

THE COMMUNIST

"A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the Masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."

Mao Tse Tung - "Combat Liberalism" SW, Vol. II p. 33

Volume No. I, Issue No. I

The Black Workers Congress P.O. Box 38096 Detroit, Mich. 48238

August 15, 1974

10¢

US IMPERIALISM, CRISIS DEEPENS!

U.S. society, and the economy upon which it is based, is entering a rapid period of acute crisis. In the past decade or so, political, economic, financial, monetary and social crises have broken out again and again in the world of finance capital. The world position of U.S. imperialism has steadily declined. The days of the dollar as world currency, New York as the world banker, and the Pentagon as the world policeman, are gone forever.

A glance at the indexes of industrial production and capital spending, key indicators of a relative "upswing" or "downturn" in the capitalist business cycle, will show that the economic situation is getting worse. Compared to last year, industrial production is down --5% in steel, 50% in auto, 5% in crude-petroleum production, and 6% in electric-power production. (US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 6/17/74). Clearly the drop in auto production (the backbone of the "boom" from 1971 to 1973), the "energy industries", and housing, point to a deepening of the already developing depression.

Inflation and taxes are literally stampeding down the working class's standard of living, devouring family savings, small property and food budgets. And both are continually on the rise. The revenue taken from the working class, in the form of taxes, by Federal, state and local governments, has increased three times since 1971. Inflation is running at a rate of at least 12%. The price of consumer goods rose sharply in fiscal 1974, while the purchasing power of the U.S. dollar has fallen to the equivalent of 73¢ in 1959 money and 34¢ in 1935 money.

Much of inflation today is an aftergrowth of the monetary crisis of 1971-72, and the Vietnam War. The monetary crisis was manifested in the abolition of the gold standard in the devaluation of currencies; in decay of the productive industries; and in a lowering of the living standards of the bulk of the world's proletariat. Inflation is not unique to the U.S. In the other major capitalist countries prices have been rising at a rate of at least 10-15% a year, while in the colonies, and the lesser "endowed" capitalist countries (Spain, Portugal, Italy) the rate is around 30-75% a year. In particular, in Japan consumer prices are running at a rate between 30-60%. In France they rose last year to 46%, 41% in

England and 28% in West Germany. This tremendous rise in prices has sharply curtailed the purchasing power of the working class.

MILITARIZATION CAN ONLY BE A TEMPORARY AID

The monopoly capitalists have problems. Curtailed production, under-capacity operation of factories, and the bankruptcy of a growing number of enterprises aren't helping the economy. And neither is the growing resistance of the working class to mass lay-offs, runaway shops, growing unemployment, and attacks on real wages and living standards.

In response to the worsening economic situation, the monopoly capitalists, and their henchman Nixon (and now Ford), have been forced to increase military expenditures in order to "stimulate" the economy.

Using the military budget to "stimulate growth" is a part of a consistent policy of monopoly capitalism, in effect since the great depression of the 1930's. They use the military budget to artificially stimulate economic growth, to put money into circulation in times of recession, to encourage the development of specific industries (like aircraft production), and to assist certain geographic areas (like the South).

"In 1969 20% of the labor force of the whole country was employed directly or indirectly for arms-build-up, war preparations and military production; half of the personnel in scientific research served the military. In 5,500 U.S. cities and towns, each has at least one war factory or a company having trade contracts with the military. And the "prosperity" of some areas in the country is based on military spending. One third of the industrial enterprises in the country have a share in war production." ("Economic Reporter"--China, Jan-March, 1971)

Militarization of the economy may temporarily hold down the unemployment problem, but only the end of capitalism itself and the introduction of socialism can permanently solve this problem. More inflation and more unemployment of depression-like proportions is on the agenda for the U.S. economy.

POLITICAL RESPONSE OF BOURGEOISIE: FASCIZATION OF THE STATE

The political response of the bourgeoisie to the increasing eco-

nomical and financial difficulties, has been to move more speedily towards fascization of the state. The various "administrations", particularly the Nixon administration, have helped to strengthen the dictatorship of the most chauvinist and reactionary elements of finance capital (the big banks, the oil companies, auto industries, and the various defense connected firms), by eliminating competition, rolling back anti-monopoly laws, and generally welding together banking, industrial and other economic interests with the government apparatus --especially with the White House and military.

The increasing concentration and centralization of capital, an inevitable product of monopoly capitalism, leads to the concentration of political power into fewer and fewer hands. Today the President of the U.S. has dictatorial powers practically undreamed of by Hitler or Mussolini. Executive agreements and "super diplomats" like Henry Kissinger have replaced congressional treaties, simply because these agreements no longer require congressional approval.

Every president (and Congressmen too) articulates and protects the interests of the blood-sucking capitalists who put him in office (Each needs "big business" to finance campaigns of \$50-100 million). Generally, once the big boys have their man in office, they can carry out their special interests in relative privacy.

"Watergate" was an "error", they got caught doing in the open what others have been doing for decades under the scenes. The whole "Watergate" phenomena shows how rapidly the veiled rule of the bourgeoisie, i.e., bourgeois democracy, parliamentarism, etc. will give way to the open form of terroristic bourgeois dictatorship--fascism. (see article on page 8 for a full analysis of "Watergate")

contd. on next page

INSIDE:

WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST--AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT p.4

WHAT IS THE B.W.C. p.5

IN RESPONSE TO THE R.U. "CRITICISM" p.6

PRESIDENTIAL "CRISIS" p.8

CONTINUED from page 1

We cannot underestimate the speed in which the process of fascistization is developing. The attacks on the trade unions, the "law and order" campaigns, the Zebra operation, the rising anti-communist propaganda, etc. are only the latest expressions of this tendency towards fascism. And the tempo will increase as the rising revolutionary movement of the proletariat develops.

STATE OF THE WORKER'S MOVEMENT

We mentioned earlier that the resistance of the working class to attacks on its living standards, unemployment, etc. has been increasing. This is clearly shown by the growing number of strikes which have been taking place across the country, without let-up, since the beginning of 1974.

