

Report on Trotskyism

This report has been written to show all comrades and friends the dangers of Trotskyism in the proletariat revolution. Firstly, all existing Trotskyite organizations are in the service and pay of the C.I.A., F.B.I., and other secret-intelligent agencies of the U.S.N.A. Imperialists. Trotskyism is counter-revolution in disguise.

Secondly, we cannot "win over" Trotskyites — just as we can't make headway arguing with any other group of anti-communists. This report is to arm the comrades in the struggle of building a communist party. We must know how to handle Trotskyites. And we must know how to struggle against Trotskyite tendencies and views which certain sections of the petty-bourgeoisie will strive to bring into the proletarian revolutionary movement.

To do the above it is necessary to show historically what Trotsky was and how Trotskyism developed into its present function of wrecking the revolutionary movement. It is also necessary to expose Trotsky's so-called "theories" of the proletarian revolution.

Lastly, this report will attempt to show the roots and strength of the present Trotskyite organizations within the U.S.N.A.

The October Proletarian Revolution was the greatest single event in the history of mankind. For the first time, the enslaved masses rose-up and overthrew their oppressors. For the first time, imperialism was breached and the dictatorship of the proletariat became a reality. But this victory was not achieved and consolidated without a ruthless struggle against all forms of opportunism. Trotskyism was one such form of opportunism.

The beginning of building the great Bolshevik party met with resistance by the petty-bourgeoisie. Lenin and Stalin, the great leaders of the Bolsheviks, waged tireless struggles against the Mensheviks who attempted to undermine the organization, principles, and tasks of the proletarian party. Trotsky's role was one of vacillation between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, more often with the Mensheviks. Trotsky was interested in a personal following and fame in his attempts to lead the Russian revolution. Therefore, with every change of the revolution he vacillated — always jockeying for position. And therefore, his actions were always those of a petty-bourgeois intellectual opportunist and factionalist and not as one who firmly sided with the proletariat. In 1910, Lenin had the following to say of Trotsky's actions:

"Trotsky ... represents only his own personal vacillations and nothing more. In 1903 he was a Menshevik; he abandoned Menshevism in 1904, returned to the Mensheviks in 1905 and merely flaunted ultra-revolutionary phrases; in 1906 he left them again; at the end of 1906 he advocated electoral agreements with the Cadets (i.e., was virtually once more with the Mensheviks); and in the spring of 1907, at the London Congress he said that he differed from Rosa Luxemburg on 'individual shades of ideas rather than on political tendencies.' Trotsky one day plagiarizes the ideological stock-in-trade of one faction; next day plagiarizes that of another, and therefore declares himself to be standing ABOVE both factions." 1

In 1912 Trotsky formed the August Block with the intentions of liquidating the party. In 1915 he took a centrist position towards the imperialist war.

At this point it is appropriate to stop and discuss the class base of Trotsky — namely the petty-bourgeoisie — and its influence on the Russian revolution. Stalin said:

"Since the proletariat does not live in a vacuum, but in actual and real life itself with all its variety, the bourgeois elements which are reborn on the basis of petty production 'surround the proletariat on every side by a petty-bourgeois element, permeate the proletariat with it, demoralize it with it, call forth contin-

ually inside of the proletariat recurrences of petty-bourgeois lack of character, scatteredness, individualism, transitions from enthusiasm to melancholy' (Lenin: vol. xrv, p. 190) and thus bring into the proletariat and its party certain vacillations, certain waverings.

Here is the root and foundation of every kind of vacillations and deviations from the Leninist line in the ranks of our party." 2

With the coming of the proletariat revolution the bolshevik party rallied all forces which could be of use to the revolution. Trotsky represented the petty-bourgeois intelligencia and had a following among this strata and could be of use to the revolution. He was allowed back into the party and played an important part in the revolutionary upheaval — but was not leader of the uprising — only the most tested and trusted bolsheviks could be worthy of such tasks. 3 Trotsky was allowed to remain in the party and work for the proletarian dictatorship. But even during this period Trotsky's actions did damage to the revolution. He wouldn't sign peace with imperialist Germany and this resulted in larger losses of concessions when peace was signed later at Brest-Litovsk (this was necessary for giving the revolution time to consolidate). He failed repeatedly as a militarist, because of his vacillations, in the civil war and had to have his command taken away repeatedly. And after the civil war he was in favor of "forcing" the workers and peasants into communism.

In 1923 Trotsky resumed his opposition to the Bolshevik party, this time on a "higher" level. He formed factions and became the center of the counter-revolution within the party. In 1924 Stalin had the following to say about Trotsky:

"Wherein lies the danger of the new Trotskyism? In that Trotskyism, according to its entire inner content, has every chance of becoming the center and the rallying point of non-proletarian elements which are trying to weaken, to disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Trotskyism now comes forward in order to uncrown Bolshevism, to undermine its foundations." 5

In 1927, because of his activities of factionalism and anti-party plans, Trotsky was expelled from the party and then later from the country.

From the early 1930's on, Trotskyism was transformed from a trend (non-Bolshevik) in the working class to a unprincipled gang. In 1937, Stalin stated:

"...Trotskyism has ceased to be a political trend in the working class, which it was seven or eight years ago, into a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies, and murders acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states." 6

From vacillator inside the party — to counter-revolutionary within the party — to counter-revolutionary outside the party. Such was Trotsky's course.

The imperialists could not but use such a scoundrel to attack the Soviet Union and also the worldwide proletarian revolution. Trotskyites sabotaged the Spanish civil war and paved the way for fascism there. They attacked the communists everywhere, acting as stoopigeons and wreckers. Trotsky made deals with Hitler and Imperial Japan to sabotage the U.S.S.R. He was willing to divide the U.S.S.R. among these fascists so that he could come to power in the remainder of the country. But the mighty Soviet Union routed the fascist ("5 th column") in their country and successfully prepared themselves for the 2nd imperialist war. ? *The great conspiracy*

The reactionary imperialist Hearst was Trotskys' Friend and supporter, Churchill noted and supported the counter-revolutionary activities of Trotsky.

