

MAIN POLITICAL REPORT

To the Membership of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA,
adopted at the Founding Congress of the RCP, 1975.

Comrades!

The Party of the U.S. working class, its Revolutionary Communist Party, has been founded at this Congress! This represents the most important advance of the working class in this country in nearly 20 years, since the betrayal by the revisionist "Communist Party." This historic event is taking place in the situation where the imperialist system, in this country and worldwide, is in great and growing crisis and the struggle of the working class, in the U.S. and internationally, is making great strides, despite increasing hardship, difficulties and dangers, including the growing danger of world war.

This emphasizes for the Party the very solemn responsibility of uniting with the struggles of the millions of workers and other oppressed people in this country and leading these struggles toward the goal of proletarian revolution--to overthrow U.S. imperialism and make the greatest possible contribution to emancipating humanity forever from the evils, suffering and destruction caused by capitalism, to abolish class society completely and usher in a whole new era in human history. This report sets forth the basic guidelines for the Party, ideologically, politically and organizationally, carrying out this task in the period ahead. It covers three main areas: on the orientation of the Party; on the situation and our tasks; and on some basic organizational questions, methods of work and methods of leadership.

ON THE ORIENTATION OF THE PARTY

The formation of the Party is the product of the struggle of the masses of people, first and foremost the working class--this is not just a slogan but expresses a profound truth. And with the formation of the Party the struggle in this country enters a new period, where the working class has its own general staff capable of leading it according to an understanding of the nature of the class war against the ruling class and in accordance with an overall battle plan.

The Party is not a "party of the left," it is not oriented toward the petty bourgeois "Movement"--which, in taking the stand of the petty bourgeoisie, stands for the past. Instead the Party must be oriented toward the working class, which represents the future of humanity. This means that the Party must fundamentally evaluate itself not in opposition to various petty bourgeois tendencies and opportunists who represent them, but in terms of the needs, demands, struggles and revolutionary interests of the working class. It might seem very easy--for a while--to "look good" by comparing ourselves with the petty bourgeois opportunists. But such an orientation serves the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat. The Party, as the advanced detachment of the working class, is concerned not with such "looking good," which is cheap and self-serving, but with mobilizing the masses of workers to make revolution, unleashing the working class in its millions to carry out its historic role of transforming all of society and achieving communism.

The Party and all of its members must thoroughly take up the stand and the life of the working class. As the Programme of our Party stresses, it is to the masses of workers that every action of the Party must be accountable, and "The Party must be bold in criticizing its own mistakes and thorough in correcting them. This is a key part of learning from the masses and educating both the masses and Party members."

With the formation of the Party, there is no longer such a thing as the "communist movement"--but the Party itself as THE ADVANCED DETACHMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS.

At the beginning of the past period communist forces arose mainly outside the working class and had at that time little connection with the working class. The task at that time was to begin the process of merging communism with the actual struggle of the working class, linking the communists with the working class, and building communist organization with ties with the working class--in the course of battle.

Without carrying out this task it would have been impossible to lay the basis for forming the Party of the working class, impossible to develop the Programme for the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the U.S., and impossible to form a single, disciplined, Leninist-type organization of with roots in the working class and capable of acting as the general staff of the working class. And without carrying out this task, it would have been impossible for the genuine communist forces to take up theory in a living way, linking it with practice, to correctly wage ideological struggle, strengthen their proletarian orientation, and defeat opportunist lines.

A crucial part of this development has been the struggle to make a rupture with the tendency to tail after--and even promote--bourgeois nationalism of the oppressed nationalities which, in the past period, has repeatedly posed an obstacle to the further development of communist forces and the deepening of their ties with the masses of workers through the application of the mass line, based on Marxism-Leninism. But, along with this, has been the continuing struggle against economism, Kautskyism and reformism generally, which have come into sharper and sharper conflict with the task of merging communism with the workers' movement, exactly as the communist forces have sunk deeper roots in the actual struggles of the workers. But, lying at the foundation of all these deviations, and the continuing struggle against them, has been the basic question of class stand and orientation--the question of grasping that the working class is the only truly revolutionary class in opposition to various petty bourgeois schemes based on a bourgeois world outlook but disguised as "revolutionary" or even "proletarian" ideology.

This process, has been consolidated on a qualitatively higher level through the struggle to form the Party, culminating in this founding Party Congress. But does that mean that ideologically, politically and organizationally, the task of proletarianizing the Party is over or that the problem of orientation has been fully solved? That question answers itself--definitely not!

We must deepen the whole Party's grasp of the fundamental fact that the working class is the only truly revolutionary class, that it is the working class and no other social force that is the living, driving force

for revolution in this country. This is the most fundamental question of orientation for the Party. We must base ourselves fully, with both feet, in the working class, rely on and bring forward ever broader numbers of workers, develop their initiative and continually link the Party more closely with the masses--first and foremost the masses of workers.

