

# DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 13 OF 16

FOLDER 9

CL PAPERS BLACK QUESTIONS

R6.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NEGRO PEOPLES MOVEMENT

War is politics with guns--Politics is war without guns. This is the teaching of Marxism on the political struggle. Therefore all the laws of war are perfectly applicable to the political struggle. The tactics of war are also applicable to the political work. One of the most difficult and general problems of tactical commanders is the question of manouvering reserves. For example a unit breaks through an enemy line the problem presents itself, should the commander throw his reserves behind the advancing force thus exploiting the breakthrough to the utmost, but also creating the condition where the advancing unit can be outflanked, cut off, surrounded and destroyed or should the tactical commander throw his reserves behind the units that are bogged down so as to move the entire front steadily and evenly ahead but possibly losing the initiative gained by the original breakthrough?

The answer to this problem is to be found in the various factors around the enemy capability etc., and the situations vary from time to time. The making of correct decisions ---taking all matters into objective consideration is what makes a good leader.

Today, in the CL we very much are faced with this situation. We would like to talk especially about the struggle in California for the hegemony of the working class. One of the fronts of struggle there is the struggle of the national minorities for their equality. In the main, some very good work has been done. Due to the self-sacrifice and correct hard work on the part of the comrades we have achieved a real breakthrough in work around the Mexican national minority. Every success is bound to bring with it new problems. The problem being sharply posed in California and especially in the Los Angeles area is "Where do we commit our reserves?" Any view of the situation in California and especially in the Los Angeles area points up the danger of our work in the Mexican national minority being outflanked by the bourgeoisie's increasing use of the Negro question.

We should firmly grasp that the key to almost any problem facing the working class is the question of class unity--and the key to class unity is the Negro question. The struggle for peace, for housing, for jobs, for security, for education etc. becomes focussed on how to approach the Negro question concretely. This is the most difficult task and a task that is often soon deserted in favor of work where the pickings are easier.

Some comrades have made the mistake of thinking that work around the Negro question can only be done amongst the Negro people. Of course this is a serious lack of orientation. It brings to mind the report from a comrade in the CPUSA some years back which stated, "there are no Negroes in the area and therefore no Negro problem". Work on the Negro question must permeate every phase and aspect of our work. If we are to be successful we have to walk on two legs in this respect. One leg is concrete work amongst the Negro national minority masses. This must consist of joining the leading organizations of the Negro people and waging the organized struggle there. On the other hand this consists of raising the Negro question consistently of proving the linkup of the oppression of the Mexican national minority and the oppression of the Negro people. This consists of rallying all sections of the working class in defense of the Negroes. Without this work being carried out, the splendid work presently being done among the Mexican national minority will come to nothing.



Several times the various areas have been urged to send cadre into the leading Negro organization with absolutely no response. We feel the situation is getting serious and the seeming local view of the area leaders cannot continue.

Hence, the area comrades are directed to assign cadre to this organization and report to the center when this has been done.

Comrades, in order to strengthen our movement we have to move out of the 'left' form of activity and dig deep into the mainstream of the struggle. The fact that the vast majority of the Negro people consider the NAACP as the major organization of the Negro people and not one single League comrade belongs to it, is cause for re-assessment. We also want to emphasize that such organizational work should not be carried out by Negro comrades alone. Anglo-American comrades must also participate in this work.

Comradely,  
for the Org. Bureau  
Nelson

\*\*\*\*\*  
PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONGRESS

Comrades,

The events of the last three weeks have clearly spelled out the effects of the upcoming Congress on the political left. The RU is suffering from major defections, including large portions of their Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit and New York organizations. The Guardian, whose pages have been filled with wild attacks upon the Communist League, has asked the League to speak at two forums. Even such people as Ron Karenga, Leroy Jones and Stokely Carmichael have either called for the formation of a party or expressed interest in the Continuations Committee. It is a known fact that the October League, unable to stand on its own two feet has begun working closer and closer with the CPUSA. An example of this is the Steel Workers' Conference in Chicago the last week of May. This meeting, a typical gathering of the CPUSA to corral the rising tide of steel workers, was chaired and run jointly by the Party and the OL along with the Young Workers' Liberation League. Elsewhere throughout the country the left is once again engaged in its traditional musical chairs of exchanging membership.

Amongst this disintegration and confusion two questions have arisen which need clarification. Many of the membership of the 'new left' organizations have been confused about the meaning of the 'new left' and subsequently are confused on what is the Party Congress. It would not be healthy if they were allowed to bring this confusion into the congress. First of all the 'new left' arose as a petty bourgeois rebellion against Marxism-Leninism fueled by anarchist social democratic and revisionist theories. It was quite natural that such movement would develop amongst the student youth once the DuBois clubs lost their influence on the campuses and at a time when the international class struggle was very intense. Many of the 'new leftists' did not support the CPUSA and some opposed it. But this opposition flowed mainly from anti-communism and anarchism. The new left was not opposed to revisionism. The opposition to revisionism comes from Marxism. Revisionism is the bourgeois opposite to Marxism within the Marxist movement. Just because someone opposes the CPUSA does not make them anti-revisionist, after all J. Hoover was opposed to the CPUSA. Being a Marxist makes one an anti-revisionist. This is crucial because the 'new leftists' who now are donning themselves in Marxist phrases are coming to the congress, not knowing a lick of Marxism, many sincerely

thinking they are opposed to revisionism. Our battle on this front is to impress upon them that this congress is a Congress around the line of Marxism, that line must be studied and fought for and put into practice and this will be the real battle against revisionism.

Secondly, we must impress upon them that the Party Congress is not just a gathering of groups. This idea of starting something by gathering everyone together who is remotely connected is the same idea that founded SDS in Port Huron. Just bring everyone who wants a party together--fine idea--and then what: a hodge-podge of nothing. The Party Congress is a gathering around a line, the line of Marxism. The line of this Congress already has its foundation in the Marrxists-Leninists United and is continued on through the Continuations Committee. This congress is a meeting of those who support this line and wish to put it into practice. The new left has always offered the idea of building the party through the mass struggle or through the united front instead of forming a disciplined grouping of professional revolutionaries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. These new left lines must be isolated and exposed in the continuations committees before they reach the Congress.

The tasks of the Communist League are three-fold, 1) Intensify internal study. This is extremely difficult to do at this period and might even seem a strange task to those who only see our outward expansion at this point. But we are entering a period where the League must be dissolved, where our present structure will be disbanded and individual comrades must struggle within their new collectives.

2) Deepening our ties with the class. Again this presents itself as a contradiction to the first task, yet they are inseparably bound together. Today deepening our ties with the class means putting into practice the area and regional plans of work and particularly building the factory nuclei.

3) Increase vigilance: today increased vigilance means the struggle for centralism. These next few months must be marked with the intense struggle for centralism and coordination between the regions, areas and the center. How else can we prepare to disband the League except to strengthen and tighten it? How else can we protect our new party from careerists and opportunists except by the strict adherence to collective decision?

