as police departments, schools and public housing.
- Local control of industry by boards composed equally of workers, consumers and the government.
- Support for the right of rank and file to organize into democratically controlled unions.
- Withdrawal of all U. S. forces from our 3,000 overseas military bases.
- Repatriation of war objectors.
- Decriminalization of marijuana..
- Free, good quality health care for all people under community control.
- Self determination for all people in the manner determined by them, including Statehood for the District of Columbia and independence for Guam and Puerto Rico.

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The New American Movement was organized in Ames, Iowa mostly by former anti-war people. It had its first convention in Ames Iowa in 1970. They also are a loose coalition of people. The importance of this organization is that now Dorothy Healy, former director of the California region of the CPUSA is now their primary organizer.

Finally, a copy of the article by the CPUSA is included with this ~~XXXX~~ paper. One can conclude that the CP is attempting to set up this rag tag group of people as the primary danger to protect its cadre from. It also is the excuse that can be used for the CP's eventual move to the left when they attempt to isolate us from the rest of the class. The analysis which seems to be coming out of the CP is as follows: the anti-communist petty bourgeois on the right are no different than the ultra-leftest crazies (us) on the left. Then the CP can put itself out there as the only stable force on the left and call for unity and intense struggle against these deviations. The answer to this strategy is to ground ourselves solidly in the class and adhere to Marxism-Leninism.

MAKE EVERY FACTORY OUR FORTRESS

ON TO THE CONGRESS

The "Front Rankers" in the class struggle

This article deals with a theme emphasized by the author in his report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which met from June 29 through July 1 in New York.

By Henry Winston

**National Chairman
Communist Party USA**

The style in attacks on Marxism-Leninism in the name of "revolution" changes. It sometimes seems, almost as frequently as traffic lights. And these "revolutionary" assaults — which always have as their core a challenge to the Marxist-Leninist concept of the leading role of the industrial working class — receive more than a mere passive welcome from monopoly. Monopoly subsidizes, promotes and publicizes them through their centers of education and mass media.

Some individuals, for example, such as Professor Herbert Marcuse in the 1960s, become widely known for their contributions to a "new" and "more revolutionary" ideology. However, these "latest models" in revolution have a pronounced tendency toward obsolescence, and Marcuse's concept, for example, has already been forced into semi-retirement.

In Marcuse's view, the working class was hopelessly reactionary and contentedly integrated into the system — the upholders, not the gravediggers, of capitalism. As an accompaniment to Marcuse's ideological dismissal of the working class, other "theoreticians" dismissed it numerically — claiming it was being automated out of existence. Fortunately, according to Marcuse, a truly revolutionary force had arrived to replace the working class: the stu-

dents. It was because of the influence of such anti-Marxist views that the new left aged rapidly and passed from the scene.

Among the reasons for a relatively rapid exposure of theories on the irrelevance of the working class was the surfacing of new facts — i.e., far from causing its decline, technology was expanding the size of the working class! At the same time, it became impossible to advance the concept of students as the revolutionary replacement for the working class, in the face of the incontrovertible evidence that the student movement could not sustain activity without a relationship to workingclass struggle.

This disproving of Marcusean views has not, of course, diminished attacks on the Marxist-Leninist concept of the role of the industrial working class. Far from it. Such challenges are now being advanced by other "theoreticians" in somewhat modified form.

Among those attempting to fill the small gap left by the Marcuseans is Arthur Kinoy. Kinoy, a lawyer, lacks Marcuse's academic mystique and his constituents, and is unlikely to reach the prominence of Marcuse in the pseudo-radical field. Nevertheless, Kinoy's view can serve as a point of reference for concepts held in certain areas on the left.

At this historic moment the struggle for detente and peaceful coexistence opens up the possibility for a break with monopoly's politics and economics — hot and cold war, racism, anti-communism, anti-Sovietism — that led from McCarthyism to Watergatism. For this is a time when the working classes and the oppressed peoples in the U.S. and everywhere in the capitalist world, together with the socialist and "third world" countries, are on the move — forming a mounting offensive against imperialism.

These radicals who deny the role of the working class as central to the struggle for an alternative to monopoly

WORLD MAGAZINE

at home, who reject the policies of detente and peaceful coexistence advanced by the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union — which are central to a people's offensive in the U.S., Western Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America — operate against Marxism and the people in the name of "Marxism" and the "people." In distorting the role of the socialist camp, and in opposing unity in the struggle for detente, these radicals ironically parallel bourgeois liberals and ultra-Rightists in both monopolist parties who are opponents of detente.

In their writings and speeches, these radicals — among them Arthur Kinoy — claim they are overcoming "distortions" of Marxism-Leninism. Yet their positions on foreign and domestic policy reflect bourgeois, anti-Marxist ideology, capitulation to monopoly's ideological offensive — aimed at blocking emergence of the working class as an independent political force, the center of unity for a multi-racial, multi-strata, anti-monopoly movement.