And WITHIN THE PARTY ITSELF we must develop the initiative of comrades from the working class, who have come forward out of the struggles of the working class, have broad and deep ties with other workers and therefore are capable, as Stalin said, of "bringing the proletariat with them." More and more of these workers are coming forward, taking up the ideology of their class and becoming communists. But such comrades still represent a minority of the Party. This situation must be changed, in order for the Party to develop and strengthen its role as the advanced detachment of the working class.

Basically this must be done through the course of deepening the Party's ties as a whole with the working class, in the process of struggle. But in this process the Party must rely especially on such comrades from the working class and learn from them--and from comrades from intellectual and petty bourgeois backgrounds who themselves have set an example in learning from and taking up as their own the qualities and outlook that characterize the proletariat as a class.

Our aim must be to build the Party as the vanguard of the working class, in line and in composition. In an overall sense, ideological and political line is decisive, and it is because the line of our Party represents the working class that it is in fact the vanguard of the working class. But, there is a dialectical relationship between the line of a Party and its composition--the class origins of its members and their life experience as part of one class or another. In other words, we must recognize and deal with the contradiction between the line of our Party--which represents the proletariat--and the SOCIAL BASE (class composition) of the Party--which is mainly drawn from non-proletarian strata at this time.

As with all contradictions it will move in one direction or the other--either we apply the correct ideological and political line and transform the composition of the Party, or, in the long run, the social base will transform the line from one representing to one opposing the interests and outlook of the working class. To put it in a nutshell: over the long run the Party of the working class cannot be made up mainly of people from the petty bourgeoisie, but must be based among and made up mainly of people from the working class itself. Proletarianizing the Party in composition is a long-term task, but it cannot be put off--the Party must take up the task now as a major question and continue to advance on this front.

This is a fundamental point and is directly related to the Marxist understanding of the relationship between practice and theory and between base and superstructure. In particular, it is directly related to the fact that Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the working class and no other class, that it reflects the position of the working class in society, its role in production and its struggle to break the chains of capitalism, liberate the productive forces and finally "smash all social chains enslaving the producers and shackling production itself," as our Party's Programme puts it.

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In other words, Marxism-Leninism is not called PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGY for nothing; it is not revolutionary ideology "up in the sky" or based on any social group that might profess it--especially intellectuals--but is rooted in the real, material struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. As one veteran Chinese worker beautifully summed it up to comrades visiting that country recently, "When you take Marxism-Leninism to the working class, you are taking it HOME."

Comrades who have come from other classes must DESERT their class and join the proletariat wholeheartedly. It won't do to try to combine two into one--give part of yourself to the working class but hold back another part, have "working class" on your lips but still hold the petty bourgeoisie dear in your heart, and in your actions. This is so for comrades on all levels--and it is especially important for comrades in leading positions.

At the same time, as Mao Tsetung points out, even comrades from the working class need remolding too. This is because, even though their position in society and life-experience is proletarian, nevertheless they live in class society and are influenced by the ideology of the bourgeoisie. And more, while they may have basic class feelings and elementary understanding of class society, they must raise this to RATIONAL KNOWLEDGE through the study of Marxism-Leninism. It won't do to leave this to the intellectuals!

Comrades from the working class must be relied on and developed as a powerful social force within the Party, especially in regard to grasping and applying theory in a living way, linking it with the actual struggle of the working class. The Party must pay attention to developing and learning from these comrades in this regard, and all comrades must take up the task of remolding themselves, in the course of immersing themselves more deeply among the masses of workers and leading them in struggle against the bourgeoisie.

What, in particular, are the qualities of the advanced, class conscious workers, within the Party, that all comrades must learn from? Their determination to master theory, in a living way, to root it in the crucial questions confronting the working class in its struggle, to get to the essence of problems and find practical answers to them, to advance the struggle. Beyond that, their method of struggle within the Party--their militant attitude, combined with the approach of seeking unity, with the aim of achieving the correct line to lead the workers in their masses toward the goal of revolution. And more, their style of going out broadly among other workers, as a friend and fellow worker--not another boss over them, or a missionary or lecturer--uniting with them to fight back against exploitation and oppression, to identify more clearly the real enemy and to grasp the road forward, out of the misery and enslavement of capitalism.

These are qualities characteristic of the proletariat as a class, and not of workers as individuals. They are qualities that stem from the role of the working class in production and society as a whole. But, as comrades come forward from the working class, and consciously take up the ideology of their class, they can and must be mobilized as a leading social force in imbuing the whole Party and all of its members with these qualities, exactly because of their life experience as part of the proletariat.