In conclusion, we would like to again raise the question of reviewing the membership in each area, as stated in the League Organiser, volume 2 number 2. These reviews must be turned in no later than **AUG 1**. The results of these reviews should be sent into the center. The disintegration of many of the left groups has forced them to try to prevent the formation of the party from within, and not from without as they have in the past. Every League member, particularly those on the continuations committees should struggle hard against the inroads of the "new leftists" while in the same time trying to educate sincere elements to Marxism.

Jim F.

The overall objective conditions in the Local Area have continued along the path outlined in the last report to the Center. The manifestation of the present economic crisis in the local area has witnessed the unemployment rolls through March and April swell an additional 35,000 to the tune of 173,000, or 9.3% of the work force as compared to one year ago in which figures were 108,000 or 6.1% of the labor force. At the same time prices rose 11.5% nationally while the overall economy fell 6.3%, clearly depicting the attack on the standard of living on the Anglo-American proletariat.

Alongside of this development has been the continued increase in the homicide rate which reached close to 300 by mid-May. There was a record-breaking 89 homicides for the 30-day period of the month of April. Likewise the local area has experienced a dramatic 65% rise in the number of armed robberies committed against banks, bars, party stores, cleaners, groceries and restaurants for the first four months in 1974. The response to this is that the capitalists and petty shop owners have installed bullet-proof glass and armed guards at all banks, cleaners, grocery stores, post offices, unemployment offices, welfare and food stamp centers and even payroll offices at plants.

Meanwhile the local police department has announced its new reorganizational proposal in its 5th precinct area on the East Side complete with the opening of its third mini-station located on ----- Street in the fifth precinct area. The first two mini-stations were opened earlier in April in two different housing projects in the city. One in the housing project on the far west side and the other in the housing project on the North East side of town. The fourth mini-station opened in the housing projects in the mid-downtown area.

The local reform movement under the Mayor's direction recently gained the appointment of a Negro National minority "quasi-militant" attorney and president of the local chapter of the NAACP, as chief of the local area's Corporation Council, leading lawyer of the city. Two local Negro national minority gangs on the East Side have been sent to another city by the local city government to confer with another gangs about investments in small businesses. The Mayor has released his budget for the fiscal year which has been okayed by the Common Council. The struggle on the question of reforms has developed further around the request of a one-man grand jury to deal with the increasing drug traffic in the city which was first proposed by a Negro national minority judge with ex-CPUSA ties. This plan has been endorsed by the local chapter of the NAACP and is gaining mass support but resisted by the local prosecutors' office and the Police Officers' Association and higher appeals courts.

In the last three weeks three major events in the arena of the subjective struggle have occurred here locally in order to push more and more bourgeois reforms on the proletariat in the area in particular. On the weekend of May -- a conference of the National Coalition of Black Trade Unionists was followed by the National Committee against Repression, a CPUSA front group on the weekend of May 11 and this weekend on May 18 an African Liberation Day Celebration takes place which this year has the support of the Mayor.

Thus, the social motion mentioned in last month's report has continued--the present economic crisis deepening and the bourgeois class pushing on a reform program for the proletariat, as a cover for impending fascism.

Within the CL in the area, we have been quickly moving in the implementation of our local area plan which is now complete. We have -- comrades in the area, and a contact in the process of being recruited. Our Area is now divided into -- units, as we have completed the dissolution of our old club structure. We have -- factory nuclei, -- community units, the "Left" unit, propaganda and agitation, -- town units and -- external units. All of our community work has for the most part been directed toward re-locating and assisting the development of our factory nuclei.

In our industrial work we have been involved in work around the up-coming trade union convention beginning June 2. We ran candidates at four different plants for delegates to the Constitutional Convention and even though we were unsuccessful in terms of winning the elections, it did serve to launch our comrades into parliamentary struggles. At one plant, where we have had a longer history of more consistent work, our comrades didn't run a candidate for office. Our follow-up work could have corrected this situation in time.

Our comrades have been called back to work at ----- but are temporarily out of work because of a strike at the ----- plant which produces bodies. Leaflet work has begun at

in other plants, pushing the number up to five plants doing leafletting work. The main struggle going on now in our auto sections seem to center around job assignment at the plant which has manifested itself by speed-up during periods of layoffs, thereby increasing the work on a fewer number of workers. In the Ford Department the main struggle is centered around the question of voluntary overtime.

In our "Left" section we are preparing for a reduction in forces as we readjust our work to center on exposing the CFUSA. We have been able to polarize the older "Left" forces around the city. The attacks from the Trots have continued--in particular from the Spartacus League.

Propaganda and Agitation Committee is preparing now for Negro Nation Day celebration which is to be held on June 22 on the East Side.

Our dues have begun to come in better during the month of April. Most of our comrades have been called back to work. Starting with the month of June, we will be able to increase our dues to --- a month plus --- special assessment, totaling --- a month.

Some of the struggles around resistance to Democratic Centralism in practice and the understanding of it, are in too early a stage to report upon it at this point. We will cover them in the next report.

Comradely,  
Local Political Bureau

The organizational bureau would like to publish this report we received last month as an example of a clear, concise, informative and exemplary area report. JF

## Criticism and Self Criticism

The communist concept of criticism and self criticism is one that developed only with the rise of the communist movement itself. The proletariat is the firstclass in history that is capable of really genuine and truly revolutionary criticism and self criticism. Marx pointed out this particular characteristic of the proletarian revolution in the Eighteenth Brumaire; "Proletarian revolutions, on the other hand, like those of the nineteenth century, criticise themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses, and paltrinesses of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again more gigantic before them, recoil every and anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until the situation has been created which all turning back is made impossible (Sel. Wks. VJol..I, p.319.)

In order to carry out criticism which builds principled unity we must follow the method outlined by Lenin himself in Left Wing Communism: The attitude a political party adopts towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of the party and of how it in practice fulfills its obligations towards its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, disclosing the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and carefully discussing the means of correcting it--this is the sign of a serious party... (10 Classics, p.41) Let us examine these four aspects in greater detail.

1. "Frankly admitting a mistake." Mistakes exist as objective facts. Therefore, they are separated from what we as individuals think about them. That is why the first part of criticism and selfcriticism is not the individual who made an error; the first part is discussing the error itself, its effect on the class on the work of the party. If an error has had no real effect on the class and on the work of the party, then we are wasting our time discussing it.

2. "Disclosing the reasons for it." It is hardly enough to say of an individual comrade or a whole group of people, "You made an error and this is what it is." No, we must examine the roots of the error why the error was committed. Once we do this we can ascertain the class roots of the error and we can also know whether the error was committed from ignorance or as part of a plan to weaken the party. For example, it would be stupid to ignore the difference between the reasons behind Trotsky's mistakes and those committed by the honest Bolsheviks.

3. "Analysing the conditions which led to it." No error takes place in a vacuum. And very rarely does an individual make an error as an isolated phenomenon. No, errors are made within a definite environment, and it is impossible to understand an error without understanding its general environment. Perhaps the best example of this is Engels' self-criticism in the Preface to the Class Struggles in France.

4. "Carefully discussing the means of correcting it." All too often this part is all but forgotten. But then why criticize at all, if not to change some aspect of the Party, either its individual cadres or its political policies?



