

# **DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS**

**BOX 13 OF 16**

**FOLDER 10**

**CL REPORTS MARXISM 1 OF 2**

Dear Comrades,

Over the past five years, the Communist League has proceeded in a planned and organized way to carry out the historic responsibility of the proletariat. That is, to build a Communist Party that stands on the firm foundations of the class struggle and the science of Marxism-Leninism. Our first objective was a firm grasp on the science of Marxism-Leninism. This has been accomplished in the course of a sharp struggle against all forms of opportunism. Our task now is to transform that knowledge and conviction into the structure of a Leninist organization. Marxist-Leninist theory, and Marxist-Leninist organization are inseparable sides of the same revolutionary coin, and great care must be taken to develop both sides since unevenness, i.e., Marxism on only one side is bound to shatter the entire structure.

In a few short months we are going to participate in the formation of a qualitatively new party of the working class in this country.

We are proudly aware of the fact that never in the history of this country has there been an organization with workers on the theoretical and political level as the Communist League. Our women cadre, our national minority cadre are without peers in the history of the revolution in the USNA. The violence of the slanderous attacks by the so-called "left" is only testimony to the fact that we have developed the necessary qualitative base for the coming Congress.

However, a quality and the quantity of that quality cannot be separated. One of the big mistakes of the "left" is to make separated, unconnected assessments of quality and quantity. In the CL when we say that quality was the leading factor over quantity in party building we only meant that what something is (i.e. the Marxist-Leninist movement) was more important than how big it is.

The science of development shows that in order to fully understand and prepare for the qualitative aspects of the development that we are going through it is necessary for us to examine these qualitative aspects through the quantitative differences. We are in the process of development from a League into a Party. This does not mean that we are changing our qualitative base which is Marxism-Leninism. It does mean that our quantitative growth - both in cadre and the understanding of Marxism has made building a Party a possibility for us. But if we continue this development then we have to examine each aspect of growth and forward movement through the science of Marxism, which is our base.

Our study of the development of the leading parties show that they pass through a series of stages of development. At first these parties are internally oriented. This is a necessary stage of development, because it is at this stage of growth that the revolutionaries perfect their organization, begin to master Marxism-Leninism and achieve ideological unity. As these tasks are completed, the movement begins to turn more and more to the working class and the class struggle. Their fractions and nuclei begin to influence the trade unions and mass movement. The cadre begin to organize unions and to lead strikes. The early development lays the foundation for the maturing Party to lead not only the working class but also the masses of the people. This shows us the stages we have gone through and what lies ahead for us if we are able to continue our quantitative growth in conformity to our qualitative base.

The Communist League is the result of the crisis and destruction of the Party - not from an ideological split within the liberal bourgeoisie. This fact provides a qualitative determination for all the following quantitative developments of the CL. That is to say, that our quantita-

tive development can only be recruitment of potential Marxist-Leninists, the training of Marxist-Leninists, and the on-going struggle to master Marxism-Leninism. Any other quantitative development does not conform to the qualitative base (i.e. Marxism-Leninism) and is bound to be harmful. It is of decisive importance to clearly understand that this qualitative aspect (Marxism-Leninism) defines all the character and tempo of the following quantitative changes. Within this concept lies the stress on Marxist-Leninist theoretical education, the struggle to form the Party amongst the vanguard of the proletariat, the struggle for a proletarian led organization of professional revolutionaries, the struggle for the leadership of working class women and national minorities. The list is long and comprehensive, but we see that each quantitative step was the result of the qualitative aspects of our origins. Without taking this into full consideration, it will be impossible for us to plan our next step of development.

We are clear, and we want every member of the League to see clearly that this new developing quality within the CL is bound to create a new force. This new force will not be just a bigger and better League - but a political party that will represent an organizational quality within society and will have the possibilities of radically changing society. However, this is possible only if we understand that the growth - the quantitative changes we are going through are progressive and correct only to the extent that they reflect and are conditioned by the qualitative - the Marxist-Leninist base.

It follows that if we are to continue to move the Communist League forward we first have to recognize and master the new quantitative development of our League. This quantitative development arose with our struggle to politicalize the League, reorganize on the basis of the fractional method of work - in short - getting into the mass struggle - not as militants joining the masses, because that would violate our qualitative base - but as advanced Marxist-Leninists, the theoretical leaders of the class. Such a concept coincides with our base.

We are clearly heading for a qualitative leap in the League. Such a leap will be the result of the development and synthesizing of the various qualitative aspects of our work. Marxism, above all, as Lenin said, is the concrete examination of a concrete situation. This is especially true as regards our situation. This qualitative self-movement of the CL can only be understood if we understand the particularity of the quantitative developments. We should review each recruit in the past several years - what were the circumstances of recruitment? Was the recruitment in conformity with the qualitative base, or was it an attempt to separate the qualitative aspects from the quantitative growth? Our line - our memorandums and directives must come under scrutiny to see if any represented a deviation from our qualitative base. All this is necessary if we are to consciously work with this self-movement that is becoming clear within the CL.

Some comrades have been disturbed by the developing ideological struggle within the CL. This struggle has ranged from overcoming resistance to the fractional style of work, to overcoming resistance to placing education as our principle task. Actually, the polarization and struggle within the League is simply the indication of a high qualitative development that clearly reveals our limitations as a League which is in contradiction with the political, i.e. Party tendencies that are emerging. These political tendencies, which are qualitative, cannot develop

within the League which are indispensable for a leap. In short, we are undergoing the process of dividing the old and the new. It is being expressed as Comrades who are prepared to make the leap to Party formation and those who aren't. We are undergoing the process of the division of a former unity, i.e. the League tendencies and the political party tendencies, into two mutually exclusive opposites and the intensification of their mutual antagonisms.

In order to grow and develop, an existing unity must be shattered, the old and worthless must be discarded in order for the emerging healthy tendencies to form a new phenomena- a new unity. We are, in fact, in the process of destroying the old unity which we knew as the Communist League. Contradiction does not solely on the surface of things - that is only where it appears. If we want to understand motion we have to dig down into the internal essence. Therefore, when we speak of the CL, we speak of the political, internal essence of our organization. We also know that development is the conflict of opposites. It is clear then, that the condition for our development is the struggle between the two lines represented by the liberal bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the proletariat on the other.

In our process of formation, many liberals, do-gooders and hangers-on, attached themselves to the revolutionary proletarian elements in the CL. In fact, under the direction of the Marxist-Leninists, these liberal elements contributed somewhat to the development of the League due to their knowledge of 'book' theory, their ability to research, etc. But, as soon as the proletarian elements mastered the methods of the proletarian intellectuals, the unity with the bourgeois liberals changed into its opposite. The relationship became antagonistic. Thus we see, that in order to develop our new qualitative form, i.e. a Party of a New Type, this old unity must be broken. This may be done with very sharp ideological struggle, but if certain comrades refuse to let go of the bourgeois liberal ideologies, then purging the organization is the inevitable accompaniment to our growth. Engels is clear when he states that the party strengthens itself by purge, or as Stalin said, in Foundations of Leninism, "Proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists, social imperialists and social chauvinists, social patriots and social pacifists. The Party becomes consolidated by purging itself of opportunist elements." and further "The theory of 'overcoming opportunist elements by ideological struggle within the Party, the theory of 'outliving' these elements within the confines of a single Party, is a rotten and dangerous theory, which threatens to condemn the Party to paralysis and chronic infirmity, threatens to make the Party a prey to opportunism, threatens to leave the proletariat without a revolutionary Party, threatens to deprive the proletariat of its main weapon in the fight against imperialism." (pg. 123. Ten Classics of Marxism).

Why such an uncompromising attitude? or in general the uncompromising position of the Marxists? Simply because a qualitatively different quantitative addition detracts from, sickens and disorients a political organism. Thus, a grouping like the October League will never hold Marxist-Leninists because they developed from the qualitative base of the liberal intellectual bourgeoisie (S.D.S., et. al) whereas our League's qualitative base was Marxism-Leninism, historically evolved to us through the old Party and a rupture with that old Party. It is not a simple case of mixing apples and oranges but a case of welcoming

hostile enemy influences into our midst and then trying to reform them. The whole Marxist theory of the change from quality to quantity denies this possibility.

The dialectics of growth demand that the area leaders review the work and ideology of each comrade so as to insure that the Communist League that goes to the Congress will be one that has already completed the process of the quantitative aspects of development and will be fully prepared to realize the new developing quality, a multi-national Marxist-Leninist Party.

Comrades, the nature of the proletarian class struggle teaches us that it is impossible for leaders to carry out their role in the class struggle without philosophical clarity. It is from this point of view that we are issuing this circular. We must make the growth of the League mean the expansion of Marxism-Leninism, not simply organizational expansion. We absolutely must rid the CL of alien elements. That does not mean that everyone who isn't an accomplished Marxist must be dropped. The people who must be dropped are those who are qualitatively unable to assimilate Marxism - the social chauvinists, the elements alien to and hostile to the proletariat, those unable or unwilling to become part of the proletarian revolution. The two main areas of struggle in this regard, have already taken steps to cleanse the League, that is, New York and San Francisco. The motion there has strengthened the areas. In order to gain the most from our experience, it is necessary for us to have clarity on the question of the growth and transformation of quality and quantity. Therefore, the Center directs the areas to see to it that all comrades study this circular.

Nelson Peery, chairman

## ON THE NEW EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

For the past few months the National Educational Committee has been working on the new educational program, one more suited to the fractional method of work and to the drive to build the factory nuclei. We have outgrown the old style League educationals based on the internal study of the classics. We must now preserve the Marxist-Leninist quality and content of our educational program in new forms. In the preparation of this program the committee has not only studied the question generally, but has also tried out our various ideas in practice and gained some experience in what succeeds and what does not. We have now the bare outlines of that program, which still will require a great deal of work to bring to reality. This outline consists of:

1. The cadre schools--national and regional. These will be of two types--general-theoretical and special purpose. These schools have already been very successful in helping to forge the country-wide core of Marxist-Leninists upon which the Party must be built. We have decided to discontinue the area cadre schools in order to concentrate on the national and regional schools. Also we have seen the difficulty for comrades to be able to concentrate on study while remaining in their home area, working on their jobs, and busy with their families.
2. The Party Schools--these would continue as the weekend intensive schools we have held in the past. We hope to prepare new party schools on philosophy and on modern history. Eventually we will have these schools on a number of different levels and subjects. Here too, the value of these schools has been proven. We will also have more of the special seminar-workshops such as the labor workshop we had this year. These will gather together party workers assigned to specific areas of work in order to exchange experience and gain political understanding of that area of work.
3. The Worker's Schools in the areas. ~~These will be a legal apparatus not directly connected with the League or Party, but under its political guidance.~~ Classes will be open to non-members. We will transfer much of our current "New Members Outline" program, the study of political economy, philosophy, Leninism, political questions, to these schools (though the classes themselves will have to be re-written and improved). These schools will hold classes on different levels and using various teaching methods. In addition, they would hold bi-monthly or weekly forums on current political issues. We plan to begin a pilot workers' school in one of the areas so as to gain experience in solving the problems of course content, staffing, security, financing, etc. When this is completed we will be ready to begin these in the larger areas.
4. Classes in the factory nuclei--We have already begun sending out the first classes for the nuclei. We will eventually have a whole program of these classes in which the main emphasis will be a close connection between theoretical study and practical work. We are also working on programs for the study-action groups.
5. Orientation Program--This will be a brief program concentrating primarily on teaching new comrades the duties and responsibilities and rights of members, democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, organizational structure, etc. Fundamental theory should be taught through the other parts of the educational program--the study-action group, workers' school, party school, nuclei classes, etc.
6. Small area program--In areas which are too small or which cannot set up workers' schools for security reasons, we will have to maintain the

internal educational program with special measures to overcome isolation through correspondance, travel, cadre schools, etc.