100,000 independent truckers participated in a twelve day long strike in February, which had a significant effect on the delivery of important commodities and capital goods. 21,000 miners struck from the end of February to mid-March. From early March, over 10,000 San Francisco workers in municipal services, and 8,000 sugar refinery workers and 6,000 pineapple plantation workers in Hawaii went on strike. The 2 1/2 year long Farah struggle for unionization ended in a victory for the 5,000 mostly Chicano women workers.

Many of the strikes, especially the wildcats in auto and steel plants this year, have been directed at the sell-out union leadership and the trade union bureaucracy. On January 9, 100 workers from the coke-ovens at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore picketed a Washington hotel where their union bosses were holding a conference. Demonstrating workers carried placards and posters with slogans such as "End Slave Labor!" and "The Right to Strike is Not for Sale!". Some communists were involved in this struggle (see PEKING REVIEW, No.10,11, and 18, 1974).

On June 1, the Amalgamated Clothing workers called a national strike which involved over 100,000 workers. It was the first nationwide strike of this union in 50 years. In April alone, about 60,000 workers were involved in strikes with a total loss of over 652,000 man-days of work.

A rash of construction worker's strikes marked the last day in April, (the expiration of the "wage-price freeze"), across the country. In the first four months of this year, workers filed some 468,000 citations of safety and health violations against employers, a significant factor in many of the strikes.

And on July 15th, 588 strikes, idling nearly a quarter of a million workers, were counted—that is more strikes than in any other period since World War II (US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 7/29/74).

BEGINNINGS OF STRUGGLE BY THE MULTI-NATIONAL PROLETARIAT

Our evaluation of these events is that we are witnessing a continually rising wave of mass strike struggles, which is involving al-

most all of the key industries (auto, steel, electrical, mining, oil, and textile) in nearly every region of the country. Though these strikes are mainly economic struggles and are being led by reformists and opportunists, they nevertheless reveal deep-going changes taking place in the ranks of the working class. They are the clearest reflections of the crisis of American capitalism, and of the difficulties of the bourgeoisie in finding a way out of the crisis at the expense of the masses.

We are witnessing the BEGINNING of mass struggles on the part of the multi-national proletariat against mass unemployment, wage-cuts, speed-ups, price hikes, etc. On the basis of the facts thus analysed, we can see that one of the most significant changes taking place is the overall class character of these struggles. By this we mean that formally many of the struggles of the class were primarily carried out in the national-minority sectors of the class, particularly by Black workers (the wildcats in auto during the '67-'69 period, the Oneita strike in '73, the woodcutters in '70-'72, the hospital worker's strikes, etc.).

Though the hard-pressed Black and other minority nationality workers continue to play a leading role in the most significant struggles, and will continue to be a major force in the worker's struggles in the future, clearly the advanced sector of the multi-national proletariat is coming to the fore and beginning to play its historic role in leading the whole class, and the majority of the population as a whole, in their attack against monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

There is also a process of transition beginning in the struggles of the working class, a transition from a lower to a higher stage in the class struggle, a transition from purely economic struggles to struggles of an increased political character (like the Longshoremen's fight against Rhodesian chrome, and the Hawaiian workers struggle against runaway shops).

OUR TASK: BUILD A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY!

Lenin said: "The duty of Communists is not to gloss over any of the weaknesses of their movement, but to criticise them openly, in order to get rid of them promptly and radically." ("Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the C.I.")

Our main weakness is a lack of communist leadership. A common line on the workers' movement and the revolutionary movement as a whole, that could unite the majority of the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces and groups into one Communist Party is still not yet a reality. Throughout this period and until such time that there is a Communist Party in the U.S., communists in this country will have as their principal and most urgent task, the building of a vanguard Party to lead the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

The chief aspect of Party building at this time is ideological. In order to be able to unite Marxist-Leninists we must be clear on the Marxist-Leninist line on certain particular questions facing our movement. These questions are

the Black national question, the United Front, the international situation, and Party building. In regards to Party building we must develop a Party program and determine the minimum basis of unity necessary to achieve unity.

In order to better understand our task, let's examine the composition of the communist movement today, and the history of the BWC in particular. Most of the small circles and collectives of communists which sprang from the spontaneous mass movements of the late sixties have developed gradually into five or six major groupings: the Black Workers Congress, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, the August Twenty-Ninth Movement, the Revolutionary Union, the October League, and the Communist League.

Additionally there are a number of groups and circles scattered throughout the various localities and regions of the country; groups like the GUARDIAN, the League for Proletarian Revolution, the Asian study group, I Wor Kuen, and a number of other lesser known groups which, taken together, constitute about 1/4 of the communist movement.

Some of the various groups have fallen into right and "left" opportunism, both in regards to Party building and political line. How is this manifested?

In regards to Party building, right opportunism is manifested first of all in a rejection of the leading role of the Party and the advanced sector of the class; in a belittlement of the role of the Party in the mass struggle; and an underestimation of the strategic task of Party building throughout all phases of the revolutionary struggle.

In regards to political line, right opportunism is manifested in "tailism" and narrow economism; in rejection of the leading role of communists in the united front, and mass work generally; in attempts to conceal the independent role of communists in the mass movement; in deviations on the national question; and in the adoption of a conciliatory attitude towards the liberal bourgeoisie and the revisionist CPUSA.

At the head of this right tendency is the RU. Their recent recognition of Party building in words only, doesn't essentially change their overall position. In fact, this recent period has been marked by the further consolidation of their opportunist line (see REVOLUTION, June and July 1974, and RP 6).

In addition, some of the individual groups and circles have fallen into right opportunism. The source and root of right opportunism is the underestimation of the strength of the proletariat, and its ability to play its world historic role, and an over-estimation and capitulation to the bourgeoisie. RIGHT OPPORTUNISM IS, MORE THAN EVER, THE MAIN DANGER.

"Left" opportunism finds expression, in regards to Party building, in isolating this activity from, and counterposing it to, the mass movement. This tendency considers connections and work with the masses as dangerous because it would interfere with the task of "studying" Marxism-Leninism (see "THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PARTY, Charles Loren).