To this extent did Trotsky and Trotskyism represent counter-revolution in practice?

From a vacillating petty-bourgeois deviation to a strong reserve and tool of imperialism!

And now for a look at Trotsky's so-called Marxist theories on the "permanent revolution."

Trotsky writes:

'Without direct state support from the European proletariat, the working class of Russia will not be able to maintain itself in power and to transform its temporary rule into a lasting socialist dictatorship. This we cannot doubt for an instant.'

'What does this quotation mean? It means that the victory of socialism in one country, in this case Russia, is impossible 'without direct state support from the European proletariat,' i.e., before the European proletariat has conquered power.

'What is there in common between this "theory" and Lenin's thesis on the possibility of the victory of socialism 'in one country taken separately'? Clearly, there is nothing in common.'⁸ "'uneven economic and political development' says Lenin, 'is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country taken separately. The victorious proletariat of that country having expropriated the capitalists and organized socialist production, would stand up AGAINST the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of the other countries, raising revolts in those countries against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity coming out with armed force against the exploiting classes and states.'"⁹

Further, refutation of Trotsky's so-called "theory" of "permanent revolution" would be incomplete without the exposure of his views towards the peasantry.

'Lenin speaks of the ALLIANCE between the proletariat and the laboring strata of the peasantry as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotsky sees a "hostile collision" between the 'proletarian vanguard' and the 'broad masses of the peasantry.'

Lenin speaks of the LEADERSHIP of the toiling and exploited masses by the proletariat. Trotsky sees 'CONTRADICTIONS in the position of a workers' government in a backward country with an overwhelming peasant population.'

According to Lenin, the revolution draws its strength primarily from among the workers and peasants of Russia itself. According to Trotsky, the necessary strength can be found ONLY 'in the arena of the world proletarian revolution.'"¹⁰

History itself has confirmed the correctness of Leninism and doomed the bankruptcy of Trotsky's "theory" of "permanent revolution."

As previously shown, the base upon which Trotskyism flourishes best is the petty-bourgeoisie — in fact this was Trotsky's class origin. In the U.S.N.A. the petty-bourgeois classes are large enough to generate plenty of Trotskyism — on one condition, that the political situation be favorable to the Trotskyites.

And the political situation is extremely favorable for the Trotskyites in the U.S.N.A. The revisionism of the Communist Party U.S.A. (C.P.U.S.A.) creates very favorable conditions for Trotskyism to flourish. From the very beginning of the factionalist C.P.U.S.A.'s history there has been capitulation to the Trotskyites. Foster used (or they use each other?) the Trotskyites in order that his faction could defeat the Lovestone faction. Foster knew that such politicking of his faction meant weakening, nay, undermining the party. Stalin states on this:

"Did not Comrade Foster know that he should have aloof from the concealed Trotskyites that were in his group? Why, in spite of repeated warnings, did he not repudiate them at the time? Because he behaved first and foremost as a factionalist.

Because in the factionalist fight against the Lovestone group even concealed Trotskyites might be useful to him. Because the blindness of factionalism dulls the party sense in people and makes them indiscriminating as to the means they employ. It is true, such a policy is bad and irreconcilable with the interests of the party. But factionalists as a rule are inclined to forget the interests of the party — all they can think of is their own factional point of view." 11

It was only after Lovestone was defeated that the CPUSA expelled the Trotskyites. And it was these same Trotskyites which formed the main (largest, strongest, etc.) Trotskyite organization (to this day, Socialist Workers Party — SWP); and every other Trotskyite group in the U.S.N.A. owes its origin to this mother group.

With the victory over fascism in the W.W.II, the Soviet Union and international communism were held in very high esteem by the working class and all progressive people. In 1946, the Trotskyites were nearly wiped out politically and in numbers. But the attacks on Stalin by Krushchev (and the CPUSA's echoing of these attacks) sounded the clarion call for the scum of the whole world to unite — Trotskyism rose from its grave and has been living off the good grace of the CPUSA and the bourgeois state ever since. The attacks on Stalin being the form of the attacks on Marxism-Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R., and revolution ^{who created the} the world over. And it is these attacks by the modern revisionism ^{re-birth}

both attack Stalin and therefore both attack the proletarian revolution. And therefore, the strength of Trotskyism today is not just confusion within the petty-bourgeoisie; not just the financial backing of the bourgeoisie; but the revisionism of the CPSU and CPUSA. For Trotskyism

Some say that what makes Trotskyism so dangerous is that they "skip over stages of the revolutionary struggle." True they appear to skip over stages of the revolutionary struggle, but is that the real danger of Trotskyism? It certainly is not. The real danger of Trotskyism is their attempts at sabotaging the revolution — of counter-revolution. The Trotskyites will constantly push some line, idea, etc., which will divert or split the revolutionary movement. And this is their real purpose of existence. They are not interested in the success of the proletarian revolution.

Trotskyites will try to do everything they can to divide up the working class. They push the idea of forming new organizations where existing mass organizations already exist, for example, in the trade unions, in order to confuse and divide the workers.

They push the artificial division of the working class along national lines. Take for example, this quote from Trotsky:

"It is very possible that Negroes also through self-determination will proceed to the proletarian dictatorship in a couple of gigantic strides, ahead of the great block of white workers. They will then furnish the vanguard." 12
What is this but the setting up of the Negro people for slaughter?

But the main task of the Trotskyites is to attack the revolutionary vanguard — the communists. At every chance the Trotskyites will attempt to discredit the communists and communism. And by such actions they hope to confuse and divide the working class and the revolutionary movement.