7. The Center Classes--we will maintain the center class program in order to ensure the continued theoretical development and unity of the center.

This program will not come into being overnight or without struggle. The transition period to the party presents many difficulties on all sides but we are confident that these difficulties can be overcome. Our main considerations in this program outline have been: 1) to prepare for illegal conditions by the development of both legal and illegal, secret and open educational programs 2) to consolidate and develop the country-wide core of Marxist-Leninists 3) to orient the educational program toward the task of building the factory nuclei and study-action groups 4) to prepare for the new recruits our outward motion will bring us 5) to prepare for the upcoming Congress by building a country-wide educational program suitable for the Party.

We will shortly be sending to the areas a study program of classes in preparation for the Congress. This will consist of:

- 1) Our Program
- 2) Intra-Party struggle
- 3) E. Hoxha's speech to the 81 party meeting
- 4) One Step Forward, Two Back
- 5) On Organization and Politics
- 6) On the Revolutionary Press

These classes should be studied in the regular educational program at the rate of one or two a month so that they are completed by the Congress.

Until we are able to establish the workers' schools in the areas the "New Members' Outline" classes will remain the foundation of our educational program. Every comrade is responsible to ensure that these classes meet regularly and are successful. In this period of change and transition the regular study of Marxism-Leninism is essential to our development and must not be stopped for any excuse.

Comrades:

Stalin outlines our task in the 2nd. point of Bolshevization--"The Party and especially its leading elements must thoroughly master the revolutionary theory of Marxism, which is inseparably connected with revolutionary practice." The educational program is the key link in maintaining and developing the Marxist-Leninist quality of our organization.

NEC

R.G.

Win the Vanguard of the Proletariat to the Cause  
of Communism

Dear Comrades,

You are all aware that the magnificent task that you have preformed over the past five years has raised the struggle for the party to an entirely new level.

Dialectics teaches us that we must not skip any stage of development and we must not pause at any stage. We have been very careful to observe this rule of dialectics of growth and to keep the membership of the Communist League fully informed of the whys and wherefores of our work.

In order not to pause, it is necessary that we have a firm grasp of the next phase of struggle before the present one is fully complete. The elementary aspects of a Party of the proletariat is now assured, thanks to the heroic sacrifices of the comrades. The present slander against the CL in the Guardian is testimony that we have fought our way to the very verge of success. I'm sure that we all understand that the formation of the Party is merely the mechanical step that opens the dialectical possibility to us. The question is necessarily asked, "what about the next step?" Lenin shows us that at every stage of our development, "the principle and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development and the political organization of the working class." We must not confuse our tasks with the tasks of the proletariat. Everybody today must admit that the communist movement is the unity of the working class movement with the theories of communism. I think that everyone will have to admit that as in no other country, the vanguard of the proletariat is isolated from communism. Before anything else can be done, this situation has to be rectified. We are going to have to pay for the opportunism of the past century and especially of the past twenty years. The only way to rectify this situation is the slow, difficult task of "imbuing the masses of the proletariat with the ideas and the ideals of communism and simultaneously constructing a Party that is inseparably connected with their spontaneous struggle." It is only from this point of view that we can talk in terms of winning the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism.

It should be clear that the only way to achieve socialism is to have a situation where at least 150 million people are for socialism or at least are "benovently neutral". It should be understood that here we are not talking in terms of winning the masses or especially the vanguard of the proletariat to this on that line that we put forth--but winning them to the lofty ideals and mission of their class. This means that we are going to have to leave the protection of struggle within the left and move in a more and more determined way into the advanced elements of the class. As Lenin often said, we are going to long for "the days of the kicks and the blows," that is the days within the movement fighting for this or that principle with other revolutionaries. Because this task was completed in Europe more



than a century ago, we sometimes forget that we must do this preparatory work before we can talk in terms of revolution. How are we to go about achieving this gigantic task. Precisely by carrying out the line of Marx in the manifesto--that is,

In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of a development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

They never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

In all these movements they bring to the front, the leading question in each case, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

Lenin goes on to say, in this respect,

To a great extent, the purpose of our strict separation as a distinct and independent party of the proletariat consists in the fact that we always and undeviatingly conduct this Marxist work of raising the whole working class, as far as possible to the level of Communist consciousness, allowing no political gales, still less political changes of scenery to turn us away from this urgent task. Without this work political activity would inevitably degenerate into a game...

There is and always will be an element of pedagogics (art of teaching) in the political activity of the communist party.

Lenin never indicated that we should counter pose political activity to this task of teaching the proletariat about communism--but it would be sheer foolishness to assume that we can carry out political work without at the same time carrying out the role of teacher to the proletariat.

Comrades, we must struggle against getting "dizzy with success". In fact we have done practically nothing--only created the conditions to do something. Lenin said, "The first step was to create a real Communist Party...But this was only a preparatory school... The second stage, after organizing into a party, consists in learning to prepare for revolution. "We were victorious in Russia not only because the undisputed majority of the working class was on our side but also because half the army..." It is plain that we are now to commence our task. First to win the some 100,000 advanced workers to our cause and 2) to utilize this new strength to win the totality of the vanguard to our new party. This can only be accomplished by a massive propaganda campaign carried out within the developing economic struggles. Nelson Peery, Chairman

## STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

... the more ... of the party congress, things we have been saying and fighting for in the past 5 1/2 years become even clearer and much more important. One crucial thing is that we focus our attention on the CPUSA. With recent developments it is even more clear that we must guard against getting sucked up into the squabbles within the disintegrating "New Left." The banner of party building at this point in the formation of the party is to go to the factories and make every factory our fortress. We welcome all Marxist-Leninists who unite behind this banner. Therefore, our focus must be on the revisionism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party USA.

This is important for two reasons: 1.) Because the revisionism of the CPUSA and of the CPSU is what is behind the ideology of the "New Left." To focus only on the "New Left" is to let the main culprits continue their treachery of misleading the working class and 2.) Because if we begin to slowly dig in to lay the ground work for undermining the CPUSA's base in the working class movement we will be begin merging into the real movement of the working class and we will be carrying on the struggle against opportunism that is indispensable to this period of winning the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism. The CPUSA has more influence in the factories, unions, and mass organizations than the "New Left" ever will. The CPUSA's influence stems from its base in the labor aristocracy, the upper sections of the working class in general and the petty bourgeoisie, but nonetheless they they still influence the vanguard of the proletariat. We have to overcome their strength and step into a position of influence-not by getting into that section of the working class that is tied to imperialism, but by building the United Front against Fascism from below and by winning the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of Communism.

Especially treacherous at this time is the CPUSA's mounting of the struggle for detente(which comes along with a vicious attack on the People's Republic of China). Instead of pointing out the real causes for war(that is the redivision of the world-characteristic of imperialism) and how the proletariat must militantly fight for peace, the CPUSA is trying to shove the working class into the hip pocket of the bourgeoisie. The CPUSA could be successful in doing that only if they can succeed in convincing the working class that its interests are the same as the interests of the bourgeoisie and detente.

The international situation today presents us with a trade war that can't help but tend to turn into a military war among imperialists. We see an intensification of the maneuvering and struggle for markets. Gains of the USNA in influence and markets in the world serve to increase the tensions between the imperialists and not to lessen those tensions. The recent UN conference on raw materials must also be seen as a political manifestation of the scramble for the redivision of the world. And it is this struggle for the redivision of the world among the imperialists that inevitably drives the imperialists toward war.

The struggle for peace is inseparably connected with the struggle against fascism, for fascism is the bourgeoisie's preparation of its "rear," i.e. of its own proletariat, for war-in the case of the USNA, for the continuation of war in order to maintain its hegemony over the world. Our class

geographical struggle  
bourgeoisie  
in its struggle  
demand not as the main objective  
contradictions, but rather a demand  
s contradictions.

1. include progress in these tasks
2. concentration on the work of the CPUSA, including the re-education of the CPUSA and CPUSA.
3. the reaction of the working class on these two tasks.

EXPOSE THE REVISIONIST CPUSA!!  
WIN THE VANGUARD OF THE PROLETARIAT TO  
THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM!!  
PUT UP A COMMUNIST KEY!!!

RELATIONSHIP OF STREET TO  
FACTORY ORGANIZATIONS

With the recent emphasis of the CL towards the building of factory nuclei (nuclei are leading bodies in a factory, we will use the term cell in discussing factory collectives or organizations) some questions have been raised around the relation of the community cell to the factory cells and towards the League as a whole. For instance, does the building of factory nuclei mean abandoning community work? It is the purpose of this article to try to bring forth some clarity on this question so that we can more hastily embark on our most urgent task which is the building of a Communist Party-of a New Type.

First of all it should be clear that the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin was founded during the period when the working class was being led by the opportunism of the Second International. These Social Democratic Parties were organized on the basis of bourgeois election wards and districts so that they could engage in the parleamentary struggle only. But the Party that Lenin fought for and built was a party of a new type-a party of an insurrect-ionary nature that is firmly entrenched in the working class. The organiza-tional form that was used was having the factory cells as the basic organiza-tion of the Party in the place of employment (factory, shop, mine, dock, etc). because the main strength of the working class movement is in the cells in large factories for the following reasons:

- 1.) The large factories are the nerve centers of the political life of the country.
- 2.) In large factories the workers are concentrated in large numbers.
- 3.) Workers in large factories have great influence on the workers in smaller shops.
- 4.) The workers in large factories are better trained and disciplined by the process of large-ssale production.
- 5.) Workers in large factories are generally more militant because, concentrated in large numbers in one interprise they feel their strength.

Or as Lenin stated in Letter to a Comrade, on page 243vome 7.

"...The main strength of our movement lies in the workers organi-zations in large factories, because in the large factories are concentrated that section of the working class which is not only predominat in numbers, but still more predominant in influence, development and fighting capacities. Every factory must be our fortress."

Now that it is clear where the strength of the working class movement lies, lets analyze why the factory eell is the best form of party organization.

- 1.) Workers feel the pressure of exploitation most in the factory where where they are employed. There they have common interests and problems (wages, working conditions, etc.)
- 2.) A properly working, well-trained, politically developed Shop Cell, although it may have to work under the most difficult conditions, because of the highly developed spy system, etc., cannot be found out and gotten rid of by the boss. In order to stop the work of such a cell, the boss must close the factory.

- 3.) The Shop Cell is trained to work in a conspirative manner, in order to organize and lead the other workers, to safeguard the organization and prevent its members from being fired. Because of this method of work the Shop Cell will remain the most solid link with the masses under any conditions (terror, illegality).
- 4.) The Shop Cell registers the reaction of the most decisive elements of the proletariat to every issue. The reaction, sentiment, opinion of the workers brought by the Shop Cell to the higher committee of the Party makes it possible to formulate the best policy or to correct and improve decisions.
- 5.) The leadership of the Party gets its strength from the Shop Cells by drawing the most developed comrades into the leading Party committees. In this way direct contact with factory workers is established.
- 6.) The Shop Cells, through their daily activities in leading and organizing struggles in the factories, gain the confidence of the workers and spread the influence of the Party to wider and wider circles. At the same time the Shop Cells bring into the Party the best elements of this decisive stratum of the proletariat, thus improving the social composition of the Party.
- 7.) The Shop Cell is very effective in building real united fronts of workers on immediate issues (Grievance Committee, Shop Committee) and also on broader political issues (terror, election, war).
- 8.) The Shop Cells are instrumental in building and strengthening well-functioning fractions in the trade unions.
- 9.) The Shop Cell brings the People's Tribune directly to the most important strata of the working class.