CONTINUED on page 3

CONTINUED from page 2

In regards to political line, the "left" deviation is manifested in an isolation from the spontaneous movement; in deviations on the national question (the bourgeois nationalist deviation of the CL on the one hand, and the chauvinist deviation of the New Voice on the other); in the denial of the united front as a strategy for revolution; in their sectarianism towards the workers' movement and other communists forces; and in their abstract academic "study" of what they consider to be "Marxism-Leninism". CL, the New Voice, MCLL and LPR all fall into this category, along with other "independent" collectives. Though the line of these groups is very dangerous, Right opportunism is first and foremost the main danger.

COMBAT RIGHT AND "LEFT" DEVIATIONS IN OUR OWN RANKS

Where does BWC, PRRWO, ATM and our other allies fit in? What errors have we made?

Our organizations learned—and are still learning—Marxism-Leninism only through protracted struggle against a motley of shades and forms of opportunist "theories". At one time or another our organizations have held Right and "left" lines on any number of questions—e.g., "nation of a new type", "building the mass movement", "national form of organization", etc.

Nevertheless, as soon as our consciousness of these errors arose, a struggle against them developed and the organizations grew and moved to higher levels. What seems to many as "unstability" and "vacillations" "changing our line too much", etc., in many ways has been our ever increasing ideological, political, theoretical and organizational development. Unlike the "positively pure" communist groups who have always had a "correct line", we are not afraid to admit that we have made mistakes and will inevitably make more. If "stability" were the main criteria by which we judge the worth of various groups we would have to rate the CPUSA no. 1, since they have had a "stable" revisionist line for over twenty years now! Yes we have made mistakes in theory and practice but the main character of our development has been progressive, forward, and non-conciliatory towards opportunism and amateurishness.

What have been some of the Right and "left" deviations in the BWC during this period? How have they been manifested?

Principally, in regards to party building, the Right line finds expression in a tendency to underestimate the ability of our organization to play a leading role in the forging of the new party, in continuing to "bow to spontaneity", and putting the narrow interests of our own organization above the general interests of the Communist movement and the proletariat as a whole (Comrades from the RU should really ponder this).

The "left" tendency, in regards to party building, sees this task as isolated from all others, as the only task to be done, and underestimates the key aspect of this task—that of winning over the advanced of the proletariat to the cause of



communism. This tendency is also manifested in an impatient attitude towards building the party, thinking that the Party can be built speedily and simply without obstacles and contradictions.

THEORETICAL LEVEL RAISED AS A RESULT OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

As a result of our study and efforts towards carrying out the task of building a new Communist Party, we have gained an understanding of the great difficulty and many twists and turns in this process. Our more recent attempts at uniting with various other organizations (CL, MCLL, LPR, etc.) have failed. While the struggle involved in these efforts have contributed to even greater clarity on Marxism-Leninism and the political line of the American revolution, we are still faced with the task of rallying the advanced and uniting with all genuine Marxist-Leninists on the basis of ideological and political line.

As we go forward with renewed vigor and fully confident of final victory, we are aided by two important factors. The first is that as a result of the struggles around the Continuations Committee, the theoretical level in the whole Communist movement has been raised, and especially that of the BWC and PRRWO.

Secondly, the BWC has taken a great leap forward, by breaking out of its shell of national form organization, by recruiting into its ranks workers and advanced elements from the multi-national proletariat. Our development as an all-Black organization, because of the objective and subjective factors present in the late sixties (see our pamphlet: "The Black Liberation Struggle, The Black Workers Congress, and Proletarian Revolution" for a more detailed explanation), can be understood but it can be no longer defended. UPHOLDING A NATIONAL FORM OF ORGANIZATION, ESPECIALLY FOR COMMUNISTS, WAS A NATIONALIST DEVIATION ON OUR PART.

We stand with Stalin in saying that the national type of organization is a school of national narrow mindedness and prejudice, that it inculcates workers in a spirit of national aloofness. The international type of organization serves as a school of fraternal sentiments, and is a tremendous agitational factor on behalf of internationalism (see "Marxism And The National Question")

Clearly, whenever possible, the proletariat must be organized along multi-national lines.

This is a direct repudiation of the line stated in our pamphlet "The Black Liberation Struggle, The Black Workers Congress, and Proletarian Revolution", which upholds a national form of organization. BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THOUGH WE UPHELD THIS INCORRECT FORM, IN EVERY OTHER RESPECT, ESPECIALLY IN REGARDS TO POLITICAL LINE, THE BWC WAS NO MORE BACKWARD OR AMATEURISH THAN ANY OTHER COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION! Political line is the KEY factor in the development of any organization. Because our political line has developed to a higher level, we have now rejected the line of national forms of Communist organization, and we have moved forward as a result. Because of our political line, we, along with PRRWO and others are taking the lead in criticizing the line of RU and CL in a Marxist-Leninist fashion.

Comrades we have come a long way!

By uprooting opportunism in all its forms and manifestations in a ruthless fight on two fronts, and first and foremost on open Right opportunism—the principal danger at this time—and secondarily on opportunism in its "left" form, the BWC, PRRWO, ATM and all other genuine groups and cadres (including those holding opportunistic lines at present), will overcome their weaknesses in the organizational field and play a major role in the development of a Communist Party of a New Type.

At this time, when the workers' movement is rising and crying out for direction and leadership, we must not only have Communist groups or tendencies, but a Communist Party! The BWC, PRRWO, ATM and other comrades-in-arms have steadfastly embarked, hand-in-hand, on the road to building such a party. We will never cease struggling for it until the job is done—no matter what obstacles get in the way—no matter how many mistakes we make in the process. FOR WE ARE STRIVING TO BECOME BOLSHEVIKS, THE TRUE STANDARD-BEARERS OF THE TEACHINGS AND IDEALS OF THE GREAT LEADERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT—LENIN, ENGELS, MARX, STALIN, MAO TSE TUNG AND ENVER HOXHA!!!

DEEPEN OUR GRASP OF MARXISM-Leninism!
STRENGTHEN OUR TIES WITH THE WORKING CLASS!

WHAT IS "THE COM

The Black Workers Congress is beginning the publication of its political organ, THE COMMUNIST. What is its purpose? What will it deal with? In what way will it differ from the papers of other groups?