How do the Trotskyites struggle in the working class? Do they present their views in a democratic way for the working class to decide? Hell no. They practice their "politics" by wheeling and dealing, by being stool pigeons to the employers and the

government, by making secret deals, by threats and gang-like attacks on communists and progressive minded workers.

At this time, most of the Trotskyites are on the campuses and more bribed jobs, such as hospitals, and so we don't run into them in the factories or communities that much. But the more the revolutionary movement grows, the more the bourgeois will send their agents the Trotskyites into the movement to sabotage it. Therefore, we must be prepared to expose these counter-revolutionaries to the working class and all of the revolutionary movement.

How do we fight Trotskyism? Firstly, to repeat, we do not defeat Trotskyism by arguing with the Trotskyites (it is the equivalent to talking to the police). We defeat Trotskyism by winning over the masses to the proletarian revolution. We defeat Trotskyism by building a communist party. We defeat Trotskyism by understanding their role — as that of counter-revolutionary wreckers in the pay of the state department. By building a communist party and defeating the revisionist CPUSA we will be well on our way to defeating the opportunism that allows Trotskyism to grow so rampant. By building a communist party we will be able to win the masses in their millions and bury Trotskyism once and for all.

DEATH TO TROTSKYISM!

BUILD A COMMUNIST PARTY!

- 1). Lenin's Selected Works — Vol. 3, p. 517.
- 2). From M.J. Olgin's "Trotskyism — Counter-revolution in disguise", p19.
- 3). See J.V. Stalin — "October Revolution", p71, for further information.
- 4). See Olgin, Ibid, p 14, for further information.
- 5). From Olgin, Ibid, p 25.
- 6). J.V. Stalin — "Mastering Bolshevism", p 9.
- 7). Herb Tank, "Inside Job", p 17, New Century Publishers, 1947.
- 8). J.V. Stalin, Vol. VI, p 389.
- 9). Ibid, p 388.
- 10). Ibid, p 384.
- 11). J.V. Stalin, "Speeches on the American Communist Party, p 28, Workers Library Publishers, 1929.
- 12). Leon Trotsky, "On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination", Mint Publications.

Introduction

The **Unity Statement**, which follows, outlines the basic program of the October League (Marxist-Leninist).

We in the October League are dedicated to ending the exploitation and suffering of the people under the imperialist system. We believe that to accomplish this end, as we outline in the **Unity Statement**, we must employ three main weapons: a communist party, a broad united front and armed struggle.

Since its founding, the October League has begun to dig deep roots among the masses, particularly among the workers in the large factories around the country. We have taken an active part in building the united front against imperialism and its vicious policies at home and abroad.

The October League is one organization in the young, but growing communist movement in the United States. This movement takes as its ideological basis, the theories developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung through their participation in the class struggle around the world. We are also the inheritors of the proud, fighting history of the masses of American people: the struggles of labor, the Afro-American and other oppressed nationalities, of women, of the struggle against imperialist war and the best traditions of the communist movement.

But this young communist movement in the U.S. still has many weaknesses. It is relatively small, scattered and is inexperienced in making socialist revolution. Although it has grown up in opposition to the revisionist CPUSA, it has only begun to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in the U.S.

In addition, it remains for communists to fully integrate themselves with the working class and the struggle of the masses. Only with active participation in the day to day battles of the people will it be possible to test in practice the correctness of our policies and to forge the unity necessary for building a new communist party in the U.S.

For those who are interested in more information about the work of the October League (M-L) and our views on important questions of the day, we suggest you subscribe to our national newspaper, **The Call (El Clarín)** or write us.

May, 1973

STATEMENT OF POLITICAL UNITY
OF
THE OCTOBER LEAGUE (M-L)

imperialism, we must speak of the *world* proletarian revolution because "the separate national fronts of capital have become links in a single chain called the world front of imperialism, which must be opposed by a common front of the revolutionary movement in all countries."

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

The transition from capitalism to communism covers a very long historic period. Throughout this whole period there is upheaval and revolutionary struggle. But the development of the world socialist revolution is also characterized by unevenness and the class struggle in every country has its own characteristics. The socialist revolution cannot take place simultaneously in every country, but first in one or several countries--those which are the weakest links in the world front of imperialism.

The fundamental contradiction which shapes this entire epoch is between the forces of imperialism and reaction and the forces of socialism and revolution. These two antagonistic forces are locked in the fiercest struggle. The forces of imperialism and reaction are on their death bed and the forces of revolution and socialism are rising and growing stronger each day.

B. Main Contradictions in the World Today: There are four main contradictions in the world today. These contradictions are all irreconcilable and are bound to give rise to revolution.

These are:

1. the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other;
2. the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries;
3. the contradiction between the imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries.
4. the contradiction between the socialist countries on the one hand and the imperialists and social imperialists on the other.

As well as giving rise to revolution and just wars, these contradictions also give rise to unjust wars, imperialist aggression, and the phenomenon of world war. Communists must always make a distinction between the two.

Mao Tsetung has pointed out, "The danger of a new world war still exists, and people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

The unleashing of world war by the imperialists can in no way prevent their imminent death, it can only hasten it. Speaking again about the possibility of world war, Mao Tsetung said: "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war."

C. The National Question in the World Today: The expansionist drive of imperialism and social-imperialism for new markets, cheap labor, and super-profits has brought them in sharp contradiction with the national aspirations of the oppressed nations and peoples who make up the vast majority of the world's population. This contradiction has given rise to a whole series of national democratic revolutions which are direct blows at imperialism.

Since the October Revolution of 1917, the character of the national democratic revolutions has changed fundamentally, from being part of the world bourgeois-democratic movement to being part of the world proletarian revolution.