These are the main arguments for the necessity of building the Party in the factories. These arguments prove that in order to win the majority of the decisive strata of the proletariat, the Party must be rooted in the factories.

The other form of membership organization is the Community Cell (nuclei), comprising of a group of members living within a given territory. It is usually composed of Comrades who cannot belong to a factory cell for example; unemployed workers, housewives, students, etc. Because of the importance of the factory organizations, Community organizing must revolve itself around this work as much as possible, thereby, Community work should not be abandoned but used to reinforce the building of factory nuclei and cells.

Therefore, the tasks of the Community Cells are, first of all, to win over the advanced workers to the cause of Communism. For this, patient, continuous systematic work is compulsory. The use of the Peoples' Tribune is key in this work, through the setting up of a network of agents and study circles, in this way the Community Cells can influence the workers in concentration areas. Also, by finding out where the workers are employed the Community Cells can start new factory nuclei through these advanced workers.

Secondly, the Community Cells should help the Shop Cells in or near their Community. A well-organized assistance of a Community Cell can greatly facilitate the setting up of factory Cells through the systematic sale of the Peoples' Tribune, leaflets, and other literature. The distribution of literature should be seen as one of the main tasks of the Community Cells both in the Communities and in the factory gates. In Letter to a Comrade, Lenin pointed out the importance of the distribution of literature.

"...if we secure regular contact between a special district group of distributors and all the factories in that district, as well as the largest possible number of workers' homes in that district, it will be of enormous value, both for demonstrations and for an uprising. Arranging for and organizing the speedy and proper delivery of literature, leaflets, proclamations, etc.; training a network of agents for this purpose, means performing the greater part of the work of preparing for future demonstrations or an uprising. It is too late to start organising the distribution of literature at a time of unrest, a strike, or turmoil; this work can be built up only gradually, by making distributions obligatory twice or three times a month. If no newspapers are available, leaflets may and should be distributed, but the distributive machine must in no case be allowed to remain idle. This machine should be brought to such a degree of perfection as to make it possible to inform and mobilise, so to speak, the whole working-class population of St. Petersburg overnight."

Thirdly, the Community Cells can concentrate on one large factory in their community where they do concentrated work eventually setting up a factory nuclei their.

Fourthly, the  of the mass organizations especially in the Liberation Movements (NAACP, MAPA, PSP, Womens groups, etc.) through the fractions. The fractions are set up in the mass organizations of the working class. The trade unions, fraternal, cultural, sport organizations, National Minority organizations etc. The fractions report and are responsible to their respective unit. If a fraction is in a trade union it is responsible to its factory cell. If a fraction is in the PTA, then it is responsible to its Community Cell where their work can be collectivized and guided. Every Comrade should join a mass organization of some kind especially the National Minority Organizations like NAACP, MAPA, PSP, because of their high number of workers.

Through the Factory Cells as the basis of the Party, the proper co-ordination of Community Cells, and the setting up of fractions in the key organizations of the working class the CL can maneuver itself into such a position to "win over the Vanguard of the Proletariat to the cause of Communism."

"...a Communist Party with a very weak and inadequately functioning organization in the big factories and among the decisive sections of the American industrial workers, a Communist Party whose entire policy, whose entire agitation and propaganda, whose entire daily work is not concentrated on winning over and mobilizing these workers and winning the factories, a Communist Party which, through its revolutionary trade union work, does not build highways to the broadest masses of workers, cannot lay claim to a policy capable of making it the leader of the working class within the shortest possible time."<sup>1</sup>

1. Joseph Stalin, Stalin's Speeches on the American Communist Party, pub. by Central Committee of CPUSA, pp. 12.

This quotation of Comrade Stalin's from 1925 is from an interview with a representative of the Communist Party of Germany. It defined the tasks of Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties which was an world-wide struggle waged by the Comintern. Today as we build our party, the accomplishment of these same tasks is essential if we are to build a party of a new type in the Bolshevik style. The entire article can be found in Vol. 7 pgs.34-41, col. works.

"To achieve Bolshevisation it is necessary to bring about ~~the~~ at least certain fundamental conditions, without which no Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties will be possible.

- 1) The Party must regard itself not as an appendage of the parliamentary electoral machinery, as the Social-Democratic Party in fact does, and not as a gratuitous supplement to the trade unions, as certain Anarcho-syndicalist elements sometime claim it should be, but as the highest form of class association of the proletariat, the function of which is to lead all the other forms of proletarian organisations, from the trade unions to the Party's group in parliament.
- 2) The Party, and especially its leading elements, must thoroughly master the revolutionary theory of Marxism, which is inseparably connected with revolutionary practice.
- 3) The Party must draw up slogans and directives not on the basis of stock formulas and historical analogies, but as the result of a careful analysis of the concrete internal and international conditions of the revolutionary movement, and it must, without fail, take into account the experience of revolutions in all countries.
- 4) The Party must test the correctness of these slogans and directives in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle of the masses.
- 5) The entire work of the Party, particularly if Social-Democratic traditions have not been eradicated in it, must be reorganised on new, revolutionary lines, so that every step, every action, taken by the Party should naturally serve to revolutionise the masses, to train and educate the broad masses of the working class in the revolutionary spirit.
- 6) In its work the Party must be able to combine the strictest adherence to principle (not to be confused with sectarianism!) with the maximum of ties and contacts with the masses (not to be confused with tailism!); without this the Party will be unable not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them, it will be ~~unable~~ unable not only to lead the masses and raise them to its own level but also to heed their voice and anticipate their urgent needs.
- 7) In its work the Party must be able to combine an uncompromising revolutionary spirit (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism!) with the maximum of flexibility and manoeuvring ability (not to be confused with opportunism!); without this the Party will be unable to master all the forms of struggle and organisation, will be unable to link the daily interests of the proletariat with the fundamental interests of the proletarian revolution, and to combine in its work the legal with the illegal struggle.
- 8) The Party must not cover up its mistakes, it must not fear criticism; it must improve and educate its cadres by learning from its own mistakes.
- 9) The Party must be able to recruit for its main leading ~~the~~ group the best elements of the advanced fighters who are sufficiently devoted to the cause to be genuine spokesmen of the aspirations of the revolutionary proletariat, and who are sufficiently experienced to become real leaders of the proletarian revolution, capable of applying the tactics and strategy of Leninism.

10) The Party must systematically improve the social composition of its organisations and rid itself of corrupting opportunist elements with a view to achieving the utmost solidarity.

11) The Party must achieve iron proletarian discipline based on ideological solidarity, clarity concerning the aims of the movement, unity of practical action and an understanding of the Party's tasks by the mass of the Party membership.

12) The Party must systematically verify the execution of its decisions and directives; without this, these decisions and directives are in danger of becoming empty promises, which can only rob the Party of the confidence of the broad proletarian masses.

In the absence of these and similar conditions, Bolshevism is just an empty sound."

### Leaflet Writing

One of the basic forms of agitation is the leaflet. Leaflets should cover one event. They can either be before or after the event (for instance a strike or demonstration) but the writer should avoid trying to develop a wide range of topics and connections.

The basic rule of thumb for writing leaflets is threefold, 1) describe the event, 2) expose the reactionary role of the imperialists (and/or their lapdogs) and 3) call the masses to some sort of action.

In the first part of the leaflet describe the event, for instance who is striking, what are the working conditions, etc., or the USNA role in Vietnam, what the imperialists are doing, their motives, etc.

In the second part of the leaflet describe the role of the imperialists. How they broke the contract or how they are constantly striving for maximum profits or how the very nature of imperialism means annexationist wars.

Finally, the last part of any leaflet must call the masses to some form of action. Whether it is to support the Vietnamese, demonstrate, pass the leaflet to other workers, etc.--the leaflet ends by encouraging the masses to act against the imperialists in some manner.

Things to avoid in leaflet writing are making the leaflet too long and detailed. Some leaflets have begun talking about the international situation and end up talking about a walkout in a local factory. The development of a systematic discussion belongs in the propaganda circles where it can be studied.

Jim F.



## CONCERNING SOME QUESTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Due to the growing and intensifying contradictions of imperialism, the contradictions within the "left" of the USNA are becoming quite glaring. Consequently, the League is enjoying a rapid growth. This growth is both from the movement as a whole and from the spontaneous struggles of the working class.

Along with the blessings of growing influence and the broadening of our mass and class base comes the dangers to the organizational and political compactness of the League.

In order to preserve our organizational structure and to carry out the tasks assigned us by history we have to constantly re-assert our understanding of the functions and forms of democratic centralism which is the indispensable base for any revolutionary Party in the modern world.

First of all, it should be stated that communist leadership, for us is "the concrete application of the universal truths of Marxism". Therefore, we approach the question of democratic centralism not as if it is some iron bound dogma or icon to be worshipped, but as an indispensable weapon for the consolidation and training of a revolutionary Party.

The great Lenin set about to resolve the question of how to integrate the intellectual and physical energies of every comrade into the revolution and still guarantee the unity of will and action of the Party. It was out of this contradictory situation that the concept of democratic centralism arose.

Democracy and centralism are two intimately connected, mutually dependent and inseparable elements of Party organization. However, in actual practice these two poles of the same expression present themselves as mutually exclusive antagonistic extremes. Since one element grows at the expense of the other and the basic relation between these elements is not unity but struggle, it follows that without a firm grasp by the leadership on the question, democracy will overtake and destroy centralism or centralism will overtake and destroy democracy. In either event the League as a revolutionary organism will die.

The concepts of a Party based on democratic centralism began to emerge during the split between Lenin on the one hand and Martov and Axelrod on the other. These differences were differences over Party organization which Lenin saw as decisive to the revolution. In 1903 the revolution in Russia was on the upsurge and the petty bourgeoisie flooded into the Party. The pull was to re-form the RSDLP on a broad basis, thus Axelrod and Martov proposed that even the strikers and sympathizers who did not belong to the Party but helped the Party be regarded as party members. In a word, the anti-Lenin grouping attempted to subordinate the element of consciousness to the element of spontaneity. Lenin's position was "The party must be really the vanguard, the leader of the enormous masses of the working class, the whole of which (or almost the whole) works under the control and guidance of the Party organization, but which does not as a whole belong to the Party." It followed that only those who directly belong to one of the Party organizations and work in it actively can be regarded as a Party member. Thus it was that the foundations for a democratically centralized party of professional revolutionaries was laid. It should be stressed that Lenin never placed the movement above the goal and always made organization serve politics. For Lenin, the interests of the proletarian revolution and the Communist Party stand above all. The guiding factor was revolutionary expediency

MASS MOVEMENT OR PARTY? -1-

Key in CL's development

and thus democratic centralism became a weapon and not the end in the struggle for the revolution.

It is plain then, that while we begin with the universal aspects of democratic centralism as outlined by Lenin, we have to give full play to the concrete factors of the political and historic conditions within and around the League. Therefore the specifics of democratic centralism are going to constantly reflect the needs of the Communist League as a revolutionary organization. Firstly, then, what is the Communist League?