1) Its purpose is to explain and spread the political line of our organization and the revolutionary wing of the communist movement to the advanced sectors of the class. It will explain and articulate the proletarian line on the most burning ideological, political and organizational questions facing our movement and fight for this line. It will strive to set a clear line of demarcation between the revolutionary and opportunist wings of our movement in order to pave the way for the unity of Marxist-Leninists into one Communist Party. It will especially wage a relentless struggle against the revisionist CPUSA, the main danger in the communist and workers' movement. It will help forge the ideological and organizational unity of the communist movement in the U.S. The paper will serve as a collective propagandist.

2) The paper will fight for the implementation of this line in practice, by explaining the tasks of U.S. Marxist-Leninists inside the communist movement and workers' movement concretely; by giving guidance on the forms and methods of work of communists in the trade unions, mass organizations, etc. For example, by means of concrete examples, it will guide the factory nuclei and fractions in conducting political exposures, or building workers' study circles, organizing workers, etc., explaining to the workers what they should do and how they should do it. In other words, the paper should be the means by which we give POLITICAL LEADERSHIP to the class and the movement. The paper will serve as a collective agitator.

3) In the spirit of Lenin's ISKRA, our paper will also become an organ of political leadership. It has set itself the aim of creating a "powerful fighting organization with a harmonious and consistent program." Like ISKRA, our paper should serve the same purpose in the building of the Party as the scaffolding plays in the construction of a house. The paper will serve as a collective organizer. It will help in the development of the Party program, as well as in the development of the political line and tactics of the Party and lay down the principles (long since established by the international communist movement), of its organizational structure.

4) Internally, the paper will address itself, first and foremost, to the training of cadres and to the problem of the general lack of trained propagandists, in our organization and the movement as a whole.

This is the kind of paper we want, but how do we go about building it and what will it deal with? Before we can answer this we must speak to the present state of the communist movement and the central

task of communists in the present period.

The central task facing the BWC and all genuine communists at the present time is the building of a revolutionary proletarian Party of a New Type; a strong disciplined Party with ideologically-steered revolutionary cadres, who have close links with the masses, and especially the industrial proletariat. At the same time, it is absolutely necessary to carry out the strategic task of building the mass-revolutionary-political struggle of the proletariat and the anti-imperialist united front under its leadership.

These tasks require that the BWC and all genuine communists and revolutionaries deepen our understanding of Marxism-Leninism, through ideological struggle and the study of the science, to solve the practical problems of revolution; that we strive to unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninists on the basis of a correct political line; and that we deepen our ties to the advanced sector of the class in order to win them to the cause of communism.

Since the liquidation of POINT OF PRODUCTION during the James Foran period, the BWC has long "planned" to publish a national political newspaper representing the views of the organization on the burning questions of the day. From even our limited understanding of the science of Marxism-Leninism and the history of the communist movement we know that political newspapers and journals are absolutely necessary for forging ideological, political and organizational unity among Marxist-Leninists and for building strong, disciplined, trained revolutionary cadres. IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT THE PRESENT WEAKNESS OF OUR OWN ORGANIZATION IS DIRECTLY TIED TO THE ABSENCE OF SUCH AN ORGAN!

It must be remembered that the liquidation of our former papers, (as economist in line as they were), began when we were beginning to embark on the clumsy road of "building the mass movement" and "belittling the role of the conscious element", etc. So now, once again, the question of building a national political newspaper which can fight for the line, viewpoint and program of our organization and the revolutionary wing of the communist movement, has become a burning necessity.

This necessity is all the more obvious in the present situation with its special features: on the one hand the bankruptcy of the CL "road to the Party" as well as the RU one; and on the other, the continuing crystallization of the lines in the communist movement--the gradual demarcation of the revolutionary from the opportunist. And further, because of the need for even more polemics and ideological struggle on the burning questions of the day, the results of which will form the basis of the new Party program. Also, our organization, if it is to continue to make contributions to the communist movement, as it comes out of its narrow confines and local scattered mentality, and becomes a more influential national organiza-

tion, will need its own political organ to represent its views.

As we stated before, the principles and purpose of this newspaper are based on the line and tactics of Lenin's "Old ISKRA", since our movement is, in some respects, in a similar period. In the pages of the "Old ISKRA" Lenin devoted a great deal of attention to defending and explaining the program of the Party, (the political line), on the National Question, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the immediate tasks of the Russian "Social-Democrats". The whole tactical line of the paper was summed-up by Lenin in the very first article of ISKRA: "...before uniting and in order to unite, we must first resolutely and deliberately draw firm lines of demarcation." ("Draft Statement of the Editorial Board")

ISKRA'S task was to ensure the defeat of the Economist line within the Russian workers' movement--the main obstacle to the building of the party! It established the basic Party program, strategy and tactics of the Party and the methods of conducting its practical activities. It forged ideological unity of the Party and became the key instrument for uniting the local organizations, combating amateurishness, and fighting for an organization of professional revolutionaries. Around ISKRA was built a network of organizers and correspondents who supplied it with copy, distributed it, established contacts with the workers, and generally laid the basis for the calling of the Second Party Congress in 1903.

THE COMMUNIST, the political newspaper of the BWC, is being published with just these tasks in view. Initially it will be divided into the following sections:

1) The theory and practice of the communist movement

In this section of the paper we will present our views on the burning theoretical, political and organizational problems facing the communist movement today. We will unfold our political line on these questions as we engage in polemics against other lines and trends. All problems in regards to the development of a Party program, building an organizational form for the calling of a Congress and the plans for the Congress itself, will be taken up here.

2) Communist work in the Trade Unions

This section will be devoted to strengthening our mass agitational and propaganda work within the working class, especially its advanced sector, with the aim of winning them over to the cause of communism. It will deal particularly with the development of factory nuclei and fractions in the factories and Trade Unions, precisely in the way in which this is demanded by the objective and subjective situation. It will deal with elucidating the universal principles of factory and Trade Union work in light of the experiences and political realities of the U.S., as well as with the problems of organizational structure and function of the nuclei and meth-

COMMUNIST"?

ods of propaganda and agitational work in the plants and unions. We are especially interested in using this section to combat the opportunist tendencies of economism and right opportunism which are deeply rooted in some circles of the movement.