Although such a revolution is still basically bourgeois in its first stage, it can no longer be successfully led by the national bourgeoisie and result in the establishment of a bourgeois dictatorship. Instead, if the revolution is to be successful, it must be led by the proletariat and its communist party, in alliance with the peasantry, uniting the broad patriotic masses, including the patriotic national bourgeoisie in a national united front. This revolution must lead directly to socialist revolution. While first passing through a new-democratic stage, a prerequisite to entering the socialist stage, the revolution is not able to stop at new democracy, but must continue on to socialism if it is not to lose the hard-won gains made in the first stage.

Throughout both stages of revolution, the proletariat and the revolutionary people must master all forms of struggle, particularly armed struggle, in order to defeat the imperialists on every front.

An outstanding example of new-democratic revolution, at this time is the struggle of the Vietnamese people, in alliance with the other Indochinese peoples, for national sovereignty. The Vietnamese workers and peasants, led by the Vietnam Worker's Party, have formed a broad

united front against the U.S. imperialists, strengthening unity among all the patriotic masses, including the patriotic national bourgeoisie. The Vietnamese people have waged heroic armed struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their puppets, dealing them defeat after defeat on the battle field. By utilizing other forms of struggle, such as negotiations, the Vietnamese have been able to thoroughly expose the warmongering nature of the U.S. imperialists before the world's people.

It is both the objective anti-imperialist nature of national-democratic revolutions and the fact that these revolutions must finally result in socialism which makes them the main ally of the proletariat in its struggle against imperialism.

The working class in the imperialist countries has a special responsibility to militantly support the rights of the oppressed nations to self-determination, seeing the anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed nations as completely in unity with its own interests and as its own most dependable support.

D. Socialist Countries: The intensification of capitalist contradictions under imperialism brings uneven development to the forefront and creates weak links in the world chain of imperialism. These breeches in the front of imperialism create the possibility and necessity for proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism in one or several countries. Classes, class struggle, and the threat of imperialist intervention exist throughout the entire period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its final and complete victory can only be assured by the world-wide overthrow of imperialism.

The October Revolution in Russia was the first to pierce the front of imperialism and the Soviet Union became the first socialist country. At that time, every revolutionary party and organization could be judged by its support and defense of the Soviet Union. Since the end of WWII, a whole group of socialist countries have emerged, now encompassing over one fourth of the world's population. The socialist countries, constructing socialism internally, are a reliable rear area for the world revolution and along with the proletariat in the capitalist countries and oppressed nations, make up the core of the world-wide united front against imperialism.

While suffering a temporary set-back with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the working class has been immeasurably strengthened by the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. Pointing the way to prevention of capitalist restoration and building socialism, the People's Republic of China shines like a beacon for the oppressed people throughout the world.

It is the duty of workers and progressive peoples everywhere to support and defend China, Albania and all other socialist countries against attacks and plots by the imperialists and social-imperialists.

E. Situation After WWII: The defeat of the fascist powers in WWII led to a new situation in the world, very favorable to revolution and unfavorable to imperialism and the forces of reaction. The imperialists, meeting resistance throughout the world, can no longer do as they please.

Contrary to the view of the modern revisionists who peddle their "strategy" of "peaceful co-existence", "peaceful competition", and "peaceful transition", this new situation has led to a great upsurge in the struggle against imperialism and has not at all mitigated the basic contradictions inherent in imperialism. Nor has this new situation eliminated the necessity to oppose imperialism with armed revolution.

Two main events characterized this new and favorable situation.

The first was the tremendous growth of the people's democratic forces, resulting in the creation of a number of socialist countries and, especially, the great rise in the strength of the national liberation movements in the former colonies of the fascists and other imperialist powers, resulting in a storm center of anti-imperialist struggle.

On the other hand, U.S. imperialism stepped into the vacated shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists and became the undisputed No. 1 aggressor of the world wide imperialists. The U.S. imperialists greatly expanded their aggression, trying to dominate and oppress the smaller nations of the world, opposing progress and revolution and threatening to make war on the socialist countries.

F. Social-Imperialism: Along with the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet ruling clique, the social-imperialists, have placed themselves in opposition to the aspirations and needs of the world's people, including the people of the Soviet Union. Following the death of Joseph Stalin, these revisionists, who had wormed their way into the party, seized control and destroyed the party of Lenin and Stalin.

Usurping state power, these new Tsars now rule the Soviet people with an iron heel of fascism, under the guise of a "state of the whole people". They have transformed most of the people's democracies of Eastern Europe into semi-colonial puppet states and are now in a mad race with the U.S. imperialists to expand their sphere of influence throughout the world, especially in the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, and in the Balkans.

They have enforced "reforms of the economic system" which put profits above everything else, in the operation of factories and the state and collective farms. These bourgeois elements, who now have the power to expropriate profits from the production of the workers, have become a privileged bourgeois class and have restored capitalism, turning the Soviet people into wage slaves.

Together with the U.S. imperialists, they are plotting and scheming to overthrow socialism in China, Albania and other socialist countries. Their collusion and competition with the U.S. for super-power status has brought the world to the brink of war.

Mao Tsetung has stated:

"The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet party and state has now been usurped by the revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of party members and cadre are good, that they desire revolution and that the revisionist rule will not last long."

G. International United Front Against Imperialism: Based on the objective conditions of the world situation and on an analysis of the main contradictions in the world, it is possible and necessary for the international proletariat to form a world-wide united front against imperialism and its policies of war and aggression. This is summed up in Chairman Mao Tsetung's historic statement of May 20th, 1970: **PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE AND DEFEAT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS AND ALL THEIR RUNNING DOGS!!**

The international united front is an effective defense against imperialist aggression, war and fascism, as well as the correct strategy for world revolution. This strategy must be applied to the particular conditions in each country.