The Communist League is a Marxist-Leninist organization founded on the principles of democratic centralism. The objective of the Communist League is to form or participate in the formation of a Communist Party that will be an insurrectionary force. The Communist League, which started as a local organization of 11 members in Watts in 1968 overcame the attacks of the left movement, defended Marxism-Leninism and developed a cadre organization. The CL has expanded into 7 states and is actively engaged in the class struggle. Basically the comrades learned their Marxism during the process of expansion and even today the League is an organization of revolutionaries which has as its core a group of Marxist-Leninists who gave gathered some experience in the movement. In the main our comrades are in their twenties. They are lower middle class or proletarian in their origin. Although we have one comrade of 48 years service in the movement and several of thirty years service, in the main the experience of the members is limited to from two to four years as Marxist revolutionaries. Thus we have a situation that demands that the older experienced comrades lead the younger less experienced. The objective situation within the class struggle demands that in cases of equal subjective abilities worker be advanced over intellectuals, women over men, national minorities over Anglo-Americans. These temporary political considerations has an effect on the specifics of our democratic centralism.

Within the context of our growth and the realities of our existence what, for us is democratic centralism and how does it apply?

We have progressed from a formal understanding of democracy and have learned to apply it. For us, democracy is the guarantee that every comrade is able to and urged to make the maximum contribution to the League unhampered by a lack of faith in leaders or fellow members. Democracy as an abstraction has no meaning for us except as a code for factions and disruptions within the movement. For a revolutionary in the United States today, the building of an organization of professional revolutionaries is the essence of democratic control. In some organizations there is a concept that the majority decides everything. We are organized along the lines of scientific socialism. The writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung are not points for debate. We discuss them in order to understand them but in no way is the teachings of Marx and the other great teachers up for a popular vote. Since our line is a Marxist-Leninist line, how do we handle the various conceptions as far as collectively is concerned. First of all, if we agree on Marxism-Leninism the question becomes one of application. Here democracy and collectivity must be given full play. Here, the concrete experiences of the comrades are decisive. Everyone contributes and the decision is made. In the process of the application of the line a constant evaluation of practice must be carried out. If the organizational line proves incompatible with practice, then that organizational line must be changed. Or under the pressure of changing circumstances the mass line must be adjusted. In no way does this have an effect on the Marxist-Leninist general line. Some groupin

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that declared for Marxism at their formation 'voted' themselves into a syndicalist Trotskyite and revisionist line. This must not be allowed to happen to the League.

Centralism rests on and guides democracy. Democracy serves and strengthens centralism. For us, centralism is not authority that rests in the hands of this or that leader. Centralism is the demand that the political and organizational line of the Communist League is binding on all. Organizational centralism means that the decisions of higher bodies are binding on lower bodies. It means that once the decision is made - even on the most controversial questions - unity of action is indispensable whether the individual or League organization believes in it or not. Centralism is the recognition of differences and contradictions within the League. The monolithic aspects of the party are not based in the crushing of opposition and contradictions but rather on the recognition of the contradictions as an objective reality.

Guide lines for the relations between a majority and minority opinion are that the minority may not publically express a dissenting opinion. At the same time the minority has every right to carry the struggle through to the higher bodies from the club to the section, from the section to the Area committee, from the Area to the Regional committees on up to the Secretariat and from there to the Congress. If the minority opinion is rejected it may still be raised again should fresh evidence be obtained. Under no circumstances are factions to be tolerated. Centralism and democracy is a reflection of unity and struggle. Centralism is the expression of unity and is the overwhelming demand of the revolution. Democracy as the expression of struggle is a necessary aspect but conditioned by and in support of unity. Thus, democracy is conditional while centralism is absolute.

It would appear that the concept of democratic centralism is closely tied to the relationship between the leaders of the League and the membership. First of all, the comrades in the Communist League should move away from the conception that the Marxist-Leninist Party is a self contained organization of leaders and followers. Stalin (page 64, Vol.1, Works) writes, "...The proletarian party, being a fighting group of leaders..." In the League we adhere to such views. The League must not remain a self contained group of leaders and followers with its separate party life. It must become a compact detachment of the class composed of leaders of the League and leaders of the class. However, in this regard we want to deal only with the leaders of the League who are in the most sensitive position as regards the development of the political struggle and therefore powerfully influence the class struggle. What does Lenin say about leaders,

"Not a single class in history has achieved power without producing its political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organize a movement and lead it." (from Urgent Tasks of Our Movement)

Further,

"The training of experienced and influential Party leaders is a long and difficult task. And without them the dictatorship of the proletariat, its 'unity of will', will remain a phrase." (from a Letter to the German Communists)

And further,

"That, in fact, is one of the functions of a party organization and of Party

leaders worthy of the title, namely through the prolonged, persistent, varied and comprehensive efforts of all thinking representatives of the given class, to evolve the knowledge, the experience and - in addition to knowledge and experience - the political instinct necessary for the speedy and correct solution of intricate political problems." (from Left Wing Communism, all quotes taken from Lenin on the Revolutionary Proletarian Party of a New Type FLP, Peking, 1960).

It is clear that the League must have leaders. For us, leaders are aggressive comrades who see further and feel deeper. It is also clear that the role of the leader is basically to carry out the democratically determined line. We don't need leaders who are hare brained, who come up with all sorts of personal inventions. We need Marxist-Leninists who can apply the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the USNA.

Within the League we have recognized the necessity for authoritative leaders. How we have also learned that authority must be closely linked with responsibility. Originally we attempted to hold leading comrades responsible for the resolution of problems when they did not have the authority to resolve the problems in a manner that conformed to their leading positions. In the relationships between the League and its leaders a more developed dialectical situation is emerging. We demand that leaders lead. We recognize that they can only learn the art of leadership by developing their talents over a long period of time. Therefore we strive to construct leading collectives wherein the comrades will work together in a stable manner for years. We know that it is only through such years of working together that the leadership gains the knowledge of one another and develops a trust of one another.

As the class struggle sharpens and the League develops, leaders with less and less experience are going to be placed in positions of trust. Since we are building an organization that consists of leaders of the League and leaders of the masses, what are the relations between such leaders. As we have stated above, the League is a force participating in the building of a communist party whose purpose will be to initiate an insurrection. Therefore it is plain that the leaders of the League have to generalize the experiences of and service the comrades who are the leaders of the masses. At the same time these leaders of the masses are basically under the leadership of the leaders of the League.

In the CPUSA and in a number of other so-called revolutionary organizations, the question of advancing leadership becomes a political plum to be sought after or a football to be chased. In these organizations leaders are advanced on the basis of their being "yes" men, or on the basis of their popularity with either leaders or members. We must establish the principle that leaders are the most advanced, the most willing to struggle, the most skilled at application of the line, the first in self-sacrifice. In the League the election to a post of leadership in no way means privilege. In the League no one gets chevrons to identify them as leaders. They must be leaders in fact. The organizational rewards for these leaders is the demand for ever greater contributions to the struggle.

The relationship between leaders of the League and leaders of the masses is not one of military relation. Both groups of leaders are separate but mutually dependent.

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elements of the League. Take away the mass leaders and the League will die. Take away the League leaders and the League will die. The relationship is simply this.

The leaders of the masses bring to the collectives the summation of their experience in the struggle. The internal leaders receive this scattered unorganized information concerning the moods, aspirations and activities of the masses. They organize and systematize this information and send it back in the form of directives which are guides to the mass workers in their activities. There we have the transmission belt - information and experience coming up, directives coming down. Evaluation of the practical application of the line going up, an adjusted line coming down. This back and forth motion never ceases. Thus a dialectical motion is maintained with the line of the League inching ever closer toward coinciding with the realities of the struggle.

The League exists in an environment of class struggle. The various class ideas invade the closed meetings and express themselves as class struggles within the League. This struggle is called Inner Party struggle. The conduct of this inner party struggle is a very important aspect of democratic centralism. In general then, how do the rules of democratic centralism apply to the inner party struggle? During the inner party struggle, centralism is the leading factor. We do not want a situation where a group of individuals simply battle it out according to their own individual conceptions. The starting point in the inner party struggle must be the line. It is useless for two equal to struggle within the League because then forces and force alone makes the decision. Force is absolutely prohibited and persuasion is the only allowable weapon. It follows then that the skill of the inner party struggle is to rally around the line isolate the incorrect projections and unite on the basis of the struggle. If at all possible, disagreements should be settled in the meeting where they arose. However if the discussion need be carried over to another meeting, individual discussions of the question outside of the collective are absolutely prohibited. It should go without saying that secret organizing against the line will not be tolerated.

It should be pointed out that the inner party struggle is not solved by a majority-minority vote, but rather on the basis of the line. Inner party struggle always involves the question of criticism and self-criticism. The key to criticism and self-criticism is objectivity. Criticism and self-criticism must be rounded taking into consideration factors of environment and history. Especially important are the question of form and content and the questions of freedom and necessity. A few examples will illustrate the point. Recently a proletarian comrade made an enthusiastic report concerning experiences in a campaign. At the end of the report several members of the intelligencia made a slashing attack based on the mis-pronunciation of a few words. The proletarian comrade was crushed and she made no more contributions to the discussion. Comrades must absolutely separate the form of things from their content in the process of analysis and criticism. As regards the question of freedom and necessity, it is an accepted Marxist law that every process has its objective limits and possibilities. For example we know that we are free to utilize the energy of a mountain stream in its downward course. We are not free to build our house in its path. Freedom is the recognition of objective laws in any process. In the inner party struggle freedom in criticism is the recognition of responsibility for everything that we say. Irresponsible criticism will not be tolerated. No alien element will be allowed to hide behind the mask of criticism in order to undercut the unity of the League or the authority

of its leaders.

In criticism and self-criticism dialectical analysis shows that there is a contradiction between the individual and the collective. The collective can survive only by recognizing the rights of the individual and the individual can maintain his individuality only by merging into and submitting to the will of the collective.

Finally we come to the question of discipline within the League. Lenin said,

"We have more than once, on principle, defined our views on the significance of discipline and the conception of discipline in the ranks of the Labor Party. We defined it as Unity of action, freedom of discussion and criticism. Only such a form of discipline is worthy of a democratic Party of the progressive class. The strength of the working class is organization. Without organization the mass of the proletariat is nothing. Organized, it is all. Organization is unity of action..." (Lenin, On Organization, Daily Worker Pub. Co., Ill, 1926)

Here Lenin shows that discipline is connected with freedom, and really rests on freedom. Freedom to learn, freedom to understand clearly and thoroughly the whys and hows of development. From time to time the objective situation will compel us to restrict the democratic aspects of this discipline and submission to centralism will be the only possible way for the League to move forward. However the temporary demand for the setting aside of democracy rests on members thoroughly understanding the necessity. Our discipline cannot be a military discipline. Even in the harshest times we must have the intelligence, the initiative, the creativity and the criticism of the comrades outside of the center. Therefore the most rigid iron discipline is not military - although at times it will appear to be so. Discipline is based in ideology. Ideology is class consciousness. Class consciousness is hatred for our enemies and love for our class. Defense of our lived ones demand organization. Organization is unity of will. Thus the comrades with the most discipline, the highest level of ideology are always the most class conscious.

The revolutionary needs of the working class are the overthrowing of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order for this to be achieved, a class conscious Marxist-Leninist communist party must be built. Our tasks as communists, and therefore as the most advanced detachment of the working class is to build such a communist party and with it to lead such a revolution. Our task of party building requires us on the one hand, to master the theoretical principles of democratic centralism and to sum-up our experiences in applying this organizational tool up to now. This we must do without forgetting that it is the League line (i.e. Marxism-Leninism as applied to the concrete revolutionary situation in the USNA) around which our organizational structure is built. On the other hand, it is our duty to further master and deepen our understanding of democratic centralism in the course of building this communist party.