3) On the National and International Scene

In this section we will concentrate on analysis of the international and domestic political and economic situation, especially as it applies to the four major contradictions in the world: the contradiction between oppressed peoples and nations of the world on the one hand and imperialism and social imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; the contradiction between imperialism and socialism; and the contradiction between the various imperialist and social imperialist countries. We will be especially concerned with analyzing these phenomena from the point of view of how they retard or develop the struggles of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world, and the struggle of the working class in this country. At various times we will spotlight on key struggles and political questions like the Mid-East War, the Black liberation movement, "Watergate", "Terrorism", the "Energy Crisis", etc.

4) "Party life" column

In this part we will analyze the concrete problems of Party building by checking up on the implementation of the central task, and particularly by reviewing the work of communist nuclei and fractions in the mass movement generally—dealing critically with the aspects of this experience that hinder the growth of communist influence within the class. It will give advice, based on the sum-up of model examples, of how to correctly approach the task of winning the vanguard to communism.

Our paper will be open to criticisms and polemics from our own cadres, as well as all other genuine revolutionary forces, who want to respond to articles in the spirit of unity-struggle-unity.

For all these reasons then, the BWC is launching THE COMMUNIST, and PRRWO will soon be publishing PALANTE. And, in addition, we feel it is necessary to begin a paper because we feel that REVOLUTION, PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE, and the CALL, all fall short of the needs of advanced workers and Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. In future issues we will lay out our criticisms of these papers, along with a thorough analysis of the CPUSA's DAILY WORLD.

THE COMMUNIST will strive to be a paper true to the spirit of Lenin's ISKRA, a paper that will give precise analysis to the trends and developments of the world; one that will give communist education to the working class, by showing the correct application of Marxism-Leninism to conditions in the U.S. *

THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS

The Black Workers Congress is a multi-national Communist organization which bases itself on the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse Tung Thought. The BWC upholds proletarian internationalism, and we resolutely uphold the right of all nations to self-determination, i.e., the right to secession, and we oppose all national chauvinism and reactionary bourgeois nationalism.

We unite with all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in fighting revisionism and imperialism and social-imperialism. Our aim is the complete emancipation of all mankind through world Communism, and our fundamental program is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

OUR APOLOGIES FOR NOT HAVING A SPANISH TRANSLATION

We would like to apologize for not having a Spanish translation for this issue. It is not accidental nor intentional but due primarily to a lack of funds at this time. Nevertheless, we intend to do this issue as a special Spanish supplement, or in Spanish

parts beginning with the next issue. If our financial situation does not improve, we will publish Spanish translations of articles in the month following the issue they appear in English.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FROM THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS

BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION—Contains a summary of the modern Black liberation movement, a history of the BWC, "Why we need a new Communist Party", and the relationship between Marxism-Leninism, Revolutionary Nationalism and the Black liberation movement. \$1.00

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM—AGAINST THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION—this, our latest pamphlet, is a detailed analysis and sum-up of the line of the Communist League, as well as of the RU. It deals with questions which are particularly decisive for the Communist movement—the International Situation and the Black National Question. It also contains an analysis of the present state of the whole Communist movement and a critique of the so called: "National Continuations Committee" \$1.25

STRUGGLE IN THE RU: IN OPPOSITION TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE REVISIONIST LINE ON THE BLACK NATIONAL QUESTION—a polemic written by ex-RU members. This position is now the position of the BWC on the Black national question and contains a full historical presentation of the question by genuine Marxist-Leninists. It is particularly important as a refutation to the "Nation of a new type" \$1.00

PARTY BUILDING OUTLINE STUDY GUIDE BY BWC & PRRWO
Contains a guide to the study of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung on the question of building the revolutionary party of the proletariat. These readings and lessons are directly related to the problems of today in our movement \$1.50

COMING SOON: AN ANALYSIS OF ALSA AND THE ROLE OF PAN AFRICANISM WITHIN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT, AND:
HOW CAPITALISM WAS RESTORED IN THE SOVIET UNION



Send all orders to the:

Black Workers Congress
P.O. Box 38096
Detroit, Michigan 48238

Please make all checks payable to: BLACK WORKERS FREEDOM CONVENTION

In Response to RU "Criticism"

In their article of "criticism" of the BWC pamphlet: "The Black Workers Congress, The Black Liberation Movement, and Proletarian Revolution", the RU maintains that the line represented in this document is "a retreat from the theoretical and political gains of the past" and a "step backward", etc.

Our pamphlet contains a series of essays, some presented to the communist movement for the first time, others appeared before as separate documents of an internal or semi-internal nature. They deal with questions which are decisive for the communist movement today--Party building and the Black national question--as well as the Trade Union, Women, Youth and Student questions. For the leaders of the RU and their like, it has become necessary to smuggle every word of comment on the BWC and its line under the general phrase "Bundism" and "bourgeois nationalists". This "criticism" of our pamphlet is no exception.

We will prove that the stand and "criticism" of the RU leadership in this article is a typically erroneous and opportunist one.

THE RU AND THE OPPORTUNIST METHOD OF "CRITICISM"

The RU begins by trying to build a case for our "Bundism". They say:

"Lenin had the same argument with the Bundists--Jewish separatist 'Marxists'--in Russia. They attacked the Bolsheviks for putting out what the Bundists called a 'dangerous fable' that anti-Semitism and the massacres of Jews were, as Lenin put it, 'connected with the bourgeois strata and their interests, and not with those of the working class.'

"...But the BWC essentially adopts the stand of the Bundists. This is all the more serious exactly because they are addressing themselves 'especially to advanced Blacks'." (pg. 5)

Incredible but true! To prove that we are followers of the Jewish "Bund", and bourgeois nationalists, the representatives of the most chauvinist trend in the communist movement, the leaders of the RU, simply LUMP together the Black Workers Congress and the Jewish separatists in Russia. This is an easy assertion to make, but one hard to prove.

Facts are stubborn things. Anyone who takes the time to read the pamphlet will find our principled stand for the unity of the proletariat, regardless of nationality, in more than one part of it. For example, in the introduction:

"In publishing this document, which sets forth our views on the burning issues facing the communist movement and the American people, we do so as developing Marxist-Leninists knowing full well that it cannot be the last word on any of the questions we have addressed... In preparing this document our goal was to address it to revolutionary-minded people OF ALL NATIONALITIES, but it is especially addressed to advanced Blacks."