Within the Party criticism starts with what we have agreed upon. In short when the collective agrees to course of action anyone who violates this course of action must be exposed and criticised. Further the basis of the Party is Marxism Leninism. and anyone who tries to inject another alien ideology or philosophy must be criticised. Criticism, however, implies responsibility and therefore we firmly reject the "freedom" of criticism which allows individuals to criticise without being responsible.

Does this mean that we do not accept criticism from the working class, from contacts, etc., because it is not put in Marxist terms? Absolutely not. Marxism cannot be separated from the interests of the working class. The Party must continually evaluate itself on the basis of its leadership of and the participation of the masses.

The same principle applies to criticism of the leadership of the party. Comrades are placed in various positions of responsibility not because they are perfect, but because they are best suited for that responsibility. That is to say, the mistakes they make in carrying out that responsibility are comparatively minor and can be corrected easily. Such an understanding has never been the trademark of the CPUSA, where criticism of leadership is frowned upon. If any person in the party, particularly the leaders, are allowed to go on working without having his mistakes corrected, then that leader will eventually degenerate and collapse. "Self-criticism is needed not in order to relax leadership, but to strengthen it, in order to convert it from leadership on paper and of little authority into vigorous and really authoritative leadership. (Stalin Col. Works, Vol 2, p.139.)

Criticism and self-criticism takes place on many different levels and in many different ways. Rigid, formalistic notions of criticism and self criticism do not add at all in the development of the party. Criticism, as we have seen, takes place at all different times in the party and is not a simple "point on the agenda". Similarly, there are no formal rules for the intensity with which we criticise comrades who have made errors. We can only restate what Mao Tsetung wrote in this regard; "in general, use the method of persuasion with cadres who have made mistakes, and help them correct their mistakes. The method of struggle should be confined to those who make serious mistakes and nevertheless refuse to accept guidance." (Sel. Works. Vol II p 203)

In conclusion, we can see why Stalin included criticism and selfcriticism as one of the four requirements of the method of Leninism. And now that the First Congress draws nearer, an understanding of this vital concept is even more important.

Tom S.

THE NEGRO NATIONAL COLONIAL QUESTION

During the past period of time there has been an increasing awareness that the very cornerstone of the revolutionary policy of the Communist League is the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the national colonial question in general and the Negro question in particular and the proposal for a revolutionary solution to that question.

If our friends sometimes fail to grasp the significance of our line, our enemies hardly ever do. An example is the editorial in the Guardian of May 22, 1974 by Irwin Silber who states, "The CL proclaims the existence of a 'Negro Nation' in the South, a physical land mass all of whose inhabitants, whether white or Black, are Negroes. The projection of two separate nations in this form really adds up not just to 'self-determination', but to an endorsement of secession."

Silber is entirely correct. Our political outlook can be summed up - "The state of the United States is very powerful and as a united whole cannot be overthrown. The overthrow of this state is possible only if it is first - or in the process - dismembered." This is what Silber is fighting against - and what all real revolutionaries are fighting for. Marxists understand that they cannot really create objective reality - they can only work with existing developing situations. Hence, the Communist League has never attempted to create a situation this favorable to us, but to analyze objective reality and to rely upon and exacerbate the aspect of the contradiction that is favorable to us. This is what Leninism is all about - the tactics of the oppressed to batter and finally overthrow an oppressor state.

The most important ideological weapon that the USNA imperialists have is the weapon of "American exceptionalism". It has and does permeate the projections of all social classes and is so inbred (based on the privileges of imperialism) that it is hardly noticeable as it disorients and distorts Marxism and objectivity.

For years "revolutionaries" have been talking about the Negro Nation, and no matter the correctness of their words, it is plain they meant an oppressed people. Stalin points out how the Jews in Russia were an oppressed people because the lack of a Jewish peasantry prevented them from being an oppressed nation. But there was an historically evolved community of territory as regards the Negro people along with other criteria. It is the ideology of "American exceptionalism" that allows them to say "Negro Nation", and, at the same time, deny that all the people living in the nation are Negroes. None of these chauvinists would deny that all the people of Germany are Germans - be they Slavic or the "black" children of American soldiers. Confounding their confusion is their inability to grasp the fact that nations and tribes are two distinct and separate things. Nations are historically evolved communities, whereas tribes are ethnic.

Now there is a new question arising that has the same goal of undermining the revolutionary significance of the Negro question. This new projection is that the Negro question - while a national question - is not a colonial question.

It should be born in mind that until a year ago these same forces were denying that the Negro question was anything but a question of cultural nationalism. They are again saying the same thing, only with the sophistication that a beaten army learns.

First of all, we would like to ask: Can you point to a single national question that is not at the same time a colonial question? How is it conceivable in this period of dying, ferocious capitalism that there should be an oppressed nation that at the same time isn't reduced to the level of a colony? It is plain for all to see that every colonial question involves the question of nations and also that every question of oppressed nations involves the question of



colonial oppression. This is the indisputable result of the development of finance capital.

In this regard, Stalin wrote, "It was the communists who first revealed the connection between the national question and the question of the colonies, who proved it theoretically and made it the basis of their practical revolutionary work." (Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, Int. Pub., p. 112) Is it that these latter day "doubting Thomases" want to break us away from this basis of our revolutionary work? Yes, Comrades, this is true because they represent the dying gasp of the revisionist Fosterite line of a "nation within a nation" - or to put it simply - cultural nationalism. We are either dealing with people who refuse to read such elementary Marxist documents as Foundations of Leninism or people who are attempting to throw "learned dirt" into the eyes of the younger comrades by asking what appears to be innocent questions.

As noted above, the question boils down to this: Is the Fosterite conception of a "nation within a nation" correct, or is the Leninist concept of nations as direct colonies, as well as, indirect neo-colonies under the dictatorship of an alien state correct? Foster's "American exceptionalism" concept is cultural nationalism, pure and simple. Foster's idea is a nation without territory. Likewise, the concept of an oppressed nation that is not a colony is the identical statement. Can there be a "nation within a nation"? Nations have frontiers - territory. How then is it possible to be within another nation? There cannot be multi-national nations, only multi-national states. States and nations are not the same.

We can partially excuse the chauvinism of the naive. In a NNCQIASI certain sense of the word the Negro question is quite unique. It developed and matured within the state boundaries of the USNA. In almost all other cases the colonies are questions of conquered peoples - peoples annexed to alien states by violence.