In a lengthy mimeographed document, Kinoy calls for "developing an independent force powerful enough to lead and organize the struggle for power." In order to develop this "independent force" and advance "the struggle for power," one must — it would seem apparent — consider the great potential inherent in the struggle for detente in breaking the grip of monopoly's anti-communist, anti-Soviet and racist neo-colonialist policies. Kinoy, however, reverses this logic and accepts the politics of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and racism as the **starting point** for building this "independent force."

Kinoy falsely concludes that the Communist Party long ago gave up "the struggle for power" and instead relied on the "image" of socialism in the Soviet Union as "the catalyst" that would in itself bring socialism to the U.S. and the world. He writes:

... a new ingredient was added to the thinking of the left in the '30s and '40s which was, later, to have the most traumatic effect upon an entire generation of activists and organizers throughout the world. The catalyst which somehow would bring about "some day" the enormous change — the leap to a new society — would be the impact upon working people in the capitalist world of the *image* of the socialist society being built in the Soviet Union. (Mimeographed document, p. 12. Emphasis in the original.)

Imperialism's propaganda "image" of the Soviet Union — as a "threat" that must be "contained" has proved a costly one to the people of this country and the world. It is this false "image" by imperialism that has provided the justification for hot and cold war, poverty, repression, and mounting armaments and inflation. Yet Kinoy not only overlooks the incalculable burden this "image" has placed on the people, he himself becomes a reflector of it, when he claims that the "image" of the Soviet Union allegedly projected by the CPUSA has weakened the "struggle for power" in the U.S.

In Kinoy's incredible reversal of history, it is the "image" of the Soviet Union, not U.S. imperialism — which took over the Hitlerian banner of racism and anti-communism as central to its global strategy — that had a "most traumatic effect" on the unity of labor and the people's movement.

Unlike Kinoy, we Communists refuse to lend monopoly our assistance in its anti-Soviet perversions of reality. On the contrary, we are proud of our constant struggle to project a true "image" of the Soviet Union, recognizing it as an indispensable element in the working class' historic "struggle for power." However, along with our feeling of pride, we are self-critical that we have not conducted our offensive against imperialism's "image" of the Soviet Union on a much broader scale. Far from surrendering to the right and "left" opportunism of those who would have us believe the key to organizing a mass "revolutionary" movement is acceptance of imperialism's anti-Sovietism, our aim is to vastly increase the scale of our attack against imperialist ideology — at the center of which is anti-Sovietism.

In the face of the most virulent ruling class assaults, the Communist Party has always exposed the link between monopoly's anti-Communist, anti-Soviet propaganda "image" and its racist aggressions, nationally and internationally. Today, this exposure is as vital to the struggle against imperialism's racist, anti-labor and neo-colonialist policies as it was to the fight against the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo fascist axis. History reveals that the Soviet Union, the only socialist state at that time, played the decisive role in saving the world from the racist, genocidal consequences of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

Instead of allowing themselves to be influenced by the propaganda of the imperialists they oppose, many radicals would find it valuable to ponder the reasons for imperialism's prodigious, though futile, efforts to efface the great moral, political, social and economic "image" of the Soviet Union — the land where imperialism, national oppression and class exploitation were first abolished, under the leadership of the working class and its Leninist vanguard, the Communist Party. This was the land which succeeded in welding unity of democrats and anti-fascists all over the world and brought victory over German, Ja-

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Henry Winston

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panese and Italian fascist expansion in Europe, Asia and Africa — less than 20 years after world imperialism's attempt to strangle this first socialist state — and opened up a new page in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism; the land that played the decisive role in forcing U.S. imperialism to retreat after 20 years of hot and cold war attempts to achieve the global domination the Axis powers failed to accomplish. What an "image!"

Of course, no class or liberation movement anywhere in the world can make headway without depending first of all on its own resources. At the same time, it must be recognized that advances anywhere against imperialism are inextricably linked to the role of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union — which accelerates the struggle against international monopoly in the imperialist countries and in the countries struggling for liberation from imperialism. Further, no gains can be made anywhere in the struggle against class and national and racial oppression if the people's movements are "traumatized" by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Rejecting monopoly's anti-Soviet "image" and its "traumatic effect" on the anti-monopoly struggle does not imply reliance on a Soviet "catalyst" as the substitute for mass struggle against one's own ruling class. On the contrary, rejection of such an "image" strengthens the consciousness of the working class, and is a vital ingredient in the struggle to put the working class on the high road toward independent action — enabling it to become the "catalyst," the decisive component, in the formation of a wide anti-monopoly struggle, the only basis for a winning strategy against monopoly.