If we are to build a fighting organization of Communist leaders we have to presuppose a certain equality <sup>between</sup> these leaders and that entails a certain adherence to 'the rules of the game' between these leaders. For example there has to be an internal chain of command with authority and responsibility up and down the line.

Recently, we have had some very illuminating examples of the breaking of democratic centralism by the central authority unduly interfering with the responsibilities of

club and section leaders. One particularly sharp example took place several months back when the responsibility for distributing the Negro question pamphlet came on top of a tremendous amount of other local activity. At the time, a section was distributing the People's Tribune and several leaflets. One of the comrades from the area bureau demanded that the section leader sell the Negro question report that very day. The section leader felt that it would be incorrect to cram such an important document in with the other articles and so he declined to accept the assignment at that time. The comrade from the area bureau then went over the section leaders head and told the club leaders that they would canvass for the Negro question report that day or face charges. Of course, this was a clear violation of the concept of authority and responsibility of all leaders and re-introduces the concept that the Communist League is an organization of big shots and rank and filers, and that discipline is military. The comrades on the scene are responsible therefore they are also authoritative. The role of the center comrades must be to fight for the line and the local leadership must proceed from concrete conditions in order to apply that line in a meaningful and revolutionary way.

It is becoming very clear that the struggle against a bureaucratic trend in the League is one of our most important struggles for democratic centralism. Bureaucrats stifle leaders and the development of leaders. The central demand of the revolutionary movement today is for leaders and yet the bureaucrats with the demand that everything be accomplished according to the book without regard for specific local conditions prevent the development of leaders. The bureaucratic minded 'leader' has no faith in the abilities of the comrades that he feels are 'below' or certainly beneath his authority, therefore he insists on meddling in everything and demanding that things be done his way.

Actually, local leaders know considerably more about local conditions than do the central comrades who know considerably more about the overall national situation. The Leninist demand for organizational decentralization is precisely to allow the comrades the necessary authority to apply a politically centralized line. This is the concrete expression of democratic centralism in our organization.

Center comrades must give leadership to the local leaders concerning what is to be done. To give instructions how to do it is to deny the existence of objective conditions. At the same time, the central comrades, being armed with the general experience of the League must not sit idly by while serious organizational errors are being made. As with all dialectics, the contradictions have to be handled with skill. However the rule of the thumb must be - no going over the heads of local leaders and organizational direction should be given only after the most thorough study of local conditions.

In conclusion, we should restate our position that democratic centralism is our main political weapon in fighting for a Party. Its proper use trains every comrade to be an authoritative responsible leader. Democratic centralism stimulates and excites the intelligence and revolutionary spirit of every comrade. Its correct application guarantees full discussion and investigation of every political effort and yet the unity of the organization is maintained. Democratic centralism is our main weapon to break out of our previous mode of existence as a self contained organization and elevate the League to the position of a leader in the struggle for socialism.

This paper, summing up some experience in the League is not intended to close but to open the discussion of internal League life. Recognizing the concept of freedom and necessity, the League has built two aspects of our press. The People's Tribune speaks for the Central Committee. Therefore, there must be an organ where the

individual members can express their thinking and experiences. The Theoretical Journal is that organ. Polemics are the life blood of theory. We welcome and insist on the submission of polemics and criticism through the Journal as the healthiest aspect of the inner party struggle and a weapon for strengthening democratic centralism.

NELSON P.

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Comrades,

~~There are two purposes to this paper. The first is to show the material conditions which gave rise to the revisionism and restoration of capitalism within the USSR and the second to show the Stalin for the tremendous leader of the World Proletariat~~

We must come to understand the role that Class struggle plays in the world. It is the motive force in human relations, in class relations. This paper is being written one to show the material conditions that lead to the rise of revisionism and restoration of capitalism within the USSR and to show Stalin in his true role that of the Leader of the World Proletariat and guide for the first and greatest communist Party in the world. But if this paper does nothing else it must get across the understanding as to the importance and centrality of the class struggle.

We continually get besieged with questions as to what has happened to the Soviet Union, who is Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Kosygin, what role did Stalin play, who was Trotsky etc. etc. We hear tales of a new ruling class within the USSR. Our Political line labels the Soviet Union a revisionist and Social Imperialist Country, the enemy of the working class and the peoples of the world. We must now begin to examine how it is that the world's first socialist country and the first and leading Communist Party in the world to become the headquarters for world revisionism and the restoration of capitalism.

In October 1917 the Proletarian Revolution took place creating the dictatorship of the Proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry. However it took years of civil war and the ousting of foreign invaders before the Soviet Union was not at war. ~~At the time when the Soviet Union was invaded by numerous armies at one time fighting on seven different fronts. The Soviet Union faced famine and millions of people died in the war and the resulting food shortages. In this process many of the most experienced communist fighters were killed~~

After the war itself ended the Soviet Union faced Embargo and boycott from almost all foreign governments and thus was forced to rely on the resources present.

But let us stop for a minute and set a framework from which to analyze the subsequent events in the Soviet Union. We must ~~begin~~ begin to approach the question with a dialectical materialist approach i.e. we must understand the processes of growth, change and development and the linkage of all the events and factors and unite this understanding with the material conditions affecting the Soviet Union. ~~we must understand the single events that took place and place them as parts of a interrelated whole thus gaining an understanding of the combination of factors i.e. the quantitative changes that lead to the qualitative change—the restoration of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.~~ *As well we must understand the relationship of the internal & external contradictions.*

As Mao says in on Contradictions' "We should study it internally and in its relations with other things; in other words, the development of things should be seen as their internal and necessary self-development, while each thing in its movement is interrelated with and interacts on the things around it. The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictions within the thing." ...Does materialist dialectics exclude external causes? Not at all. It holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and

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So now we understand that all the events and factors are linked together and the internal as opposed to the external factors are the determinative. Thus we immediately reject From the Masses to the Masses analysis as it states that it was the external factor, imperialism, which brought about the revisionism.

We must study what Lenin and Stalin have to say about the period after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the creation of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

“The fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power” (*Lenin*). Does this mean that all that is required is to assume power, to seize it? No, it does not. The seizure of power is only the beginning. For many reasons, the bourgeoisie that is overthrown in one country remains for a long time stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it. Therefore, the whole point is to retain power, to consolidate it, to make it invincible. What is needed to attain this? To attain this it is necessary to carry out at least three main tasks that confront the dictatorship of the proletariat “on the morrow” of victory:

a) to break the resistance of the landlords and capitalists who have been overthrown and expropriated by the revolution, to liquidate every attempt on their part to restore the power of capital;

b) to organise construction in such a way as to rally all the working people around the proletariat, and to carry on this work along the lines of preparing for the elimination, the abolition of classes;

c) to arm the revolution, to organise the army of the revolution for the struggle against foreign enemies, for the struggle against imperialism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is needed to carry out, to fulfil these tasks.

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“The transition from capitalism to communism,” says Lenin, “represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters — who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it — throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the ‘paradise’ of which they have been deprived, on behalf of their families, who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the ‘common herd’ is condemning to ruin and destitution (or to ‘common’ labour...). In the train of the capitalist exploiters follow the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, with regard to whom decades of historical experience of all countries testify that they vacillate and hesitate, one day marching behind the proletariat and the next day taking fright at the difficulties of the revolution; that they become panic-stricken at the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers, grow nervous, rush about, snivel, and run from one camp into the other.” (See Vol. XXIII, p. 355.)

The bourgeoisie has its grounds for making attempts at restoration, because for a long time after its overthrow it remains stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it.

“If the exploiters are defeated in one country only,” says Lenin, “and this, of course, is the typical case, since a simultaneous revolution in a number of countries is a rare exception, they still remain stronger than the exploited.” (*Ibid.*, p. 354.)

Wherein lies the strength of the overthrown bourgeoisie?

Firstly, “in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie.” (See Vol. XXV, p. 173.)

Secondly, in the fact that “for a long time after the revolution the exploiters inevitably retain a number of great practical advantages: they still have money (it is impossible to abolish money all at once); some movable property — often fairly considerable; they still have various connections, habits of organisation and management, knowledge of all the ‘secrets’ (customs, methods, means and possibilities) of management, superior education, close connections with the higher technical personnel (who live and think like the bourgeoisie), incomparably

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greater experience in the art of war (this is very important), and so on, and so forth.” (See Vol. XXIII, p. 354.)

Thirdly, “in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale” . . . for “the abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists — that we accomplished with comparative ease — it also means abolishing the small commodity producers, and they cannot be driven out, or crushed; we must live in harmony with them, they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organisational work.” (See Vol. XXV, pp. 173 and 189.)

That is why Lenin says that:

“The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow,”

and that:

“The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society.” (*Ibid.*, pp. 173 and 190.)

It scarcely needs proof that there is not the slightest possibility of carrying out these tasks in a short period, of accomplishing all this in a few years. Therefore, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the transition from capitalism to communism, must not be regarded as a fleeting period of “super-revolutionary” acts and decrees, but as an entire historical era, replete with civil wars and external conflicts, with persistent organisational work and economic construction, with advances and retreats, victories and defeats. This historical era is needed not only to create the economic and cultural pre-requisites for the complete victory of socialism, but also to enable the proletariat, firstly, to educate itself and become

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steered as a force capable of governing the country, and, secondly, to re-educate and remould the petty-bourgeois strata along such lines as will assure the organisation of socialist production.

"You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international conflicts," Marx said to the workers, "not only to change existing conditions, but also to change yourselves and to make yourselves capable of wielding political power." (See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 506.)

Continuing and developing Marx's idea still further, Lenin wrote that:

"It will be necessary under the dictatorship of the proletariat to re-educate millions of peasants and small proprietors, hundreds of thousands of office employees, officials and bourgeois intellectuals, to subordinate them all to the proletarian state and to proletarian leadership, to overcome their bourgeois habits and traditions," just as we must "— in a protracted struggle waged on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat — re-educate the proletarians themselves, who do not abandon their petty-bourgeois prejudices at one stroke, by a miracle, at the bidding of the Virgin Mary, at the bidding of a slogan, resolution or decree, but only in the course of a long and difficult mass struggle against mass petty-bourgeois influences." (See Vol. XXV pp. 248 and 247.)

Quote foundations of Leninism 41-44 The fundamental question of every ----  
against mass petty bourgeois influences.

"The abolition of classes requires a long difficult and stubborn class struggle, which after the overthrow of the power of capital, after the destruction of the bourgeois state, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear (as the vulgar representatives of the old socialism and the old Social Democracy imagine) but merely changes forms and in many respects becomes even fiercer!"  
Lenin Vol. 24p. 3115

Thus we see that Lenin and Stalin both understood and warned of the continuing class struggle in socialism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They were but supporting and expanding Marx's understanding for the need for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, for the need for continuing revolutions against the bourgeoisie and for the need for a special repressive force, the proletarian state, to suppress the old exploiting classes and their ideology.