Secondly, the theoretical backwardness of the entire "Left" in the USNA blocks the comrades from fully understanding the significance of the final stage of capitalist development, i.e., modern imperialism. Much of the confusion lies in the incorrect projection that the Negro Nation is not a colony because industrialization of that area is not in contradiction with the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie. This statement means that the interests of imperialism are restricted to creating a commodity market and gaining sources of raw materials. This statement stinks of the position of Kautsky, of Rykov and Bukharin. What is that position? Kautsky spells it out. "Imperialism," says Kautsky, "is a product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the striving of every industrial capitalist nation to bring under its control and to annex increasingly big agrarian regions irrespective of what nations inhabit those regions." (Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", Collected Works, Vol. XIX, Int. Pub., p. 162) Lenin replies, "The characteristic feature of imperialism is not industrial capital, but finance capital." (Ibid.) And further, "...if it were chiefly a question of the annexation of agrarian countries by industrial capital, the role of the merchant would be predominant." (Ibid., p. 163) Would these numbskulls dare to say that industrialized Puerto Rico isn't a colony? Further, Lenin writes, "There was formerly an economic distinction between the colonies and the European peoples - at least the majority of the latter - the colonies having been drawn into commodity exchange but not into capitalist production. Imperialism changed this. Imperialism is, among other things, the export of capital." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XIX, Int. Pub., 1942)

In plain language this means that every colony is being brought into the sphere of commodity production, into industrialization. Lenin quotes from a bourgeois economist, Schulze-Gaevernitz: "Europe will shift the burden of physical toil - first in agriculture and mining, and the more arduous toil in industry - on to the coloured races, and itself be content with the role of rentier, and in this

NNCQ  
P. 22

South  
Controls  
the Negro  
Nation but  
Wall Street  
controls  
the South.

way, perhaps, pave the way for the economic, and later, the political emancipation of the coloured races." Is this not happening before our eyes? How can anyone doubt that the national and colonial questions have merged - not simply in their political aspects - but more fundamentally in their economic aspects.

We proved in the Negro National Colonial Question that the Negro people developed as a people prior to the development of the Negro Nation. We made a clear and scientific analysis of this development and its historical implications. We are clear why there is such a reluctance on the part of most so-called "revolutionaries" to consider the territorial demands of the Negro people and the inevitability of at least temporarily partitioning this country. This reluctance is based in the fact that no other oppressed people were the direct servants of a very large section of the Anglo-American people. Lenin is clear: "Firstly, what is the most important, the fundamental idea contained in our thesis? The distinction between oppressed and oppressing nations." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XIX, Int. Pub., 1942, p. 239) It should be noted that Lenin spoke of oppressed nations and oppressing nations - not simply classes. It is the privileges that the Anglo-American nation takes over the Negro nation that accounts, in good part, for the loss of logic of the "radicals". Ask any Anglo-American philistine, "Is Northern Ireland a colony of Great Britain? Invariably the answer is "yes". Ask any British philistine, "Is the Negro Nation a colony?" and the answer invariably is "yes". But to place the question of Northern Ireland to the British philistine or the Negro question to the Anglo-American philistine is to be concretely shown the effects of imperialist privileges over subjugated peoples.

Scientifically, there can be no such thing as "American exceptionalism". There can be no "nation within a nation" and there cannot be an oppressed nation that isn't a colony. It should be clear to all that the purpose of oppression is to facilitate exploitation. The Negro Nation is exploited as a nation - that is to say, the natural, as well as, the human resources. Is not Wall Street industrializing the South? And please don't tell us that Wall Street is also industrializing Minnesota. We are talking about the export of finance capital beyond the national borders, the super exploitation of the toilers in the oppressed area and the privileges of the people of the oppressor nation.

Today, most will agree that the term, "The Negro Peoples Liberation movement", is a correct term. Who and what are they trying to get liberated from? If the answer is "from finance capital", then we are united because the export of finance capital is colonialism at a higher stage.

In this intense and crucial period, we simply cannot continue to theoretically struggle with people who will not read books or present position papers. Our position is clear; let the opposition present their position. Lenin long ago said, "seven fools can ask more questions than seventy wise men can answer."

However, to assist our friends in understanding this question we submit a partial bibliography:

Lenin: Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism  
The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination  
A Caricature of Marxism  
The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up

Stalin: Marxism and the National Question  
Report on the National Question  
The October Revolution and the National Question  
Theses on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection with the National Problem  
The National Question Presented  
The National Question  
The Proletarian Method of Solving the National Problem

*Caricature of Marxism Lenin Collected Works Int'l Pub.  
1942 p. 255 Vol. XIX.*

Chapter IV: National Evolution of the Negro Nation

1. Define: "state" and "nation". How are they different? How and why does the bourgeoisie confuse "state," "nation," and "race"?
2. Why is the peasantry so important to a nation?
3. Discuss the migration of Negroes to the Anglo-American nation and the factors that led to these migrations.
4. Take each aspect of Stalin's definition of a nation and show how they apply to the Negro Nation.

Chapter V: Marxism and the National Colonial Question

1. What was the position of the 2nd International on the national question? What was the Leninist position on the national question?
2. Can a nation emancipate itself from imperialism without overthrowing its own bourgeoisie?
3. What role do the colonies play under imperialism?
4. Explain the relationship between the working class of the oppressor nation and the oppressed people of the colony.

Chapter VI: Theoretical Deviations on the Negro National Colonial Question

1. What is chauvinism? White supremacy and white chauvinism? What is the relationship of national chauvinism to the class struggle? What is the specific position of Marxist-Leninists toward white chauvinism? When and why did white chauvinism emerge in the USNA?
2. Why did the North raise the issue of democratic rights for Negroes?
3. How does the development of French and English capitalists differ from the development of USNA capitalists?
4. Explain the "left" deviation on the national question and what it leads to.
5. How are national chauvinism and reactionary cultural national different but the same?
6. Explain the concepts of "freedom of secession" and "freedom of unity" and who should put forth these demands.

Chapter VII: Imperialist Oppression of the Negro Nation and the South as a Region

1. What is the relationship between the Negro Nation and the South as a region?
2. Who controls the Negro Nation and the South as a Region? How?
3. What have the imperialists been forced to do because of the continuing development of the world crisis of capitalism? Why?
4. How have the reserve labor forces of the colonies been used as a "check" on the proletariat of the Anglo American nation? (How does the Oppression of the Negro Nation affect the workers in the USNA?)
5. Enumerate some of the areas in which differences exist between the exploitation of and oppression of the Negro Nation and the South as a region and explain how this works.
6. Why must the political solution for the Negro Nation differ from the solution for the South as a whole?

Chapter VIII: Negro National Minority in the Anglo-American Nation

1. Why were Negro workers first recruited to go to the North? Explain. When did the need for these workers become really great?
2. What were the important forces operating to pull the Negro National Minority workers into the Anglo-American industry? Explain.
3. What are the reasons responsible for maintaining the struggle (movement) of the Negro people within the Negro Nation at a lower level than that of the Negro Nat Min in the North?
4. Enumerate some of the counter-revolutionary (fascist) moves against the Negro Nat minority. Explain.
5. Why do we say that "the special oppression and super-exploitation of the Negro National minority is an inevitable link in the imperialist chain"? Explain.
6. Why does the Negro National Min "play a key role in completing the encirclement of USNA imperialism by the fighting colonial masses"? Explain.

## Chapter IX

1. Why must a Marxist-Leninist not take a stand entirely and exclusively on the national territorial principle?
2. How is the poverty of the proletariat element of the Anglo-American minority a direct result of the colonial position of the Negro people and the Negro Nation?
3. What do the Anglo-American minority and the Negro people of the Negro Nation share in common?
4. Why is the isolation of the Anglo-American minority a necessary condition for the survival of USNA imperialism?