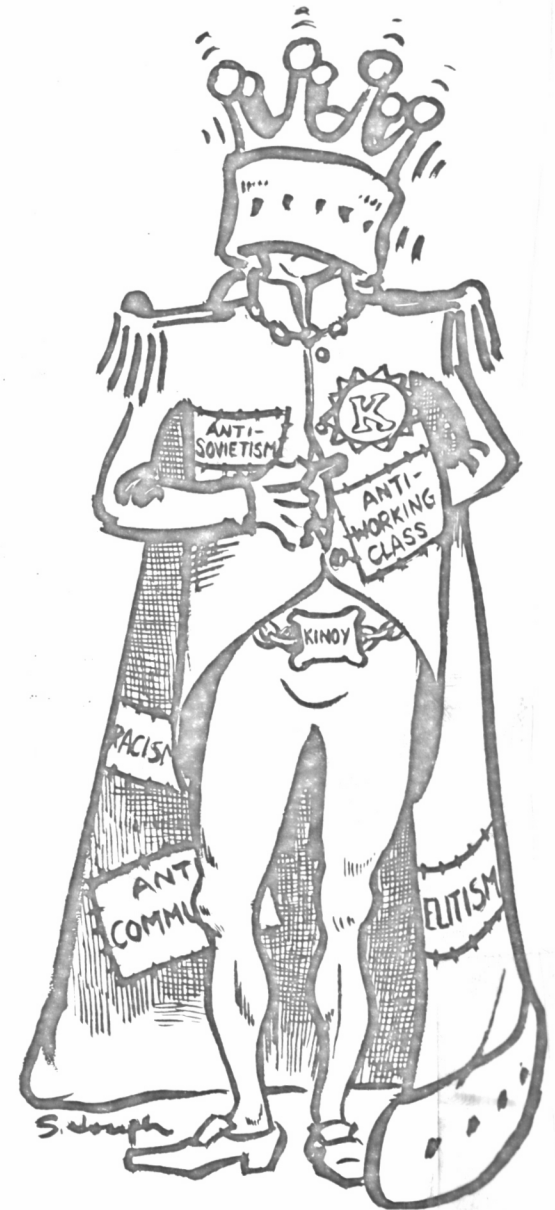
In the opening lines of *The Communist Manifesto*, written in 1848 when the modern working class was emerging, Karl Marx noted that communist influence on the working class was already a "spectre" "haunting" the exploiters and oppressors. At a time when the ruling class alliances of the world — from Czarist Russia to North America — were doing all in their power to safeguard slavery and maintain the survivals of serfdom and chattel slavery, Marx proclaimed that the workers of the world "disdained" to hide their common aims of expropriating the expropriators and establishing rule of the working classes.

Surely today, when the spectre" that "haunted" the rulers of the 19th century has become the most decisive

force on earth, the CPUSA can do no less than "disdain" to hide its common aims with the Communist and Workers Parties of the world, in the forefront of which are the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Leninist parties of the socialist system. Today ties of solidarity, which the CPUSA proudly proclaims, unite the parties where the working class is in power — from Moscow to Hanoi and Pyongyang, from Berlin to Havana — and the Communist and Workers Parties in the capitalist countries with the workers and peoples of the world in the struggle for class and national liberation. These are three currents of a single revolutionary process.

Kinoy's mind-bending anti-Soviet distortion of history is brought to us at a moment when U.S. imperialism is in deepest crisis. At a time when the rank-and-file of labor and the masses of exploited and oppressed — from Vietnam to Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Lisbon, Paris, Rome and New York — are moving into a new level of struggle against the "traumatic effect" of imperialism's anti-Communist, anti-Soviet, racist strategy, monopoly must find new ways to carry on its ideological assaults. This is why there are attacks against Marxism-Leninism in the name of "Marxism-Leninism," just as there are attacks against racial equality — in the infamous DeFunis case, for example — in the name of "equality."

The views of radicals such as Kinoy are part of the new stage in the ideological thrust against the Marxist-Leninist policies of detente and peaceful coexistence of the world Communist and Workers Parties. In the caricatures prolifically sketched by these radicals, the long struggle for peaceful coexistence — initiated by Lenin at the founding of the first socialist state — is replaced by a scene in which the Communists urge the masses to rely on the "image" of the Soviet Union, the "catalyst" making it unnecessary for them to wage the class struggle in their own countries. Thus, these radicals who warn the left against a Moscow that "exports revolution" — instead of joining the struggle to prevent U.S. imperialism from exporting counter-revolution — accommodate their views to the "image" of anti-Soviet class collaboration put forth by the Meanys and Lovestones on the right, and the Trotskyites and Maoists on the "left."



THE EMPEROR'S
NEW CLOTHES