Okay now let's go back to 1923 or so and go through the historic events that lead up to the bourgeois counter-revolution and the restoration of capitalism within the USSR. We have a situation where large numbers of Bolsheviks have been killed in the civil war and the country is currently facing embargo and boycott. Lenin moves to bring back from overseas the technicians and bourgeois managers of factories so as to be able to set the economy back on its feet. During the first world war and the subsequent civil war much of the industrial and agricultural capacity of the country was destroyed and devastated. The Proletariat, in large part, did not have the experience in running the factories or in the running of the large banks. The knowledge of the experts was necessary to set up the state planning commission and to get the factories back on their feet and producing. Lenin was aware of the dangers in this act of bringing back and setting up the technicians who were either petty-bourgeois or bourgeois into high administrative functions but the alternative was the prolonged period of lack of the regaining of an industrial capacity which was vital given the amount of destruction in the country. If there was not the immediate move to get the country back on its feet the bourgeoisie internally and the imperialists externally would have a much better chance of overthrowing the newly formed proletarian state. Thus the material conditions forced the Bolsheviks to take certain chances rather than face much heavier odds of destruction by not calling back the technicians.

Lenin moved to set up the economy after the end of the civil war into one which supported a certain degree of small capitalist enterprise, to move the economy along as rapidly as possible. The conditions had not yet been laid either, in industry, in agriculture or in the minds of the peasantry for the collectivization of the land. This economic policy was called NEP. In 1924 the Bolshevik party brought into it another 200,000 members in what was called the Lenin enrollment. This was not the first, <sup>now last</sup> in a number of large enrollments of new members that had been going on since the summer of 1917. Large numbers of Proletarians and peasants joined the party most out of a sincere desire to struggle for the proletarian revolution and the creation and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but others joined when it became more clear that the Bolsheviks were going to win and came into the party for their own opportunistic reasons. Thus came a certain diluting of the character of the Party with a petty-bourgeois influence. Both Lenin and Stalin spoke of the necessity of reregistration of cadre so that the conduct, theoretical development and motivations, class background of the cadre could be examined and the bad apples plucked from the party membership. This reregistration happened a number of times and did to a degree succeed but there remained within the party certain elements of the petty-bourgeois mentality, and in particular among certain elements within the leadership of the party such as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin etc.

From 1923 on there was a struggle between the proletarian line of Stalin versus the Bourgeois -pettybourgeois defeatist line of Trotskies. Trotsky underrated the staunch support that the peasantry would give the proletariat in their alliance with them and as well he underestimated the proletariat and its influence upon the peasantry. Stalin pointed out that the staunchest ally of the working class and the one most in a position to be of aid was the peasantry. That the international proletariat was an aid and support but because of the rise of reaction, ie the smashing of labor Unions the Palmer raids etc. the western European and American proletariat was in no position for immediate revolution or much material support for the first socialist republic. Thus Stalin argued on the basis of the present situation and on the teachings of Marx and Lenin that socialism in one country was possible and at that time the only path open for the Russian proletariat. Trotsky on the other hand said that the Soviet Union could not create socialism without international revolution and that all energies should go into that. ie he advanced his idea of permanent revolution which he had supported since 1904. He generally held that revolution must be exported and that was the only hope for the Soviet Union. On the other hand Bukharin said that the party should give up the idea of the creation of the socialist state and support the capitalist state until the proletariat in Western Europe was ready for without the heavy industry in the USSR socialism could not be created.

To quote the CPC "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Stalin adhered to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the road of socialism and waged a staunch struggle against the forces of capitalism. Stalin's struggles against the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites were in essence a reflection within the Party of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and of the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. "

In Foundations of Leninism, and in the October Revolution and the tactics of the Russian Communists And in Problems of Leninism Stalin attacks Trotskyism and pints out its Bourgeois/Menshevism which is of course an agent of the bourgeoisie.

"Consequently, Lenin fought the adherents of " permanent revolution not over the question of the uninterruptedness , for Lenin himself maintained the point of view of uninterrupted revolution, but because they underestimated the role of the peasantry, which is an enormous reserve of the proletariat. "

" Hitherto only one aspect of the theory of permanent revolution has usually been noted-lack of faith in the revolutionary potentialis of the peasant movement. Now in fairness, this must be supplemented by another aspect lack of faith in the strength and capacity of the proletariat in Russia." Problems of Leninism Selected Works pgl46

It is necessary to look for a minute at Lenin's definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat for it was this that Trotsky was fundamentally attacking. This same attack continued under Zinoviev in which Stalin responded in Problems of Leninism.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a special form of class alliance between the proletariat , the vanguard of the working people and the numerous non-proletarian strata of working people(the petty bourgeoisie, the small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia etc.) or the majority of these; it is, an alliance against capital, an alliance aiming at the complete overthrow of capital, at the complete suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and of any attempt on its part at restoration, an alliance aiming at the final establishment and consolidation of socialism."//

" Only an agreement with the peasantry can save the socialist revolution in Russia as long as the revolution in other countries has not taken place."

"The supreme principle of the dictatorship is the maintenance of the alliance of the proletariat and peasantry in order that the proletariat may retain its leading role and state power" Psroblems of Leninism pgs 151-152

It is this aspect of the dictatorship which Trotsky attacked the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry and the hegemonic position of the peasantry for he believed that the proletariat and the peasantry must clash for he viewed it as a reactionary force as did the mencheviks. Thus he would have attempted to export revolution and not place any faith in the alliance, allowing the bourgeoisie to bring about successful counter-revolution.

We are examining this struggle so closely for two reasons 1. is to understand the role of trotsky and therefore Stalin in this struggle and to begin to come to an understanding as to the type of struggle which went on. The class struggle within the Party, the two line struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Stalin struggled sharply and with the majority of the Bolsheviks smashed the revisionist and bourgeois line and moved the Soviet Union and the dictatorship of the proletariat onward. secondly this struggle although it did steel the party, for struggle does that it also occupied precious time in the consolidation of the proletarian state. This struggle with the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinists was one which lasted from 1921 through 1938 or so. For after these groups in particular trotskyites had been defeated within the party and the class they went underground and acted as a fifth column and as agents of the bourgeoisie, imperialist and fascists. To quote from Stalin on the question of successful struggles against the bourgeoisie and opportunist trends within the party

"We must destroy and cast aside the rotten theory that with every advance we make the class struggle(WHICH HE "DIDN'T RECOGNIZE" IN THEORY!!) would die down more and more, and that in proportion as we achieve success the class enemy would become more and more tractable. This is not only a rotten theory but a dangerous one, for it lulls our people, leads them into a trap, and makes it possible for the class enemy to rally for the struggle against the Soviet Government. On the contrary, the further we advance, the greater will be the fury of the remnants of the broken exploiting classes, the sooner will they resort to sharper forms of struggle, the more will they seek to harm the Soviet state and the more will they clutch at the most desperate means of struggle, as the last resort of doomed people. (New Century Publications, 1946, pp21-2)

## The Kulaks and the struggle with Bukharin

When the Bolsheviks seized power, one of their first acts was to allow the poor peasants to seize the huge landed estates. The slogan was "Land to the tiller." This, however, left most land in the form of tiny holdings, unsuited for large-scale agriculture, particularly the production of the vital grain crops. Under NEP, capitalism and a new form of landlordism began to flourish in the countryside. The class known as kulaks (literally "tight-fists"), consisting of usurers and other small capitalists including village merchants and rich peasants, were cornering the market in the available grain, grabbing more and more small holdings of land, and, through their debt holdings, forcing peasants back into tenant farming and wage labor. Somehow, the small peasant holdings had to be consolidated so that modern agriculture could begin. There were basically two ways this could take place: either through capitalist accumulation, as the kulaks were then doing, or through the development of large-scale socialist farms. If the latter, there was then a further choice: a rapid forced collectivization, or a more gradual process in which co-operative farms would emerge first, followed by collectives, and both would be on a voluntary basis, winning out by example and persuasion. What did Stalin choose? Here, in his own words, is the policy he advocated and that was adopted at the Fifteenth Party Congress, in 1927:

What is the way out? The way out is to turn the small and scattered peasant farms into large united farms based on cultivation of the land in common, to go over to collective cultivation of the land on the basis of a new and higher technique.

The way out is to unite the small and dwarf peasant farms gradually but surely, not by pressure, but by example and persuasion, into large farms based on common, co-operative, collective cultivation of the land with the use of agricultural machines and tractors and scientific methods of intensive agriculture.

There is no other way out.

To implement this policy, the capitalist privileges allowed under NEP were revoked. This was known as the restriction of the kulaks. The kulaks, whose very existence as a class was thus menaced, struck back. They organized terrorist bands who attacked the co-operatives and collectives, burning down barns when they were filled with grain, devastating the fields, and even murdering Communist peasant leaders. Even more serious than these raids, the kulaks held back their own large supplies of grain from the market in an effort to create hunger and chaos in the cities. The poor and middle peasants struck back. Virtual open civil war began to rage throughout the countryside. As the collective farm movement spread rapidly, pressure mounted among the poor and middle peasants to put an end to landlordism and usury in the countryside for good. In 1929 Stalin agreed that the time had come to eliminate the kulaks as a class. He led the fight to repeal the laws that allowed the renting of land and the hiring of labor, thus depriving the kulaks both of land and of hired workers. The ban on expropriation of the large private holdings was lifted, and the peasants promptly expropriated the kulak class. The expropriation of the rural capitalists in the late 1920s was just as decisive as the expropriation of the urban capitalists a decade earlier. Landlords and village usurers were eliminated as completely as private factory owners.

Pg17-18 of essential stalin

Stalin attempted at first with the kulaks to persuade them to move toward collectivization but when they began to destroy the crops and the sheep and cattle and thus to endanger the dictatorship of the proletariat then persuasion was out and the forced collectivization was in. Stalin attempted to struggle within the party against the bureaucracy and the attitude which did not put serving the people first at the same time which he led the struggle against the class enemies the kulaks. Numbers of kulaks were sent to prison camps where they worked to build up Siberia with dams, electrical stations and cities. During this process Stalin had to sharply struggle with Bukharin's view that the capitalist elements would grow into socialist elements and that they did not need to be suppressed and struggled against. Stalin wrote the Right Deviation in the CkIPSU(B) in an attempt to expose Bukharin's anti-communist stance to party members and to the working class. For Bukharin's view was extremely dangerous as it would lead to the ability of the capitalist to overthrow the state without fear of suppression.

Leadership under these circumstances means the ability to convince the masses of the correctness of the Party's policy; the ability to put forward and to carry out such slogans as bring the masses to the Party's positions and help them to realize through their own experience the correctness of the Party's policy; the ability to raise the masses to the Party's level of political consciousness, and thus secure the support of the masses and their readiness for the decisive struggle.

Therefore, the method of persuasion is the principal method of the Party's leadership of the working class.

"If we, in Russia today," says Lenin, "after two-and-a-half years of unprecedented victories over the bourgeoisie of Russia and the Entente, were to make 'recognition of the dictatorship' a condition of trade-union membership, we should be committing a folly, we should be damaging our influence over the masses, we should be helping the Mensheviks. For the whole task of the Communists is to be able to convince the backward elements, to be able to work among them, and not to fence themselves off from them by artificial and childish 'Left' slogans" (see Vol. XXV, p. 197).

This, of course, must not be understood in the sense that the Party must convince all the workers, down to the last man, and that only after this is it possible to proceed to action, that only after this is it possible to start operations. Not at all! It only means that before entering upon decisive political actions the Party must, by means of prolonged revolutionary work, secure for itself the support of the majority of the masses of the workers, or at least the benevolent neutrality of the majority of the class. Otherwise Lenin's thesis, that a necessary condition for victorious revolution is that the Party should win over the majority of the working class, would be devoid of all meaning.