With the socialist countries and the international proletariat as its nucleus, in closest alliance with the oppressed nations, the united front unites all peoples and countries suffering under the yoke of imperialist enslavement, bullying and aggression in opposition to imperialism and its policies.

Within the united front, the policy of the proletariat is to boldly expand the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the diehards.

In opposition to the modern revisionist's policy of relying on the splits in the imperialist camp, the policy of the proletariat is to make use of these contradictions, at the same time relying on the resolute revolutionary struggles of the peoples of all countries in carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the end.

H. Summary: Developments in the international situation in the past year have reaffirmed the correctness of these general principles. Upheavals, mass struggles, and revolutions have shaken the very foundations of the imperialist system. The basic contradictions in the world have sharpened. In particular, the contradiction between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism on the one hand, and the people of the world, including the U.S. and Soviet people; and the contradiction between the two super-powers in their scramble for world hegemony and spheres of influence have become even more acute and widespread.

The Indochinese peoples have taken a decisive step forward in driving the imperialist aggressors out of all Indochina with support and assistance from millions of peace-loving people in the U.S. and around the world.

The victories in Indo-China prove the truth of Comrade Mao Tsetung's words:

"A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."

May 20th Statement

The U.S. and their puppet troops have been dealt a stunning defeat. Similarly, all over the world national liberation is on the upsurge. The armed struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against U.S.-Israeli aggression have greatly weakened imperialism.

More and more, the struggle of small and medium countries for independence from the bullying of the two super-powers is beginning to play a very important role in isolating the super-powers and winning middle forces over to the side of anti-imperialism. This isolation was marked by the great victory of the restoration of China's legal rights in the United Nations.

The war plots of the super-powers have grown especially treacherous, and during the last year were marked by U.S. aggression in Indo-China and by Soviet support for an armed invasion of East Pakistan by the Indian expansionists. But this has only succeeded in further exposing these plots of imperialism and social-imperialism before the world's people.

In the very heartlands of the imperialist and social-imperialist countries, workers and other progressive forces have been rising up in

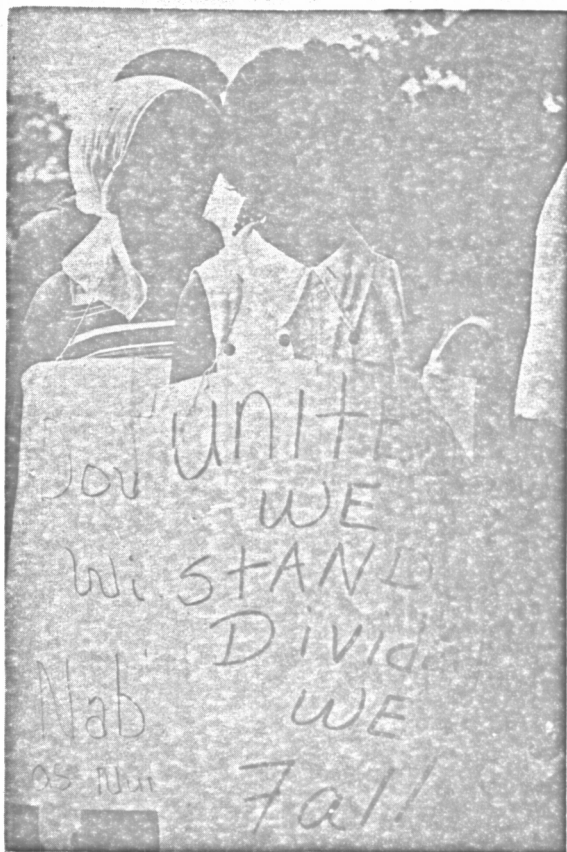
massive rebellions and strikes as the system of capitalism is being rocked by a severe crisis. A profound change in the balance of power among the imperialist countries is occurring, and the capitalists have intensified their fight to shift the crisis onto each other, as well as their own workers.

All in all, we are witnessing the most favorable conditions for anti-imperialist struggle ever. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this historical tide is pounding the decadent rule of imperialism and all reaction. New vistas for expanding the international united front against imperialism are opening daily, and growing numbers of people are taking an active part in the struggle.

While revolution is the main trend in the world, the possibility of world war still exists. The present situation shows us that war is a class question. As long as imperialism exists it must drive for super-profits and world conquest, making war inevitable. Lasting peace can only be won through defeating imperialism.

This situation poses important tasks for the communist movement in the U.S., primarily the application of this strategic international united front against imperialism to the concrete conditions in the U.S. today. At this time, the central one is the building of a new, genuine communist party. We must mobilize the working class in struggle against U.S. imperialism and educate it in proletarian internationalism. We must also construct the broadest possible united front within the U.S., directed against imperialism and its double-dealing policies. We must resolutely support the three Indochinese peoples and other oppressed nations in their just struggles against imperialism and all reaction. And we must strengthen the unity of the socialist countries and the peoples of the U.S.

The U.S. Revolution



A. *Principal Contradiction in the U.S.:* U.S. society contains many contradictions which have arisen as a result of the fact that production has a social character under capitalism while ownership of the means of production is in private hands. While the struggle to resolve all of these contradictions is a part of the socialist revolution in this country, *the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction.*

The others, like the contradictions between the oppressed nationalities and the bourgeoisie, between the petty bourgeoisie and monopoly bourgeoisie, between bourgeois democracy and bourgeois fascism and others, can only be resolved in the context of the class struggle to smash imperialist rule. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie plays the leading role in influencing and developing these other contradictions.

In essence, the revisionists view the principal contradiction as being between one section of monopoly and another. This lies at the basis of their theory of "peaceful transition to socialism." Instead of reliance upon the proletariat and its allies, it relies on the "reasonableness" of the liberal imperialists.