In the section "The World Situation and the USA", we say:

"More and more the struggle of the working class, the only class which has nothing to lose from the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism, is merging with the struggle for self-determination of Black people, and equal rights for oppressed nationalities and groups, both of which will converge into a sweeping revolutionary high tide and will bury once and for all the evil system of imperialism." (pg.3)

And in the section, "Why We Need a New Communist Party and the Role of a Black Communist Organization", we state:

"Though we are predominately an Afro-American organization, we see the central task today as uniting all genuine communists and advanced workers into one revolutionary party REGARDLESS OF NATIONALITY." (pg.38)

And though RU's whole article is devoted to showing that we are Bundists, they fail to make the one criticism they should--and one which we make ourselves. That is that a national form of communist organization is an incorrect form of organization, and one that has limited the BWC's ability to organize the multi-national proletariat. Further, it is these great "multi-national" leaders of the RU that claim that "party building HAS ONLY NOW BECOME THE CENTRAL TASK".

(REVOLUTION, June '74, pg.3) This line does not stand on the side of the multi-national proletariat but against it.

Lenin lays bare RU's whole method of criticism, especially their abhorrence to precise, indisputable facts. The RU leaders are masters of "analysis" that takes ISOLATED, INDIVIDUAL, sections of a document and turns them into GENERAL, WIDESPREAD, ALL-SIDED and ESSENTIAL parts. Of this method Lenin said:

"The most widely used, and most fallacious method in the realm of social phenomena is to tear out INDIVIDUAL (emphasis original) minor facts and juggle with examples. Selecting chance examples presents no difficulty at all, but is of no value, or of purely negative value, for in each case everything hinges ON THE HISTORICALLY CORRECT SITUATION. Facts, if we take them in their entirety, in their INTERCONNECTION, are not only stubborn things but undoubtedly proof-bearing things.." ("Statistics and Sociology", Lenin, CW, Vol. 23, pg. 272-273)

The Hegelian idealists of the RU, just like their counterparts in the Communist League, (see our pamphlet: "The Struggle Against Revisionism and Opportunism--Against the RU and CL"), think that they can use their idealist method to arrive at the real truth. But they are profoundly mistaken. They can slander the BWC and PRWO as "Bundists" and bourgeois nationalists, but the real truth is there for all to see. (We ask comrades to check out pages 3,4,5,6,9,17 and 19, for more examples of our stand for multi-national unity.)

But the RU's opportunism is not limited solely to their "method". In other sections of their criticism we find OUTRIGHT LIES and distortions of the actual content and facts of the document.

LIES AND MORE LIES CAN'T COVER THE REAL TRUTH

After speaking of our "defeatist analysis of the workers movement" because we make reference to the lack of class solidarity between Black and white workers, which was, and is, a factor that has hindered the development of the class struggle; and because we refuse to stick our head into the idealist quicksand of no concrete analysis which the RU offers, they proceed to turn their opportunist method into outright slander of the pamphlet:

"They don't emphasize the struggle that Black communists must wage against bourgeois nationalist influences among Black workers, despite a token reference, without any concrete analysis of its effects. Nor is any concrete guidance offered on how to fight bourgeois nationalism." (pg.22)

We are really amazed at the lengths the RU leadership goes to make a case for our "Bundism"! Any objectively minded person can see that practically the WHOLE PAMPHLET is directed against the bourgeois nationalist influences inside the Black liberation movement!! Let us set OUR arguments straight, fully aware of course, that quotes--in context--are deeply disturbing to certain readers who prefer, as Lenin says, "to juggle examples".

Again, starting in the introduction, we begin our attack on bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois nationalists:

"Finally, the struggle of the masses of our people in recent years brought forth both the worst and the finest that the Black nation had to offer. Among the worst who rose to prominence and reached new heights on the backs of the people in the 60's were the Jesse Jacksons, the Roy Innises, the Roy Wilkinsons, and various black politicians, Black capitalists, poverty program hustlers, etc".

In the section, "Who Are Our Enemies, Who Are Our Friends", we say:

"At the same time that Black people are oppressed as a nation of people, the overwhelming majority of them are workers, wage slaves, and as such ARE PART OF A SINGLE US, WORKING CLASS. Therefore, the oppressed Black nation suffers from national, racial, and class exploitation and oppression." (pg.4)

Did the Jewish separatists in Russia ever talk and act like this? But there is more proof of RU's lies if they are needed. The entire section--"Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought, Revolutionary Nationalism, and the Black Liberation Movement"--is devoted to an analysis of the danger of bourgeois nationalism in the Black community:

"This same Black bourgeoisie spreads its own form of nationalism, 'bourgeois nationalism'. Mr. Muham-

CONTINUED on page 7

mad talks about meeting Allah on a street corner in Detroit one cold winter day. Therefore, Islamism is the road to freedom and salvation, even though it hasn't served the Arabs too well in the Middle East; in fact it hinders their liberation. And there is the "Black Christian Nationalism" of certain Black preachers who are trying to convince us how "revolutionary" Christianity can be if only you paint Jesus Black! And then there's Imamu Baraka (Swahili for "high priest") who loves to enlighten us by calling Marxism-Leninism a 'honky thing'..." (pg.6)

And if this isn't enough, in the section "The National Question in the U.S. Today":

"Black capitalism has reached unheard of heights in the last few years precisely because of the big bourgeoisie's assessment of it as an effective counter-revolutionary force to combat the militant and revolutionary struggles of the Black working masses, and as a tool in helping to divide the working class as a whole." (pg.15)

We could go on and on because the pamphlet is full of comment on the treacherous role of bourgeois nationalism. The pamphlet is also clear that the Black petty bourgeoisie, peasantry, and lumpen proletariat, as classes, are allies of the proletariat in its struggle against US imperialism. But their ideology, to the extent that it reflects bourgeois or petty bourgeois ideology, stands against the proletariat and must be combated.