Well, and what is to be done with the minority, if it does not wish, if it does not agree voluntarily to submit to the will of the majority? Can the Party, must the Party, enjoying the confidence of the majority, compel the minority to submit to the will of the majority? Yes, it can and it must. Leadership is ensured by the method of persuading the masses, as the principal method by which the Party influences the masses. This, however, does not preclude, but presupposes, the use of coercion, if such coercion is based on confidence in the Party and support for it on the part of the majority of the working class, if it is applied to the minority after the Party has convinced the majority.

pg. 167 Problems of Leninism

As for the capitalist elements in the countryside, there is still less reason to regard as accidental the opposition of the kulaks to the Soviet price policy, which has been going on for over a year already. Many people are still unable to understand why it is that until 1927 the kulak gave his grain of his own accord, whereas since 1927 he has ceased to do so. But there is nothing surprising in it. Formerly the kulak was still relatively weak; he was unable to organize his farming properly; he lacked sufficient capital to improve his farm and so he was obliged to bring all, or nearly all, his surplus grain to the market. Now, however, after a number of good harvests, since he has been able to build up his farm, since he has succeeded in accumulating the necessary capital, he is in a position to manoeuvre on the market, he is able to set aside grain, this currency of currencies, as a reserve for himself, and prefers to bring to the market meat, oats, barley and other secondary crops. It would be ridiculous now to hope that the kulak can be made to part with his grain voluntarily.

There you have the root of the resistance which the kulak is now offering to the policy of the Soviet regime.

And what does the resistance offered by the capitalist elements of town and country to the socialist offensive represent? It represents a regrouping of the forces of the class enemies of the proletariat for the purpose of defending the old against the new. It is not difficult to understand that these circumstances cannot but lead to an intensification of the class struggle. But if we are to break the resistance of the class enemies and clear the way for the advance of socialism, we must, besides everything else, give a sharp edge to all our organizations, purge them of bureaucracy, improve their cadres and mobilize the vast masses of the working class and laboring strata of the countryside against the capitalist elements of town and country.

pg. 244 Right Deviation in CPSU(13)

Until now, we Marxist-Leninists were of the opinion that between the capitalists of town and country, on the one hand, and the working class, on the other hand, there is an irreconcilable antagonism of interests. That is what the Marxist theory of the class struggle rests on. But now, according to Bukharin's theory of the capitalists' peaceful growth into socialism, all this is turned upside down, the irreconcilable antagonism of the class interests between the exploiters and the exploited disappears, the exploiters grow into socialism.

pg. 253 Right Deviation

Bukharin thinks that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the class struggle must *die down* and *come to an end* so that the abolition of classes may be brought about. Lenin, on the contrary, teaches us that classes can be abolished only by means of a stubborn class struggle, which under the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes *even fiercer* than it was before the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The abolition of classes," says Lenin, "requires a long, difficult and stubborn *class struggle*, which, *after* the overthrow of the power of capital, *after* the destruction of the bourgeois state, *after* the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *does not disappear* (as the vulgar representatives of the old socialism and the old Social-Democracy imagine), but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes even fiercer" (Vol. XXIV, p. 315).

That is what Lenin says about the abolition of classes.

The abolition of classes *by means of the fierce class struggle of the proletariat* — such is Lenin's formula.

The abolition of classes *by means of the extinction of the class struggle and by the capitalists growing into socialism* — such is Bukharin's formula.

What can there be in common between these two formulas?

Bukharin's theory of the kulak growing into socialism is therefore a departure from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle. It comes close to the theory propounded by Katheder-Socialism.<sup>95</sup>

That is the basis of all the errors committed by Bukharin and his friends.

It may be said that it is not worth while dwelling at length on Bukharin's theory of the kulaks growing into socialism, since it itself speaks, and not only speaks, but cries out, against Bukharin. That is wrong, comrades! As long as that theory was kept hidden it was possible not to pay attention to it — there are plenty of such stupid things in what various comrades write. Such has been our attitude until quite lately. But recently the situation has changed. The petty-bourgeois elemental forces, which have been breaking out in recent years, have begun to encourage this anti-Marxist theory and made it topical. Now it cannot be said that it is being kept hidden. Now this strange theory of Bukharin's is aspiring to become the banner of the Right deviation in our Party, the banner of opportunism. That is why we cannot now ignore this theory. That is why we must demolish it as a wrong and harmful theory, so as to help our Party comrades to fight the Right deviation.

*Right Deviation in CPSU (13)  
p. 235*

Again the importance of this struggle was in the years in which it took and the way it stood in the way of the further development of the dictatorship

*and*  
both in the areas of education within the Party, *and* in the battle with bureaucracy within the party ranks, *and* in the battle with the old exploiters, the bourgeois mentality both within the Party and without it took its toll. One divides into two — it both strengthened the class and the party cadre and weakened them, made them self-confident, did not prepare them and deepen them ideologically for what lay ahead.

The History of

the CPSU (1), Short Courses

An important place in Comrade Stalin's report (to the Seventeenth Party Congress, 1934) was given to the question of ideological-political leadership. He warned the Party that although its enemies, the opportunists and national deviators of all shades and complexions, had been defeated, remnants of their ideology still lingered in the minds of some Party members and often asserted themselves. The survivals of capitalism in economic life and particularly in the minds of men (~~NOTED THIS~~) provided a favorable soil for the revival of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups. The development of people's mentality (~~THE SURVIVAL OF CAPITALISM~~) does not keep pace with their economic position. As a consequence, survivals of bourgeois ideas still remained in men's minds and would continue to do so (~~FOR A LONG HISTORICAL PERIOD, PERHAPS~~) even though capitalism had been abolished in economic life. (p321)

We must emphasize again that it is the elements in all of these struggles, the material conditions internal and external to the Soviet Union that set the conditions for the overthrow of the proletarian state. The Party and the working class in alliance with the peasantry were overall growing stronger as these struggles took place and as the agriculture and industry of the Soviet Union was put back on its feet and begun to advance to higher stages than it had ever achieved before. *But* we cannot forget that the bourgeoisie still existed and that it and the petty bourgeois mentality still were a danger that had to be guarded against ever more highly as time went on. // *The* Soviet Union / *and* / *but* / *however* / *did* / *not* / *have* / *time* / *to* / *prepare* / *and* / *thus* Certain of the elements of the bourgeoisie had been defeated within the party, but large groupings went underground hid their true beliefs and worked for the counter-revolution. Bukharin self-criticized himself as did Zinoviev and others and thus stayed in power for many years, struggling for the overthrow of the first socialist republic.



Another important reason for the counter-revolution is the importance that small commodity production held in the economy. Small commodity production heightens the petty-bourgeois mentality, accentuates individualism, vascillation, and a resistance to collective activity and the concept of the whole before the part. This consciousness had to be struggled with from the very beginning of the Soviet Union and made up a large part of the continuing resistance to the proletarianization and collectivization of social life and of the economy. This mentality penetrated into the Party where it took root as a separation of the party from the masses of workers and with a buerocratic attitude toward the working class..

It was necessary for the Soviet Union to boost tremendously its efforts toward industrialization because of the threat that the spread of fascism was bringing. Italy and Germany moving to Fascism, a prolonged war in Spain in which Stalin and the Soviet Union were the only ones to aid the loyalist government with tanks planes and money. Even against threats by the French, English and Americans the Soviet Union, the proletarian state pressed ahead with its aid to Spain and supported communist Parties around the world in the <sup>the</sup> sending of large groupings of volunteers ie the Thallmann brigade, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (already an indication of revisionism and American Exceptionalism) ~~to~~ <sup>to the aid of Spain.</sup> Thus the Soviet Union understanding the hatred with which the fascists viewed communism and understanding the absolute destruction of the legal and much of the illegal apparatus of the German and Italian Communist Parties began to prepare for the inevitable military confrontation. ~~Thus~~ the Soviet Union had little breathing space in which to attempt to deal with the bueracracy within the Party. A number of campaigns were initiated but Stalin had to ~~rely~~ <sup>rely</sup> upon the bueracracy to purge the bueracracy. Stalin moved to have the masses ~~to criticism~~ <sup>to criticize</sup> of cadre in the Party but this was not taken as far as the Chinese cultural revolution in large part because of the enemies facing the Soviet Union both from the East and the West and internally, from the still not squashed Trotskyite grouping. In order to prepare for the war with the fascists, Stalin, as well as speeding up the industrialization, held a number of major trialis after Comrade Kirov was assassinated (Kirov was a member of the central committee and one of the heads of government a chief supporter of Stalin's.) These trials often are raised as proof of Stlin's suppression of democracy in the Party and his becoming a dictetor with in the Party. Quite the opposite, the trials represented the smashing of a major grouping paid by the bourgeoisie and the fascists to overthrow the state. It prepared the Party for leading the coming struggle with the fscist states by purging the Party of its most tresonous elements and thus allowing most attention to center on the external enemy and the preparing the masses for the terrible onslaught ahead. To quote from

" Joseph Davis U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union in his report to the Secre of State on March 17, 1938 quote pg27 essential works of Stalin. and quote pg 28.

ing on. His summary judgment in his confidential report to the Secretary of State on March 17, 1938, is:

... it is my opinion so far as the political defendants are concerned sufficient crimes under Soviet law, among those charged in the indictment, were established by the proof and beyond a reasonable doubt to justify the verdict of guilty of treason and the adjudication of the punishment provided by Soviet criminal statutes. The opinion of those diplomats who attended the trial most regularly was general that the case had established the fact that there was a formidable political opposition and an exceedingly serious plot, which explained to the diplomats many of the hitherto unexplained developments of the last six months in the Soviet Union. The only difference of opinion that seemed to exist was the degree to which the plot had been implemented by different defendants and the degree to which the conspiracy had become centralized. (p. 272)

All of these trials, purges, and liquidations, which seemed so violent at the time and shocked the world, are now quite clearly a part of a vigorous and determined effort of the Stalin government to protect itself from not only revolution from within but from attack from without. They went to work thoroughly to clean up and clean out all treasonable elements within the country. All doubts were resolved in favor of the government.

(p. 280)

" There were mistakes made in these purge trials as Stalin said in L939 " It cannot be said that the purge was not accompanied by grave mistakes. There were unfortunately more mistakes than might have been expected. ~~THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS~~ That is one reason why many of those tried and convicted in the last trials were high officials from the sectre police, the very people guilty of forcing false confessions" Bruce Franklin pg29

Stalin Moved brilliantly to force the Imperialists to fight the war against the fascists before the Soviet Union thus giving it several more years to prepare for the onslaught. Stalin has been castigated for the Hitler-Stalin pact but it was in fact an act of genius possibly saving the soviet union from destruction.