The Trotskyists and other "left" opportunists one-sidedly pose the task of solving the principal contradiction in sharp opposition to solving all of the non-principal or secondary contradictions. This leaves the proletariat isolated from its allies and is at the basis of their sectarian, splitting and wrecking policies.

B. *Strategic Aims:* The general strategic aim of the revolution in the U.S., where capitalism has reached its highest stage and where the principal contradiction is between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, must be to replace bourgeois rule with proletarian rule--*the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

The phony "two-stage revolution" strategy of the CPUSA, which is embodied in the slogan "the stage is not set for socialism," attempts to pose a stage of "radical anti-monopoly reform" as a prerequisite for advancing the revolution to the stage of socialism. While a strategy of two-stage revolution is necessary and correct in an oppressed nation, where the principal contradiction is between the broad masses of people on the one hand and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism on the other, it is unnecessary and incorrect in the U.S.

The result of this view in the U.S. is the separation of the struggle for the immediate needs of the masses of people from the struggle to overthrow imperialism and establish socialism. It is a reformist theory which encourages the false idea that U.S. imperialism can be qualitatively transformed to the point where it can meet the needs of the masses, without being totally destroyed and replaced by socialism.

Communists must stand in the front ranks of all the day to day struggles of the people. In the course of these battles, they must sum up the experience of the masses and point out that the fundamental problems can only be solved with the complete overthrow of the imperialist system. But if the communists stand aloof from the mighty mass movements, their ideas cannot be translated into action and they will inevitably degenerate into an empty, propaganda-sect.

Along with this reformist view of "two stages" the modern revisionist CPUSA also pushes the criminal line of "the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism." The U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie exercises complete dictatorship over the working class and people of the U.S. This dictatorship is based on the armed might of the state (army, police, prisons, bureaucracy, etc.) and they do not hesitate to use it against the people. While we must master all forms of struggle (for example, participation in elections), the only way that socialism can be established in the U.S. is through military insurrection, the smashing of the bourgeois state by the armed force of the masses and its replacement by a new proletarian state based on an army of the workers. This is a universal principal of Marxism-Leninism. To pose any other possibility is to create illusions and to disarm the people in their struggle.

C. The National Question in the U.S.: The U.S. is a multi-national state. That is, within the borders of the U.S. there exist several oppressed nations and national minorities. It is the resolute duty of the proletariat to support and unite with the struggles of these nations and national minorities, to resolutely uphold in practice the right of all oppressed nations to self-determination (including the right to secede and establish its own independent state), and to defend all other democratic rights.

Racial and national oppression in the U.S. is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. Imperialism arose and thrived upon the slave labor of Afro-American people. The domination by the U.S. monopolists of Mexico, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Guam, the Phillipines, etc., lays the basis for the severe oppression of minorities within its own borders. It is only through revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism that the national question can be resolved.

The alliance and merger of the movements of the oppressed nationalities and the general workers movement is the basic strategic alliance for revolution in the U.S.; a revolution that will accomplish, in one sweep, the liberation of the oppressed nationalities and the emancipation of the working class.

Among the various national struggles, the Afro-American struggle takes on special significance. Through 350 years of slavery and semi-slavery within the plantation area of the South, these people were forged into a nation. With the rise of industrialization, large numbers have been scattered throughout the U.S. to serve the bourgeoisie as cheap labor, and are forced to compete with white and other minority workers for jobs, driving down the cost of labor power. It is in this way that the imperialists drive out super profits, and foster divisions among the class, using mainly white chauvinism and secondly narrow nationalism as their ideological bulwarks.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a just and powerful struggle against the monopoly capitalist class, it is also a clarion call to all the oppressed and exploited people within the U.S. to struggle against the rule of the imperialists.

The national struggle of the masses of black people against the U.S. ruling class is, in the final analysis, a class contradiction. Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other national groupings can only win complete emancipation by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the imperialists through violent struggle in unity with the white workers.

The black masses and the working class share a common interest. They both suffer under the fascist policies of the U.S. rulers and can only throw off the yoke of capitalism together. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of black people are workers and the black and other minority workers make up a basic component part of the U.S. working class, and are setting a militant example for the people of the U.S. The emancipation of Afro-American people and other minorities within the U.S. is a general democratic task of the whole working class and is fully in accord with the interests of the entire working class. Despite the attempts of the capitalists and their lackeys to whip up race hatred and hysteria, more and more white workers are being won to support the Afro-American struggle. It is for these reasons that the "struggle of the black people in the U.S. is bound to merge with the American workers movement and will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly class."

It has become fashionable for different opportunists or petit-bourgeois radicals, as well as many honest revolutionaries, to tell us that "the white workers are bought off" or that "the white workers cannot join the class struggle until they have repudiated their white skin privileges." These ideas run counter to Marxism-Leninism and promote disunity and defeatism. While imperialism has bought off a small minority of workers (the labor aristocracy), these workers should never be confused with the masses of white working people or the class as a whole.

An end to national oppression can only come through violent revolutionary struggle. The revisionists of the CPUSA have a rotten record of trying to lead the oppressed nationality peoples down the

road of reformism and pacifism. They have spread the illusion that national oppression can be ended under capitalism by relying on liberal capitalists.

There are Trotskyists and other so-called "leftists" (like the Progressive Labor Party) who liquidate the national question. They fail to distinguish between revolutionary nationalism (directed at imperialism) and reactionary nationalism (directed at the white workers) and generally push white chauvinist ideology to sharpen divisions and hold back the class struggle. They attack all and unite nobody. The proletariat must reject these left and right deviations on the national question.

Within the U.S., we must build a multi-national communist party which reflects the national make-up of the whole working class, and truly represents the interests of the whole class. This party must take on the responsibility of going among the white workers and fighting white chauvinism, (the main danger, and special duty of white communists), while also combatting narrow nationalism (the special responsibility of communists of the oppressed nationalities).