And, contrary to RU's claim, we do give concrete guidance on how to fight bourgeois nationalism: by arming the proletariat with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought, and combining revolutionary nationalism with internationalism; by fighting for the leadership of the multi-national proletariat, and its Party, in the class struggle for proletarian revolution, and the leadership of the Black proletariat in the struggle for national liberation; and by linking the struggle against bourgeois nationalism with the struggle against white national chauvinism--the MAIN danger. (see pgs. 6-11 of our pamphlet)

COMRADELY CRITICISMS AND SELF-CRITICISM OF THE BWC PAMPHLET

Despite RU's lies and slanders of the BWC pamphlet, a reckless attempt of theirs to hide their own opportunism and chauvinism, comrades from other genuine Marxist-Leninist groups, like PRRWO, AIM, the Asian Study Circle and others, and cadre and leadership inside our own ranks, have brought forward correct criticisms and weaknesses of the pamphlet.

Principally the criticisms were that the pamphlet, overall, put forward a correct line on most of the burning questions facing the revolutionary movement. This is especially true in regards to Party building, the role of theory, and the sum-up of the history of the movement of the sixties as well as our own. The main weaknesses they felt, had to do with the national question, in that the position was

insufficient, and still had traces of the "nation of a new type" line. In particular, we failed to state that the Black nation existed in the Black Belt South and nowhere else, and we also failed to emphasize the agrarian question, the role of slave remnants, and the importance of the peasantry, in the development of the Black nation. Additionally comrades felt that though it is entirely correct for Black communists to address themselves to advanced Blacks, as communists we also have the task of speaking to the advanced in general and equally. They--and we concur--feel this is especially true when the organization involved has an overall correct position on the burning questions facing the whole communist movement and has made contributions not only to the Black liberation movement, but to the communist movement as a whole.

These are the kind of criticisms we welcome, not only for the comradely spirit in which they were put forward--starting from a desire for unity, criticizing, then reaching unity on a higher level--but because they are correct. Certainly, they are a far cry from the slanderous lies and unprincipled attacks put forward by the RU leadership.

WHO IS REALLY TAKING THE WRONG PATH?

The RU attack on our pamphlet is just a cover for their own erroneous line on the national question (see pamphlet: "Struggle in the RU: In Opposition to the Consolidation of a Revisionist Line on the Black National Question" for full analysis of this line). In their latest paper, "Red Papers 6", RU deepens their reactionary "third period" concept, claiming that it is a "negation of a negation", a "negation of the second period which was a negation of the first". (RP6, pg.38) This is nothing but Hegelian idealism, an attempt to take the form that the dialectical process takes, that is, a negation of a negation, raise this form to an absolute, and thus force everything to fit into this neat little package--even if it doesn't reflect reality. (See BWC pamphlet: "The Struggle Against Revisionism and Opportunism" pg.12) RU's "new period", with its "new" theories, is a slap in the face to Marxism-Leninism, and a return to the theory of American exceptionalism (for where else does this third period exist? and where else are the writings of Lenin and Stalin not directly applicable?).

RU's whole line has led them to the shameful, chauvinist stand that Black bourgeois nationalism, rather than white national chauvinism, is the main danger in the communist movement today. This claim has RU cadres (and nearly every one of them is white), screaming that the nationalism of Blacks is the main problem, that it, is to blame for divisions, and that its time whites stood up and stopped tailing these Black nationalists! This social-fascist line allows RU cadre to put the fight against white national chauvinism in the back seat, and will only completely destroy what tiny ability RU had to unite with the Black liberation movement, and particularly the Black proletariat.

It is precisely this criminal cover of the danger of bourgeois nationalism (along with the low theoretical level of most RU cadre), that allows the RU leadership to deal with the struggle between BWC, PRRWO, and themselves in such a dishonest, incorrect, manner. And though they might think their reams and reams of attack reflect their seriousness, in reality they only further expose them. There is not a trace of Marxism-Leninism in their arsenal. Their only weapons are slander, distortions, and lies.

INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RU'S OPPORTUNISM!

RU's opportunism is certainly not limited to the Black national question. On the question of Party building, the RU leaders, in an attempt to avoid complete isolation, recently admitted that Party building was in fact the central task. But they qualify this by saying it has only recently become our task and only for a brief period ahead. This stance toward the struggle for the Party reveals RU's disdain for the proletariat, and their belittlement of the strategic task of Party building--not only now, but throughout the whole period of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. It reveals their utter hatred for ideological struggle, for making the theoretical struggle for Marxism-Leninism the primary aspect of Party building today, and their great desire to hurry up and spontaneously plunge back into the mass movement.

They also reveal their arrogance and organizational chauvinism, in that they try to pretend that they were right all along--even though they were the last organization, at least in word, to admit that Party building was the central task. And further, that they are the ones who decide how long, and how soon, the Party building process should take.

RU is now throwing everything they've got into forming THEIR "Party". And though they may appear strong, and may even make some temporary gains, in reality they are a paper tiger. The success or failure of an organization depends on the correctness of its political line. RU's line cannot stand up to a critical Marxist-Leninist analysis, and it will be defeated. In the final analysis the truth always comes to the surface, no matter how long the process takes, no matter how long opportunists of various sorts vainly try to cover it up.

RU's arrogance and opportunism will no longer blind us. We, along with all genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, will continue to expose their opportunism, and intensify our struggle against their revisionist line. Truth develops through struggle with falsehood! No force on earth can stop the revolutionary proletariat from building its Party!

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!!

For a deeper understanding of RU's revisionist line on the national question, see our pamphlet: "Struggle In The RU-In Opposition To The Consolidation Of The Revisionist Line On The Black National Question" \$1.00

"PRESIDENTIAL CRISIS"

and the CLASS STRUGGLE of the PROLETARIAT

On August 8, 1974, Richard Nixon resigned as president, and thus became the first president in U.S. history to "voluntarily" leave the White House while still in office. What is the significance of this event to the revolutionary proletariat in the United States, and the class struggle in general?

THE REAL PHENOMENA BEHIND WATERGATE AND NIXON'S DEPARTURE

The combination of violence, lawlessness and corruption for the maintenance of bourgeois rule, are all traditional tactics of the capitalist politicians the world over, especially in the lands of "pure democracy"—Britain, France, and the U.S. In America, these methods have been perfected into a system that has reached classic heights.