The CPUSA, "analyzing" the exact same historical events, 'is totally unable and unwilling to understand the change that took place in the Populist movement. The CP sees the fascization of the movement as a quirk. Besides referring the reader to the inconsistencies and vacillations of Foster in his characterizations of Watson and Tillman in The Negro National Colonial Question, let us quote a couple of examples of Anna Rochester's "analysis" of the populists:

"Even in these earlier years (the 90s), his fellow members of the little Populist caucus were realizing that Tom (Watson) was 'difficult,' but they never dreamed that fourteen years later he would - still under the populist banner - demand that Negroes be excluded from political life; that in 1910 he would not only return to the Democratic fold but work with the Georgia party machine of bankers and industrialists, while he threw his energies into poisonous hatred of Negroes, Catholics and Jews." (25)

"While the People's Party recognized from several angles the importance of protecting the Negro vote, as a decisive factor in the struggle against the Bourbon Democrats, there is no clear indication that the Populists were prepared to make political equality for the Negro people a major issue. White populists in the South seem to have had little understanding of racial discrimination as essentially a crime against the democratic principles which they professed." (26)

The "difficulty" of certain individuals, "little understanding of racial discrimination as essentially a crime" on the part of others - this is CPUSA analysis. One more:

"But the 'paramount issue' raised by the Democrats in 1900 was opposition to the imperialist expansion which in 1898 had reached a new stage of development with the war against Spain. They overlooked, of course, the Venezuelan episode of 1895 when a Democrat, President Cleveland, had stretched the Monroe Doctrine almost to the point of war against Great Britain, with his assertion that 'Today the US is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition.' And neither Democrats, Republicans, nor Populists seemed to grasp the connection between our imperialist advance over subject peoples and the increasing power of monopoly at home. The inner relationship of domestic and foreign policy was not yet clear." (27) (Emphasis ours)

Not imperialism, but the lack of "clarity" on the part of the good imperialists is the enemy. This is indeed the philistine's-eye-view of history. No wonder the Party, even before it became totally corrupt, was completely unable to explain anything.

\*\*\*\*\*

Comparing early USNA populism with Russian Narodism we can see its reactionary character, its obscuring of the class struggle, the nature of the state and the need for "a struggle, a desperate struggle of the working people for their own emancipation," as Lenin says. Although at the beginning the populist movement had a democratic content, in the course of the enslavement of the Negro Nation it lost even this progressive aspect and became reactionary not only economically but politically.

Today, is there any possibility of populism having a progressive content? No. First, there is no large class of small producers who are in a life and death struggle with monopoly capitalism. Most of the small-scale production that exists is allowed to exist by the imperialists for the sole purpose of providing them with a reactionary base. The small shopkeepers, small farmers and other petty bourgeois in general stand in opposition to the working class and are



under their thumb ideologically as well as economically. Therefore the slogans, calls, programs, parties, movements etc which play on the populist traditions of the past do not have as their origin a definite class other than the bourgeoisie itself, and are in this respect phony. Second, and more important, the new-style populism does in fact originate with the bourgeoisie and their flunkeys - the Wallaces, Harrises, McGoverns, etc, and the Communist Party USA. In no way does it represent the spontaneous, democratic upsurge of the masses. On the contrary, it represents the conscious opposition by the imperialists to the spontaneous movement of the working class, instinctively revolutionary but not yet fully conscious itself. The imperialists allow the McGoverns and Wallaces to speak out demagogically against both "the rich" and the communists. Under the pretext of fighting both the Wallaces and McGoverns develop a movement to kill off or buy off the real revolutionary leaders of the working class while leaving the imperialists and their state intact, weakening the class further and preparing the groundwork for the coming to power of open fascism.

At this point we must ask the question, What is the material base for this newtype phony populism in the USNA? Generally speaking, the objective reason for the imperialists' past ability to dull and cover up the class contradictions within the USNA has been the enslavement of the colonial and semi-colonial world and the bribery of the working class (not to mention other strata) on the basis of the superprofits from the colonies. Everyone, no matter who he is and how little he has, is bribed both materially and socially over the colonial peoples outside the USNA in general and the Anglo-American nation in particular. For the workers (mainly Anglo) and people in general with easy, highly bribed jobs, the present economic crisis has made them uptight and wanting to get back the full bribe which they have begun to lose. Objectively the bribe is largely responsible for the low general level of class consciousness of the USNA working class. Subjectively, of course, the CPUSA's treachery has helped the imperialists keep the working class movement on a low level.

A phony populist movement can flourish in a period in which class distinctions are not immediately clear and when the leading role of the proletariat has not yet been established in practice. At such a time it is easy for the imperialists to invent theories about "the people" who comprise quite different strata of the population but who are treated as a homogeneous grouping led by the petty-bourgeois flunkeys of the imperialists, the politicians, and so on.

The make-up or class base of the populist movement is sections of the petty bourgeoisie and a section of the most bribed workers. It is made to look like a "middle-class" movement. "But fascism is also often presented as a middle-class movement in the sense of an independent movement of the middle-class, as a 'third party' independent of capital and labor, in opposition to both the organized working class and large-scale capital." (For example, the constant complaining heard about "big business and big labor," etc.) "The fascist dictatorship is accordingly presented as a 'conquest of power' by the middle class in opposition to both the organized working class and to the previous domination of finance capital." (28)

The history of phony populism in Europe and now here in the USNA makes it clear that the middle class or petty bourgeoisie cannot be independent but must serve either finance capital or the proletariat.

"The impoverished and desperate middle class is driven from its former philistine slumbers into political activity. But this political activity takes on a new character. Whereas the Bernsteinian dream has seen in the middle class a stabilizing and harmonizing factor in the social structure, wedded to liberalism and social reform, and smoothing over the antagonism

of classes, the new dispossessed and ruined middle-class elements break out as an extremely unstable, violent force potentially revolutionary or, alternately, ultra-reactionary, without clear social basis or consciousness, but recklessly seeking any line of immediate action, which may offer hope of immediate relief (relief from debts, state aid to small businesses, smashing the large stores, etc), or the prospect of jobs (the new bureaucracy, mercenary fighting forces, displacement of Jews (Note: or Negroes and other national minorities in the USNA), war.

"In what direction, however, can these middle-class elements turn their political activity? They can in practice only line up in the service of either finance capital or of the proletariat. The myth of their 'independent' role, of the 'third party,' is still endeavored to be hung before them." (29)

And what is the role of the "left" (viz the CPUSA and other so-called working class leaders) in maintaining populist delusions, and how do these populist delusions aid the imperialists in creating social-chauvinism? Not only does the CPUSA create confusion theoretically on the role of the proletariat in the social revolution, but its theoretical deviations and revisionism in general leads directly to ideological confusion in the working class. For example, because of their political opportunism, the CPUSA pushes the line that the national minority workers are not part of the working class. ("The workers, with such allies as the small farmers, urban middle strata, intellectuals and the specially oppressed minorities..." (30) (Emphasis added) Or, "The fight against racism is thus basic to the class struggle in the US. Chauvinism, or what is more popularly called racism (!!), serves the very opposite of the interests of the working class and the Black people." (31) (Emphasis added)) Notice also that the middle-class is treated not as having a dual nature, but as an ally of the working class without qualification. The CPUSA line says that the national minority workers are different, that they play an external role in the class struggle. Hence the CPUSA calls for a "people's movement" - or populist movement - which will include this oppressed sector the population against monopoly. The result is division of the working class along national lines. Thus the populist line diverts the working class as a whole away from struggle against the bourgeoisie as a whole, and leaves the class ideologically and organizationally confused.