D. The Woman Question: The oppression of women arose and developed with the division of early society into classes. The final emancipation of women will only be made possible with the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist system.

The big imperialists are the ones who derive huge profits and maintain their power from the humiliating subjugation of women. They are the ones who benefit from the domestic slavery of women and from their consequential status as a vast reserve of cheap labor. Women are direct victims of the imperialist policies of war, aggression, and fascism around the world.

Historically, women have not accepted this lot, but have risen in struggle against imperialism and reaction. From the outset, women in the U.S. played a militant role in the working class movement. Today in Vietnam and other oppressed nations, women are entering the anti-imperialist struggle in large numbers, taking their place alongside men on all fronts, including the armed struggle. In China, Albania, and other socialist countries, women are making great strides towards total equality, helping construct socialism internally and opposing imperialism. All this is setting a shining example for the people the world over and is helping to shatter the myths about the inherent passivity and inferiority of women.

In this country, the great majority of women are working women. In order for women to finally gain full equality and emancipation, the power of the imperialist reactionaries must be

crushed and proletarian power established.

In order to carry out and perpetuate the subordinate position of women in society, the bourgeoisie promotes many reactionary male supremacist ideas among the masses. The proletariat stands against all such notions of male superiority. But among the masses, the contradiction between men and women is a contradiction among the people which should be resolved in a non-antagonistic manner.

The oppression of women in this society constitutes a special democratic question. The proletariat as a whole must unite with and lead the struggle of the masses of women for full equality.

Because of the attempts by the capitalists to exclude women from the mainstream of production and political life, communists must take on special tasks, such as the mass mobilization of working women into the revolutionary struggle and defense of the rights of all women. Communists must make a special effort to train and develop women into leaders of the class. On the one hand, the vanguard elements of the proletariat must oppose every manifestation of male supremacy and its ideology. On the other hand, they must stand firm against all notions of petit-bourgeois feminism which attempts to direct the main blow at men.

Imperialism and its policies of aggression, war and fascism have created sharp contradictions between the broad masses of American people and the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

The U.S. proletariat, led by a genuine communist party, must unite around itself all those forces who can be united into a broad united front to oppose monopoly capital, defend democratic rights, oppose the menace of fascism, improve living conditions, oppose imperialist arms expansion and war, defend world peace and to actively support the oppressed nations and socialist countries.

TO MAKE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND ATTAIN ITS FINAL AIMS, THE U.S. WORKING CLASS MUST NARROW ITS TARGET (ISOLATING THE TINY HANDFUL OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS): BUILD AN IRON BOND OF UNITY WITH THE OPPRESSED NATIONS AND THE NATIONAL MINORITIES: AND MUST LINK ITSELF CLOSELY WITH THE BROAD MASSES OF PEOPLE IN THE STRUGGLE TO OVERTHROW IMPERIALISM.

To deny the need to win over non-proletarian forces to the side of the working class, as the Trotskyites and ultra-leftists do, is to turn over to the bourgeoisie the reserves of the proletarian revolution. While intellectuals and middle classes enter the revolutionary struggle with their own petty bourgeois prejudices and are vacillating elements, the proletariat must, through patient work, win these reserves to the side of the revolution by adopting specific policies to unite with them.

The working class and its party must maintain their political and organizational independence and initiative within the united front, by leading the day to day struggles, by promoting the fight for reforms in a revolutionary manner and by pointing out, in this context, the final aims of the movement.

Party Building .



A. The Situation in the U.S. Today: During the last year, U.S. imperialism has been in the throes of an acute crisis. Because of its striking defeats in Indochina and the increasing erosion of its position as the "top" imperialist power, the U.S. ruling class has tried more and more to shift the burden of its crisis onto the backs of the U.S. people.

The severe economic and political crisis has thrown millions of U.S. workers and other progressive people into direct conflict with the imperialist bourgeoisie. The people's struggles here continue to grow and flourish.

Among the workers, open defiance of the Nixon administration's wage-freeze was shown in the strikes of hundreds of thousands of dock workers and miners. These along with numerous wild-cat strikes have taken a toll of billions of dollars from the imperialists. Run-away inflation and open government corruption have resulted in the most bitter hatred for the present government. The political consciousness of the masses of workers has grown, as indicated by continued opposition to the war and the sympathy of the workers around such events as the Attica Prison revolt and the Angela Davis case.

The movement of the Afro-American, Puerto Rican, Chicano and other oppressed nationality peoples for liberation has developed continuously, despite severe repression. Reactionary violence of the imperialists has been met with revolutionary violence. Increasingly, industrial workers of these nationalities are playing a leading role in the liberation fight, and Marxist-Leninist ideology is becoming a material force in these struggles.

The continuation of the war against Indochina has brought millions of people into the fight against imperialist policies of war and aggression, including working people who are most severely hurt by these policies. In 1971 alone, 98,000 GIs deserted from the U.S. Army.

These are but a few signs of the expansion of the anti-imperialist struggle in this country. In the past few years, the people of the U.S., particularly the U.S. workers, have become an important component part of the world-wide anti-imperialist movement.

In general, the situation in the U.S. presents excellent possibilities for heightening the struggle against imperialism and its aggressive policies, and for building a revolutionary movement aimed at smashing U.S. imperialism and replacing it with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Despite the fact that the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie is resorting more and more to fascist measures, the people's struggle continues to grow.

In the future, there is the definite possibility that the bourgeoisie will entirely drop its "democratic" facade and open fascism will become the dominant form of its rule. In the long run, this inability to rule by "democratic" methods is just another sign of their

growing weakness and impending collapse. But the threat this poses should not be ignored or underrated.