Four days later, on May 11, 1939, the first attack came. The crack Japanese army that had invaded Manchuria struck into the Soviet Union. The Soviet-Japanese war of 1939 is conveniently omitted from our history books, but this war, together with the Anglo-French collaboration with the Nazis and fascists in the west, form the context for another of Stalin's great "crimes," the Soviet-German non-aggression pact of August 1939. Stalin recognized that the main aim of the Axis was to destroy the Soviet Union, and that the other capitalist nations were conniving with this scheme. He also knew that sooner or later the main Axis attack would come on the U.S.S.R.'s western front. Meanwhile, Soviet forces were being diverted to the east, to fend off the Japanese invaders. The non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany, which horrified and disillusioned Communist sympathizers, particularly intellectuals, in the capitalist nations, was actually one of the most brilliant strategic moves of Stalin's life, and perhaps of diplomatic history. From the Soviet point of view it accomplished five things: (1) it brought needed time to prepare for the Nazi attack, which was thus delayed two years; (2) it allowed the Red Army to concentrate on smashing the Japanese invasion, without having to fight on two fronts; they decisively defeated the Japanese within three months; (3) it allowed the Soviet Union to retake the sections of White Russia and the Ukraine that had been invaded by Poland during the Russian Civil War and were presently occupied by the Polish military dictatorship; this meant that the forthcoming Nazi invasion would have to pass through a much larger area defended by the Red Army; (4) it also allowed Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which also had been part of Russia before the Civil War, to become part of the U.S.S.R. as Soviet Republics; this meant that the forthcoming Nazi attack could not immediately outflank Leningrad; (5) most important of all, it destroyed the Anglo-French strategy of encouraging a war between the Axis powers and the Soviet Union while they enjoyed neutrality; World War II was to begin as a war between the Axis powers and the other capitalist nations, and the Soviet Union, if forced into it, was not going to have to

fight alone against the combined fascist powers. The worldwide defeat of the fascist Axis was in part a product of Stalin's diplomatic strategy, as well as his later military strategy.

In the second World War it was the Soviet Union that defeated Germany not the United States or England or France, it was the Soviet Union which resolutely held out under intense pressure and lost 25 million people in doing so, it was the Soviet Union which in one battle destroyed 300,000 troops of the elite German Army. This was the socialist state which took large losses but in which the people continued to fight so unlike the first World War where the soldiers had thrown down their weapons and gone home. Here the soldiers, made up of the proletariat and the peasantry had something to fight for, socialism. And fight they did. After Germany was defeated the Soviet Army turned around, marched 5,000 miles to fight Japan and in rapid fashion fought larger ground battles against the Japanese than the U.S. and the British had during the entire war. This heroic stand of the Party and working people of the Soviet Union however took its toll. @B// 25,000,000 people killed, some of the bravest and most resolute of Party cadre killed leading the struggle against the fascist invader for Peace, Democracy and Socialism and for the future of the world Proletariat and oppressed peoples.

After the War the Soviet Union not only rapidly rebuilt what was destroyed but made major advances in both the industry and agriculture. However a certain complacency came about within the Party for had not the great party defeated Trotsky, the Kulaks, the fascist and brought about an incalculable advance over the conditions in industry, agriculture, culture, health, education than had been present 30 years before. It was in part this self-satisfaction, which aided in the growth of bureaucracy, and which aided the petty-bourgeois individualism which continuously had to be fought. This fact combined with the infiltration of the technicians into high places within the party, the killing of some of the best elements in the class and the party during the war, the long term entrenchment of bourgeois bureaucratic elements within the party all aided in the counter-revolution.

Following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in the Soviet Union, capitalist private ownership was destroyed and socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership were established through the nationalization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture, and great achievements in socialist construction were scored during several decades. All this constituted an indelible victory of tremendous historic significance won by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

pg. 14+15  
ON Kuusku

However, the old bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes which had been overthrown in the Soviet Union were not eradicated and survived after industry was nationalized and agriculture collectivized. The political and ideological influence of the bourgeoisie remained. Spontaneous capitalist tendencies continued to exist both in the city and in the countryside. New bourgeois

elements and kulaks were still incessantly generated. Throughout the long intervening period, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads have continued in the political, economic and ideological spheres.

As Stalin said the transition from a period of upsets to a period of tranquility, from its very nature, increases the possibility of the right danger..."  
pg 140 Some questions of socialist construction in Albania and the battle//struggle against revisionism.

2) The conclusion of the Second World War with the complete victory of the Soviet Union against fascism was a success of historic international importance. But, as Stalin said, even successes have their dark side. In fact the historically important victory which was achieved after the Second World War, for various reasons created in some of the cadres in many of the communist parties, in the first place in the Soviet Union, a sort of intoxication from the successes, self satisfaction, a desire for easy living and relaxation after the efforts and the sufferings of the war. The enormous material and human destruction and damage caused by the war influenced the birth, among some vacillating people, of a desire to find «quieter», «easier» roads, a road «without sacrifice», to achieve the victory of revolution and the construction of socialism and communism.

In the socialist countries, the social base of support for modern revisionism was and is the old exploiting classes or their remnants, the strata with petty-bourgeois tendencies and, especially, a big part of the privileged cadres of the Party, State, and economic apparatus and of the intelligentsia, who gradually degenerated into new bourgeois elements.

150  
Ibid

137 Ibid

The actual circumstances of what happened are reported to us in a document smuggled out of the Soviet Union in 1954/1967. In 1954 one year after the great Stalin's death the central Committee in meeting was surrounded by tanks and certain measures were demanded to be implemented among them the inclusion of the army into the ruling bodies of the republic. Khrushchev was set up as the head of the ruling clique. *Insert over.*

Thus in one act the Dictatorship was overthrown. But this act was but the leap after many quantitative factors which made possible for the event to take place

We must be very clear that this was a counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie not a new class. For if it is a new class what is the new productive forces what new productive apparatus, what the new means of production. It is clear this was the restoration of bourgeois elements in command the return of the dictatorship of the proletariat but the return of the bourgeoisie in the clothing of socialists, thus the attempt to fool the working class and working and oppressed peoples of the world, into believing that the Soviet Union was still socialist, and thus the new rulers had to move slowly for the restoration of capitalism. Their first battle was against Stalin and at the same time there advancing of the three peacefuls. Peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition, and peaceful transition, the utter

betrayal of the proletariat and of Marxism-Leninism.

Stalin thought his life warned and wrote of the dangers of the bourgeoisie moving toward counter-revolution. In the last year of his life he waged a struggle in Economic Problems of Socialism against the technicians and their bourgeois ideology, setting out the ~~right~~ correct course for

the development of socialism within the USSR. Stalin struggled and led the proletariat in the struggle against the bourgeoisie internationally and within the USSR. But as Lenin said the struggle is often harder after the revolution than before. It was the material conditions of the wars, counter-revolutionary forces within the Soviet Union the onslaught of the Imperialist powers and the threat and then the reality of invasion by the fascists and the fact of the influence of small commodity production within the Soviet Union which combined to enable the bourgeoisie to carry out a counter-revolution. Being Materialists we must unite that revolution has its zigzags and that it is a prolonged protracted fight with defeats and victories mixed in. The material forces in the Soviet Union in 1954 brought about the temporary victory of the bourgeois forces, but not for long

To carry out the consolidation of the restoration of capitalism the ruling clique has purged over 90% of the rank and file cadre of the Party for they were and are loyal to the proletariat and the Communist Party of which they were a part as well the the bourgeoisie removed all the upper level cadre who did not go along with the counter-revolution.

"Within ten years N Khrushchev has removed about 70% of the members of the Central Committee who were elected at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1952 and about 50% of the members of the Central Committee elected in the 20th congress. Likewise on the eve of the 22nd Congress on the pretext of circulation of cadres he replaced, 45% of the members of the central committees of the cities and regions. In 1963, under the pretext of reorganizing the party on the basis of production, the Khrushchev clique once again replaced more than half of the members of the central committees of the Federated Republics and the regional party committees."

pg 258 The Party of Labor of Albania in Battle with Modern Revisionism.

Thus we see that the Soviet Union once the home of the First and leading Communist Party in the world has had a counter-revolution and had capitalism restored

\* And the change of the character of the political State power brought, and could not fail to bring, changes in the whole economic and social order of the Soviet Union, of its base and superstructure, because between politics and the economy, the superstructure and the base, there is a dialectical relationship. Politics is not simply and only a product of the economy, but it plays an active role, and generally, in each country, defines the very fate, the road of development, of the economy and the whole social order. In fact, with the departure from proletarian politics, the Khrushchevite revisionist clique began to violate heavily the socialist principles in the economy and socialist relations of production, replacing them with relations of oppression and exploitation. Following the changes in the superstructure, radical changes began to be made, in the economic base in the Soviet Union, and capitalism began to be restored.

It is known that the material base of the socialist order consists of social ownership of the means of production, but today in the Soviet Union the social ownership — despite the efforts of the Soviet revisionists to preserve its external socialist appearance in essence, in its real content, has lost its socialist character, has been changed into State capitalist property of a special type.

Naturally, it would be naive if we were to seek to find the degeneration of the Soviet socialist social property into capitalist property in the form of classical private property at a time when in the present conditions of large-scale production, even in the other imperialist countries, state monopoly capitalism is being developed through the extension of state ownership. Since capitalist property in the Soviet Union is born and created as a result of the degeneration of the socialist state property, it cannot present itself except in the form of state property. But irrespective of this, just as the financial oligarchy is the true owner of the state capitalist enterprises and with the assistance of the capitalist state exploits the working class, so, too, the new Soviet bourgeoisie is the true owner of the Soviet state enterprises and with the assistance of the State, exploits the working class and the whole Soviet people. By means of this exploitation it strengthens its own economic position and, on the base of this, tries to consolidate further its political domination.

155 - 156 Some Questions of Socialist Construction and the Struggle Against Revisionism

We must be clear that the proletariat lived ~~for~~ under socialism for over 30 years that two generations of workers and peasants grew up under it. There can be no question that this proletariat one of the most advanced in the world will struggle sharply against the bourgeoisie and that we will see within a few years the rise of the socialist state within the Soviet Union the rise of the Proletariat invincible in their might armed with Marxism-Leninism they will overthrow the bourgeoisie and again be the strong rearguard for revolution in the world!

Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, greatest genius of the present age, great teacher of the world Communist movement, comrade-in-arms of the immortal Lenin, has departed from the world.

Comrade Stalin has made an inestimable contribution to our era by his theoretical and practical activities. Comrade Stalin represents our entire new era. His activities have led the Soviet people and the working people of all countries to transform the whole world situation: the cause of justice, of People's Democracy and Socialism has achieved victory on a tremendous scale over a territory containing one-third of the earth's population—more than 800 million people; moreover, the influence of this victory is spreading daily to every corner of the globe.

Comrade Stalin carried out a comprehensive and epoch-making development of Marxist-Leninist theory and advanced Marxism to a new stage of development. Comrade Stalin creatively developed Lenin's theory concerning the law of the uneven development of capitalism and Lenin's theory that Socialism can first be victorious in one country; Comrade Stalin creatively contributed the theory of the general crisis of the capitalist system; he contributed the theory concerning the building of Communism in the Soviet Union; he contributed the theory of the economic laws of modern capitalism and of Socialism; he contributed the theory of the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Comrade Stalin also creatively developed Lenin's theory of the building of the Party. All these creative theories of Comrade Stalin further united the workers throughout the world, further united the oppressed classes and the oppressed people throughout the world, and thereby enabled the struggle for the emancipation and well-being of the world's working class and all oppressed people, and the victories in this struggle, to attain unprecedented proportions.

All Comrade Stalin's writings are immortal

works of Marxist literature. His Foundations of Leninism, History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and his last great work Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. comprise an encyclopedia of Marxism-Leninism, a summing up of the experiences of the world Communist movement in the past hundred years. His speech at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a precious testament bequeathed to the Communists of all countries of the world. We Chinese Communists, like the Communists of other countries, find our own road to victory in the great works of Comrade Stalin.

Long live the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

The Glorious name of the great Stalin is immortal!

pss 5/6, 7+9 A Great Friendship mao  
Tse Tung.

Build A Multi-National Anti-Revisionist Communist Party  
Create the Dictatorship of the Proletariat  
Support the Revolutionary Struggle of the Soviet Proletariat