We should here mention perhaps the most important way that the CPUSA actually aids the imperialist bourgeoisie in creating the conditions for fascism, that is, how it helps undermine the unity of the working class during this period of growing populism. It is their pushing of the line of "racism." In the USNA today this line means that it is not the imperialist bourgeoisie that oppresses the colonies and particularly the national minorities, but the "racism" of the Anglo workers. This line keeps the working class divided because it isn't the "racism" of the Anglo workers that keeps the class divided (although white chauvinism re-enforces the division), but the material and social bribe that the Anglo-American workers receive over the oppressed nations (Negro Nation in particular) and the national minorities from the oppressed nations. And the basis for this bribe, as we stated earlier, is the oppression of the colonies by imperialism itself.

The reason for the incorrect line of "racism" held by the CPUSA (among other reasons - ie, the wishes of the State Department) is rooted in the CPUSA's failure "to distinguish between the Negro people which was developed as a people prior to the Civil War, and the Negro national movement which developed only after the defeat of reconstruction." (32) It is this failure to see the national oppression of the Negro and other peoples that allows for the CPUSA to push the line that it is the color or "race" of a people that determines their being



oppressed by another "race." By virtue of the anarcho-syndicalist nature of the movement which develops from this imperialist line the Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican and other national minorities are brought into the populist movement, but without ever gaining unity with the rest of the working class. No matter how many demands, programs etc are raised and no matter how many are fulfilled no link is ever made between the national minority workers and the most down-trodden Anglo workers. (The CPUSA makes sure of this by putting forth such outright fascist slogans as "Black power to Black people, Brown power to Brown people, White power to White people," etc etc ad nauseum). On the other hand the middle class or petty bourgeoisie and the most bribed workers (particularly Anglo), discontented with the partial losing of their bribe, are utilized by the imperialists in the populist movement under the guise of fighting the rich, of anti-monopoly. Again the CPUSA is instrumental in this. When bribed workers not only get back what they lost but get more (for example, in the recent West Coast longshore strike - see People's Tribune, volume 4, number 2), the CPUSA hails the increased bribe as a victory for the working class. The "victorious" worker then says to himself, or is told by the imperialists, "See, you got it. Why can't they (the most exploited and oppressed, the unemployed, etc) get it? It's because they're lazy, stupid, they can't fight, etc." Through increasing divisions in the working class the imperialists are trying to give themselves the necessary social base for the open taking of power by the fascists and the driving down of the national minorities in particular but also the whole, or almost the whole of the working class.

The imperialists push the line of "racism" among the more bribed Anglo workers to prove the "superiority" of the Anglo workers and reinforce the whole imperialist system. They push the line of "racism" on the national minorities to keep them divided from their Anglo counterparts. The CPUSA pushes "racism" to corrupt the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat and the revolutionary-minded petty bourgeois. The result is the undermining of the unity of the class and the laying of conditions (under "progressive" populist slogans) for the fascist dictatorship. The CPUSA's revisionism has caused great confusion among the revolutionary-minded radicals on the Left and even among the advanced workers who have risen up spontaneously. Wishy-washy ideas about getting the "rich," fighting the "ultra-Rights," kicking "monopoly," all have come from the CPUSA distortion of the class struggle. In the absence of a revolutionary party the class will continue to flounder because they are bombarded every waking minute by bourgeois propaganda that re-enforces the confusion and pushes fascism.

The CPUSA says that the present problem in society is that of monopolies and that once we get rid of them everything will be OK. How does this differ from the line of the original populists? It doesn't except that the CPUSA pushes the populist line under the cover of Marxism and of representing the working class. They refuse to expose imperialism as a system and to show that the progress of mankind and the building of a new society depends on the overthrow of the entire capitalist class and the smashing of their state. They refuse to show that the destruction of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie can only be accomplished by its opposite, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The populism of the CPUSA is clearly characterized by Lenin as follows:

"The difference between Narodism and Marxism lies wholly in the character of their criticism of Russian capitalism. The Narodnik thinks that to criticize capitalism it is sufficient to indicate the existence of exploitation, the interaction between exploitation and politics, etc. The Marxist thinks it necessary to explain and also to link together the phenomena of exploitation as a system of certain relations of production, as a special social-economic formation, the laws of the functioning and development of

which have to be studied objectively. The Narodnik thinks it sufficient, in criticizing capitalism, to condemn it from the angle of his ideas, from the angle of 'modern science and modern social ideas.' The Marxist thinks it necessary to trace in detail the classes that are formed in capitalist society, he considers valid only criticism that is based on the precise viewpoint of a definite class, criticism that is based on the precise formulation of the social process actually taking place and not on the ethical judgement of the 'individual.'" (33)

The phony populism the CPUSA pushes is connected with their anarcho-syndicalism. Present-day anarcho-syndicalism says that the oppressed should throw off their immediate oppressors without regard to or in consideration of the nature of the whole capitalist system and its state. For example men should be overthrown by women, bosses by workers, whites by blacks, etc. This theory, like the theory of "racism," objectively helps keep the working class divided and under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, both big and petty. "Although the theoretical and political projections of the movement are syndicalist, the concrete applications transform it into its opposite - with which it is completely united. In practice, syndicalism (which comes from the left) is expressed as modern populism (which comes from the right). The reason for this is that both of these bourgeois outlooks disregard the basic social motion, which is the class struggle." (34) "It would seem that the most casual examination would show that the emancipation of any exploited class or group is impossible without the overthrow, of the system that exploits. More yet, it is clearly seen that the proletariat cannot emancipate itself without emancipating every oppressed class and group within the country. Therefore, it would seem that every oppressed grouping, every exploited class, fights first of all for the unity of the proletariat. That is the overriding condition for its own emancipation." (35)

To combat the syndicalist notion of the present movement, a genuine communist party will show economically why capitalism came about, where it's going and why the proletariat, and it alone, will free all of society. Does the CPUSA do this? Hell no. They mumble their counter-revolutionary slimy populist position about monopoly being the reason - not the capitalist mode of production - for the oppression of students, farmers, workers, Negroes, etc, and that all we need to do is join together and fight to reform the system with "people's power." Not the dictatorship of the proletariat crushing the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but "people's power" modifying "monopoly's power." How vile a betrayal of Leninism, and what a faithful rendition of the populist line of the 1880s! And what a sneaky way of uniting syndicalism and populism.