Big business and vested interests connections and influence on politics and politicians in the U.S. is a well known fact. Every election year aspirants for the various political offices, especially for the presidency, tour the country by plane and automobile and appear on radio and T.V., delivering speeches and posing for pictures. Under the scenes, the Party bosses confer about pre-election deals. The Big bankers and industrialists write out checks and send "presents" to reactionary candidates, who in turn, promise to protect and expand the interests of these money-hungry vultures.

The presidential conventions themselves are mainly for public consumption. The real work of choosing the candidates goes on inside the infamous "smoke-filled rooms" where the fat party bosses puffing cigars and drinking booze, deal away the vital interests of the masses and finally decide who is to be the presidential candidate.

The masses have nothing to do with selecting the candidates, and nor do these hucksters represent their interests. Up til now Americans have only gone to the polls to decide which ruling class personality will exploit them for the next four years. The struggle for the presidency, insofar as the Republicans and Democrats are concerned, is usually an unprincipled personal struggle for power and political spoils (government jobs, contracts, etc.). Some minor tactical differences do exist on certain issues, but they are grossly exaggerated for demagogic, electioneering purposes. ALL THE MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES ARE UNITED WHEN IT COMES TO FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS, QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE MAINTENANCE OF CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM, AND THE OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

If this is the actual state of affairs, how can a situation like "Watergate" and a presidential resignation arise?

The strength and resources of capitalism in the U.S.—a reflection of the more powerful, privileged position of U.S. imperialism in the world—made it possible for the U.S. bourgeoisie to pursue a more "liberal policy" on its home front (minority nationalities excluded). Hence the nominal participation of the masses in the "political life" of the country and the existence of

constitutional and "democratic" institutions and the "political stability" of the government.

But as U.S. imperialism continues to decline and as the general crisis of capitalism deepens, the "democratic" institutions and the "political stability" is increasingly undermined. The monopoly of U.S. imperialism on the world market breaks down; colonies like Vietnam revolt; the value of the dollar falls; prices rise, and the class struggle within the country intensifies. The bourgeoisie is forced to take away those concessions and reforms already gained by the working class and oppressed masses, and turn to a more "conservative" policy, launching attack after attack on the working class. This, in turn, brings new intensity to the already intensifying class struggle. From here a further strengthening of political reaction, the fascisation of the state, i.e., the discarding of democratic rights in favor of open terroristic bourgeois rule, the breakdown of parliamentary and constitutional illusions on the part of the masses, etc., all takes place. In short, THE DEVELOPING ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS FORCES A CHANGE IN THE METHODS OF RULE OF THE BOURGEOISIE, IT SIGNIFIES A WEAKENING OF THIS CLASS AND A STRENGTHENING OF THE PROLETARIAT!

BOURGEOISIE KICKED NIXON OUT

The struggle among the various groupings within the bourgeoisie itself also sharpens. Again this struggle takes place not on fundamental political questions, but in regards to tactical ones—questions relating to how best to exploit the masses (with the carrot or the stick), on how best to protect the U.S. economic and political interests in the world (with protectionism or "free trade") and how best to deal with financial problems and the state deficit (with deficit spending or inflation), etc., etc. Within the confines of these kinds of tactical disputes, events and scandals like "Watergate" and "Teapot Dome"—getting exposed doing what they always do under the scenes—can and do happen.

In this case, the bourgeoisie had the choice of moving directly towards fascism, or forcing Nixon to resign and maintaining their bourgeois democratic rule. The bourgeoisie moves to open terroristic dictatorship only as a last resort, when they can rule in no other way. Conditions in the U.S. today do not yet warrant such a move. Instead, the bourgeoisie chose to maintain a "democratic" state, and, in an attempt to preserve the illusions of the masses that the "system still works", forced Nixon out. Nixon became the scapegoat, serving as a means to take the heat off the bourgeoisie as a class. Clearly, the interests of one individual are not above those of the whole class.

That is why for the real rulers of the country, the Rockefellers, Morgans, Mellons, Harrimans, Kennedys, and their like, it makes no difference whether the president bears the name of Nixon or Jerry Ford, or any other typical career politician—all are servants of

the same bourgeois class.

Ford himself is said to be more "conservative" than Nixon. He has already made public that he intends not to interfere with the fundamentally aggressive features of American capitalism and imperialism; the plans for the future wars and further curtailment of the living standards and democratic rights of the working class and oppressed masses.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT

In history, political crisis of the ruling class, "crises at the top" as Lenin called them, were a prelude to a revolutionary situation—e.g., the great French revolution started with a crisis of the upper classes; the Russian revolution of 1905 started with the "Liberal Spring" of Svyatopolk-Mirsky; the February revolution of 1917 was also preceded by a crisis of the ruling classes during the Rasputin period. "Watergate" itself has proceeded against a background of a massive strike wave of the proletariat, which is far from over.

Right now, political crisis of the ruling classes like that which caused Nixon to resign, are rocking most governments of the major capitalist countries. "Scandals" have caused the resignation of Prime Ministers and high officials in Germany, Britain and Italy. These types of crises, while accentuating all forms of oppression and exploitation on the part of the bourgeoisie, at the same time sharpens all forms of the class struggle and compels more and more people, heretofore uninterested in politics, to join mass political struggles.

The U.S. proletariat, although intensifying its struggle against capital, is still not yet strong enough, not conscious enough of its historic mission, not organized enough to overthrow the capitalist class and establish a new society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The task of communists and advanced workers in the U.S. is, on the basis of increasing their activity on all fronts of the class struggle—the theoretical, political and organizational—to prepare the proletariat for independent leadership of the mass movement.

Today, this has to be linked first and foremost to the organizing of the proletarian vanguard, a new anti-revisionist Communist Party. Without a strong Bolshevik-type party the proletariat cannot even think of fulfilling its historic mission of proletarian dictatorship, nor of giving leadership to the struggle for the everyday demands of the masses. The Party itself can only be built by fighting for the correct political line inside the communist movement, and by fighting to implement this line in practice, with the aim of winning the advanced to communism.

Then, and only then, the proletariat as a class for itself, can prepare the conditions for the complete overthrow of capitalism and the building of a new, socialist society!