This is a pre-revolutionary period, and the main task facing communists now is to take advantage of the present excellent situation by preparing the working class for a determined and vigorous struggle aimed at the complete overthrow of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie.

B. Why We Need a New Party: An important product of the split in the international communist movement and the growth and development of the mass struggles of the American people, has been the emergence of a young communist movement in the U.S. Using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as its guide, this movement seeks to lead the spontaneous struggles of the broad masses of American people towards the goal of revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat.

This new communist movement is developing in revolt and opposition to the revisionist CPUSA, the inheritor of Browder and Khrushchov. The CPUSA's total abandonment of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, its chauvinism and economism, has made it the agent lackey of U.S. imperialism within the working class movement itself.

Recognizing the historic truth that if there is to be a revolution there must be a revolutionary party, the creation of a new communist party — one of the Leninist-type — has become the principal task for all communists in the U.S. Given the total degeneration of the CPUSA, the developing struggles of the working class and its allies have been restricted to simply attempting to reform this rotten imperialist system. Under the leadership of a genuine communist party can the masses themselves understand through their own experience, the necessity to smash the existing order and to direct their struggles toward the final aim of socialism.

C. Nature of a Party: A new communist party must be built. Following from our revolutionary aims, this must be a party of the Bolshevik-type and not a reformist mass, electoral party like those of the modern revisionists and social-democrats.

The purpose of such a party is to mobilize and lead the working class and its allies to revolution and sustain its victories after the seizure of power.

This purpose makes it necessary to have a militant party, bold enough to arouse the working masses in revolutionary struggle; one that is sufficiently experienced to find its own bearings in the complex conditions of making revolution; and one that is flexible enough to steer the proletariat through the inevitable twists and turns in the class struggle.

This party must be the advanced detachment of the working class. To stand at its head, it must base itself on the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and apply these universal truths in a program and strategy for revolution in its own country. It must ceaselessly combat revisionism and all forms of opportunism. Class divided society inevitably produces a struggle between two class lines within the left forces and within the party. In order to keep on the right course and draw itself closer to the militant masses, the struggle against opportunism is essential for victory. A communist party must give conscious leadership to the class struggle and must always remember its final aims.

A communist party must be a fighting organization. It must be vigorous and have an iron will. Made up only of the most devoted, selfless communists — the finest representatives of the working class — such a party must practice democratic-centralism, have a division of labor, and must be able to master all forms of work necessary (open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary and mass, strikes and armed insurrections). In its methods, it must practice criticism and self-criticism to ensure Marxist-Leninist unity and maintain close ties with the people.

A Bolshevik-type party is a party of the proletariat and must enjoy the closest and firmest links with the class. Only through integration with the working masses, and most importantly basing itself on factory nuclei, and wholehearted participation in the mass struggle, can this goal be achieved.

For such a party, practicing the mass line is the method of mobilization of the revolutionary forces. That is, it must go to the masses, take their ideas and concentrate them, then go back to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through.

A communist party must base itself on proletarian internationalism and the slogan "workers of all countries, unite." It must wage a determined struggle against the oppression of nations, particularly those oppressed by "its" own bourgeoisie. It must be a party composed of communists of all nationalities within the same State and who share the same strategic objective. It must combat all forms of great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism.

D. Building a New Party: Comrade Lenin said, "There can be no strong socialist party without a revolutionary theory which unites all socialists, from which they draw all their convictions, and which they apply in their methods of struggle and means of action."

At this time, when the revolutionary movement of the working class is without a conscious leading group, when the principles of Marxism have been robbed of their revolutionary guts by the revisionist party and when the movement towards communism has been torn away from the mass movement, the fight for theory has become decisive. Based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the particular conditions of the United States, we must constantly test our theory in practice, participating in mass struggle and summing up this experience. In this way we can reject incorrect ideas and develop correct ideas, raising our theory to a higher and higher level. Through this process, a program of struggle must be formulated, one that gives direction to the movement and poses its strategic aims. This program will not only be the result of active participation in the mass struggle, but also the result of sharp struggle against all forms of opportunism within the communist and working class movements.

While the principal danger in the general peoples' movement is posed by the right opportunist CPUSA, within the young communist forces the main danger is ultra-leftism. Due to inexperience and still shallow roots among the basic sections of the working class, the danger of a "purest" view towards the mass struggle and negation of the united front pose an important obstacle. A manifestation of this ultra-leftist influence is the view of "building a party first, then later engaging in the mass struggle." Sectarianism and unprincipled attacks within the communist movement are also symptoms of idealism and dogmatism.

While at the present time our main practical work is among the factory workers of all nationalities, communists must also actively participate in the mass anti-imperialist movement. This movement is a firm basis of support for the struggles of the oppressed peoples around the world and for the working class struggle in the U.S. We must oppose all forms of sectarianism that seek to divide the forces who are opposed to imperialism and its policies of war and aggression.

The spontaneous and dispersed character of the communist movement at present has led to localism and primitiveness. Communists must develop a high level of organization that can carry on revolutionary work and safeguard the struggle from police attack. Communist organization must be built along factory lines, firmly linked to and under the supervision of the masses.

Those organizations and groups who adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought must unite to struggle and struggle to unite in both serious ideological work and in common practice in order to build a new vanguard party of the working class. The revolutionary unity between the October League (M-L) and the

Georgia Communist League (M-L) is a single step in that direction.

“The working class needs unity. But unity can be effected only by a united organization whose decisions are conscientiously carried out by all class-conscious workers. Discussing the problem, ascertaining the views of the majority of the organized Marxists, expressing these views in the form of decisions adopted by delegates and carrying them out conscientiously — this is what reasonable people all over the world call unity. Such a unity is infinitely precious, and infinitely important to the working class. Disunited, the workers are nothing. United, they are everything.”

V.I. Lenin (CW: 19)

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