Is it any wonder that, given the long-time hegemony of the CPUSA in the working class movement, the working class is confused and backward? Every time it rises up spontaneously the revisionist hyenas of the CPUSA and groups influenced by it descend to kill the fightback. "From the beginning the Communist League recognized that the root of every anti-working class deviation in the left was the counter-revolutionary revisionism of the CPUSA." (36) And we should not expect that these attacks will lessen - they will increase - as the working class movement, under correct communist leadership, becomes more conscious of its needs and aims. The CPUSA will use the various syndicalist, populist groupings it has fathered against the working class and its communist leadership, and will try to destroy us. Let them try. Theoretically strong and ideologically ready, we are becoming and will continue to become more than a match for the CPUSA and its lackeys. A real communist party will be built and consolidated on the basis of destroying the CPUSA, and the working class will at last have the leadership it deserves.

## SUMMATION

In the USNA at the present time in history any talk about "a people's movement" is foolishness, and reference to "the people" is an illusion. Talk like this comes from the petty bourgeoisie and is the expression of their fightback against disintegration. Marx says,

"The democrat, because he represents the petty bourgeoisie, that is a transition class, in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously mutually blunted, imagines himself to be elevated above class antagonism generally. The democrats concede that a privileged class confronts them, but they, along with all the rest of the nation, form the people. What they represent is the people's rights. What interests them is the people's interests. Accordingly..they do not need to examine the interests and positions of the different classes. They do not need to weigh their own resources too critically..." (37)

Today the movement of "the people" is mainly a movement of the petty bourgeoisie and the bribed workers who have been living off the bribe of the imperialist oppression and exploitation of the colonies. The people's movement aims at regaining the full bribe which is being lost. And the only way that the bribe can be regained is by the further subjugation of the colonies and their more brutal oppression. "If fascism is allowed to develop in the US it will be ten times more ruthless than German nazism. The German fascists needed fascism in order to launch their wars of aggression - the US capitalists need fascism in order to continue their wars of aggression." (38) Within the Anglo-American nation this concretely means a deepening of the fascist, white chauvinist attacks against the national minorities. Externally, this means organizing strata of the working class (including the consolidation of the most exploited and oppressed, the most helpless, into mercenary armies, etc) around a program of wars of aggression and counter-revolution against the peoples of the world. "Fascism, in short, is a movement of mixed elements, predominantly petty-bourgeois, but also slum proletariat and the demoralized working class, financed and directed by finance capital, by the big industries, landlords and financiers, to defeat the working class and smash the working class organizations." (39) Is modern-day phony populism an aspect of this push toward fascism? We think we've shown that it is. Just as the rising imperialists turned the originally democratic populist movement around in order to enslave the Negro Nation in the 1880s and 90s, so the present-day imperialists are resurrecting populist demagoguery in order to drive the Negro people back into slavery, attack the Puerto Rican people, the Mexican national minority, the poor Anglo-American workers, and drive toward fascism and new imperialist wars. There should be no talk on our part about a new, spontaneous, honest populist movement - the phony populism of the present day was originated, bought and paid for by the big imperialists whose handmaiden is the CPUSA. Populism is reactionary. At best it is naive utopianism. At worst it is blatant demagoguery and a cloak for fascism.

How do we fight it? First, we must struggle for theoretical clarity - we must mercilessly expose the petty-bourgeois delusions and uncover the underlying class contradictions which are pushing history forward. We must expose the populist philosophy and oppose it with historical materialism.

"The objectivist speaks of the necessity of a given historical process; the materialist gives an exact picture of the given social-economic formation and of the antagonistic relations to which it gives rise. When demonstrating the necessity for a given series of facts, the objectivist always runs the risk of becoming an apologist for those facts; the materialist

discloses the class contradictions and in so doing defines his standpoint. The objectivist speaks of 'insurmountable historical tendencies;' the materialist speaks of the class which 'directs' the given economic system, giving rise to such and such forms of counteraction by other classes. Thus, on the one hand, the materialist is more consistent than the objectivist, and gives profounder and fuller effect to his objectivism. He does not limit himself to speaking of the necessity of a process, but ascertains exactly what social-economic formation gives the process its content, exactly what class determines this necessity." (40)

Phony populism is here, as in Russia, a real social force "inasmuch as it defends general bourgeois interests." (41) For "...the distinctive and basic feature of the petty bourgeoisie is to battle against bourgeoisdom with the instruments of bourgeois society itself." (42)

Specifically, we must expose the CPUSA's role of allying with the bourgeois liberals to spawn populist delusions and disarm the working class and leave it open for fascist onslaught. Lenin especially puts down the CPUSA's line on leaving capitalism intact and only fighting monopoly - little business against the big - poor against rich. "...To leave the capitalist 'school' with its bloodsuckers in complete immunity and to want to eliminate its capitalist products by means of liberal half-measures is to be a true 'friend of the people!'" (43)

Let us sum up the connection between fascism and the CPUSA's now populist, now social-democratic policies.

"Fascism bases itself primarily, for its social basis, on the miscellaneous petty-bourgeois strata, the peasantry, the declassed elements and backward workers. Social-democracy bases itself on the upper strata of the industrial workers. The bourgeoisie builds its rule on the support of both, bringing now one, now the other, to the forefront, and utilizing both for its support. Fascism can never become the main basis of the bourgeoisie in the same sense as social democracy (although it may become its main and sole governmental instrument when the crisis requires the coercion of all the workers, and the hold of social democracy is in danger of weakening), because fascism never wins the main body of the industrial workers with traditions of organization - the sole power that can overthrow capitalism. Here the role of social democracy remains of decisive importance, even after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship." (44)

The role of the CPUSA as a populist and social-democratic organization is to ideologically prepare the way for fascism and to carry its ideology into the sphere of organizational principles (syndicalism, anti-monopoly coalition, etc).

"Social democracy thus prepared the way ideologically for fascism; first, by the abandonment or corruption of Marxism; second, by the denial of internationalism and attaching of the workers to the service of 'their own' imperialist state; third by the war on communism and the proletarian revolution; fourth, by the distortion of 'socialism' or the use of vaguely 'socialist' phrases ('the new social order,' 'the commonwealth,' 'industry as a public service,' etc) to cover monopoly capitalism; fifth, by the advocacy of class-collaboration and the unification of the working class organizations with the capitalist state. All this provides the ideological basis and groundwork for fascism, which represents the final stage of the policy of the complete absorption of the working class, bound hand and foot, into capitalism and the capitalist state. The whole propaganda and line of



social democracy confused, weakened and battered down the class conscious socialist outlook of those workers who were under its influence, prevented the spread of revolutionary Marxist understanding, fostered semi-fascist conceptions of nationalism, imperialism and class collaboration, and thus left the masses an easy prey to fascism." (45)

Historically in Germany and Italy fascism came to power when the capitalist institutions broke down and the working class was ready for a revolutionary change, but was without leadership and hemmed in by populist-talking reformist leadership. Dutt talks about this stage of the movement and consolidation of a fascist dictatorship: "That stage arises when the breakdown of the old capitalist institutions and the advance of the working class movement has reached a point at which the working class should advance to the seizure of power, but when the working class is held in by reformist leadership." (46)

The CPUSA distorts what a state is. They believe (or rather, pretend to believe) that we live in a democracy, which has been partially usurped by monopoly but which can be "recaptured" (Anna Rochester) if "the people" try. Lenin says:

"Being hostile to capitalism, the small producers constitute a transitory class that is closely connected with the bourgeoisie and for that reason is incapable of understanding that the large-scale capitalism it dislikes is not fortuitous, but is a direct product of the entire contemporary economic (and social, and political, and judicial) system arising out of the struggle of mutually opposite social forces. Only inability to understand this can lead to such absolute stupidity as that of appealing to the 'state' as though the political system is not rooted in the economic, does not express it, does not serve it." (47)

"...The Narodniks reveal their petty-bourgeois nature once and for all; their insistence on paltry, middle-class reforms, arising out of their absolute inability to understand the class struggle, places them on the side of the liberals against those who take the side of the 'antipode' (Note: the proletariat in this case), seeing it as the only creator, so to speak, of the good things in question." (48)

The only difference between the CPUSA and the Narodniks on this question is that the CPUSA consciously covers up the class struggle with struggle for paltry reforms - "Free our beautiful sister Angela," black sheriffs, community control of the police, review boards so "illegals" can be deported democratically, etc. Again, Lenin nails them to the wall:

"...The basic characteristic feature of Narodism - the capacity for compromise." (49)

We believe that the growth of the CPUSA in this country will come simultaneously with the growth of the populist movement. And vice versa, the overcoming, the smashing and death of the revisionist CPUSA (politically and ideologically as well as organizationally) will come about with the transformation of the working class's consciousness from social or populist consciousness to class consciousness. The more educated and experienced the working class becomes the more exposed the CPUSA's treachery will become. The more the populist movement is exposed as reactionary, the more exposed will be the CPUSA.

It is our duty, the duty of the class conscious communists, to take the struggle against populism to the masses by fighting with them to raise their consciousness. It is our duty to give the class an understanding of its long-range, international interests. "As the capitalists intensify the exploitation here at home, the

workers are going to fight back. That fightback today, has to take the form of social consciousness - of a populist sort of struggle. The reason for this is that the workers cannot develop class consciousness by themselves. They have to be taught this form of consciousness. This is the task and role of the communist parties." (50) Therefore, we need to build a communist party to bring class consciousness to the masses; and with it we need to build a class conscious mass struggle.

The opposition to a phony populist movement is a revolutionary mass struggle led by the conscious vanguard, a Leninist communist party. The revolutionary mass struggle need not be socialist or communist, but it must be anti-fascist and pro-communist. Such a movement, involving all of the discontented population and led by the proletariat and its party cannot have fighting monopoly as its goal. It must clearly fight to overthrow the whole capitalist system. It must fight for any reforms and changes which will benefit the revolutionary population, but it must never sacrifice the long-range interests of the masses, proletarian internationalism. It must recognize the leading role of the proletariat and be in favor of the proletariat seizing power.

This mass struggle will not try to retard the development of society and drive it back to "the good old days" when there was more bribery. On the contrary, it will speed up the process of the development of the class struggle.

"...Our Narodniks are incapable of understanding how one can fight capitalism by speeding up its development, and not by 'holding it up,' not by pulling it back, but by pushing it forward, not in reactionary, but in progressive fashion." (51)

By struggling among the masses we will develop a class struggle that goes far beyond populism. "One must not hide but expose - one must not dream that 'it would be better without struggle,' but must develop the stability, continuity, consistency, and chiefly, ideological nature of the struggle." (52) This is how communists fight in the mass movement!

The working class as a whole cannot be diverted from phony populism and a fascist onslaught unless there is a militant Marxist-Leninist communist party to lead the way. Since there isn't yet such a communist party we must build one. We must see the building of it as the practical solution to the problem of the ideological and political and practical disorganization of the working class. The struggle against fascism and its populist demagogy can be resolved in practice only by the organization that a class party can provide - one that fights for the dictatorship of the proletariat all the way.

We will build a party that fights for the independence of the Negro Nation, Puerto Rico and regional autonomy for the Southwest - that is, for true equality in the working class. We will oppose the widespread populist-syndicalist line that says that everyone should do their own thing against "monopoly" with a clear Marxist-Leninist line on what the class needs now and what it will need in the future.

FIGHT FOR CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE WORKING CLASS  
MOVEMENT!

BUILD A CLASS PARTY!

G. D.

J. A.

New York

FOOTNOTES

1. N Y Times, May 25, 1972
2. N Y Times, May 31, 1972
3. N Y Times, July 2, 1972
4. Georgi Dimitrov, United Front Against Fascism, International Publishers, New York, 1938, p 10
5. Ibid, p 13
6. R Palme Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution, International Publishers, New York, 1935, p 16
7. People's Tribune (Communist League), vol 4, no 6, p 6 (1972)
8. Anna Rochester, The Populist Movement in the United States, International Publishers, New York, 1943, p 121
9. V I Lenin, The Economic Content of Narodism, Collected Works, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, vol 1, p 391
10. Op cit, Dutt, p 109
11. History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), FLPH, Moscow, 1939, p 10
12. Op cit, Economic Content, etc, p 485
13. Ibid, p 404
14. V I Lenin, What "The Friends of the People" Are and How the Fight Against the Social Democrats, FLPH, Moscow, 1963, vol 1, p 288 (Collected Works)
15. Ibid, p 286
16. Ibid, p 286
17. V I Lenin, The Heritage We Renounce, Collected Works, FLPH, Moscow, vol 2, p 519
18. Frederick Engels, The Housing Question, Marxist Library vol 23, International Publishers, New York (publ. in the USSR, no date), p 28
19. Frederick Engels, Letter to Danielson (Nikolai --on), Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels, International Publishers, New York, 1942, p 513
20. Op cit, Rochester, p 124
21. Negro National Colonial Question (Communist League), 1972, p 31
22. Op Cit, History of CPSU (B), pp 11-12
23. Op cit, Negro National Colonial Question, p 22
24. Ibid, p 25
25. Op cit, Rochester, p 57
26. Ibid, p 60
27. Ibid, p 110
28. Op cit, Dutt, p 97
29. Ibid, p 106
30. Communist Party of the USA, New Program, May 1970, New Outlook Publishers, New York, p 15
31. Henry Winston, Fight Racism, New Outlook Pub., New York, 1972, p 2
32. Op cit, NNCO, p 21
33. Op cit, Lenin, Economic Content, etc, pp 443-4
34. People's Tribune, vol 3, no 10, p 2
35. Ibid, p 2
36. Ibid, vol 3, no 3, p ?
37. Quoted by Lenin, op cit, Economic Content, etc, p 447
38. Communist League, Constitution, p 1
39. Op cit, Dutt, p 102
40. Lenin, op cit, Economic Content, etc, pp401-2
41. Ibid, p 422
42. Ibid, p 348
43. Lenin, op cit, "Friends of the People", pp230-1
44. Op cit, Dutt, pp 174-5



45. Op cit, Dutt, p 182
46. Ibid, p 108
47. Lenin, op cit, Economic Content, etc, pp 354-5
48. Ibid, p 363
49. Ibid
50. People's Tribune, vol 3, no 3, p 9
51. Lenin, op cit, Economic Content, etc, p 353
52. Ibid, p 351