All this does not mean that we should turn inward into some kind of self-cultivation to make everyone in the Party "perfect proletarians"-- raising little communists in a hot house. Exactly the opposite is called for. We must grasp and apply the line of our Party to lead the struggle of the working class in its millions, and recruit ever greater numbers of workers to our ranks, train them as revolutionary leaders and further proletarianize the entire Party in the closest connection with developing the revolutionary movement of the working class as a whole.

In this light, struggle against petty bourgeois deviations and bourgeois ideology both inside and outside the Party, must, of course, continue and even intensify, but it must be unfolded around the task of linking the Party with the working class more firmly and sinking deeper roots among the masses of workers. The Party will have to continue to expose opportunists, but this too will be unfolded around the task of building mass struggle, and will be aimed at the main representatives of the enemy within the workers' movement and the overall struggle at any given time.

The Party cannot, however, spend its time in the same kind of polemics that were necessary for communists to conduct in the past against the petty bourgeois opportunists who have called themselves the "New Communist Movement." Polemicizing extensively against their opportunist lines was necessary in the old period as an important part of laying the basis for forming the Party. But that task has now been accomplished, the Party has been formed, we have entered the new period; and we will deal with these types, other opportunists, and the tendencies they represent, as they pose themselves as obstacles to building the actual struggle of the working class, building a united front under the leadership of the working class, and advancing toward the revolutionary goal. Where it is necessary to expose them, however, we must do this in a thorough and scientific way, showing the CLASS BASIS of their opportunism and helping the masses of workers to distinguish the outlook and interests of the proletariat as a class from all other classes and strata in society.

At the same time, we must guard against the tendency to deal with incorrect ideas among the masses in the same way as consolidated opportunist LINES. We must unite with the masses in struggle and raise their consciousness in the course of it, overcoming incorrect ideas among the masses by correctly applying the mass line--learning from the masses, using Marxism-Leninism to concentrate what is correct in their ideas and discard what is incorrect, returning these concentrated correct ideas to the masses and persevering, together with the masses, to carry them out in building the struggle of the working class. As Mao Tsetung emphasizes, this is an endless spiral and is also based on the Marxist understanding of the relationship between practice and theory.

To summarize this point: in order to keep the correct orientation and carry out its tasks, the Party must deepen its application of the mass line to lead struggle, and at the same time, deepen its study and conscious application of theory, conducting ideological struggle to further proletarianize the Party and expose opportunism in the process. These two--applying the mass line to lead struggle, and study of theory and ideological struggle--are dialectically related. But of the two, the aspect of practice--strengthening links with the working class and leading its struggles by

applying the mass line--is principal. Study as well as ideological struggle, must be unfolded around this, keeping in mind always the general interests of the international proletariat, maintaining the largeness of mind characteristic of the working class, and not falling into narrow thinking and pragmatism--"this is what is happening in my shop (or local area) today, so this is what is true and represents the whole working class."

By grasping and holding firmly to the most basic question of orientation--that the working class is the only truly revolutionary class and that Marxism-Leninism is the living science based on the proletariat and enabling it to develop its actual struggle into a revolutionary movement to wipe out capitalism and all class society--and by basing all our actions on this, the Party can correctly carry out its tasks, and fulfill its responsibility as the vanguard of the working class.

ON THE SITUATION AND OUR TASKS

As the Programme of our Party states, "The situation for the working class is growing more and more favorable, as it grows more and more desperate for the imperialists. Nothing they can do can reverse the process of history, and the more destruction they bring down to save themselves, the closer it brings their doom." This, too, is not mere rhetoric, but summarizes the actual situation, points to its future development, and expresses a most profound truth that the whole Party must grasp deeply, and dialectically.

The ruling class and its "experts" and propagandists cannot help but admit that the economy of this country is in very bad shape. Over the last year and more, production has fallen dramatically--by 12%--and now barely exceeds the 1967 level. Construction and auto--main "pillars" of the economy--have been especially hard hit.

Factory utilization has dropped to only 68% of capacity and, as everyone knows, unemployment continues to spread, with lay off following lay off. The OFFICIAL mark is nearing 10% and unemployment is becoming more long-term at the same time. In certain major industrial areas, among youth, women and minorities the actual unemployment rate is much higher than the official average. Along with this, inflation has continued to soar. The rising cost of living, combined with capitalist attacks on the working class, has pushed real wages (in 1974) down to the 1965 level.

The mouthpieces of the ruling class, in the media and various government agencies, try to present all this as just another "downturn in the business cycle"--a bust before another boom. They picture things in static terms and keep predicting quick recovery, or at least "bottoming out of the recession." They point to the previous post WWII "recessions" and, while forced to admit that the present crisis is more severe, try to put over the idea that such recessions are an inevitable part of life--the price we pay for "freedom" and overall "prosperity"--and that an "upturn" is just as inevitably bound to occur, in a smooth, orderly way, as day follows night.

In the real world, however, while they still have some maneuvering room and can affect certain partial and temporary gains, the imperialist rulers find their options and their "solutions" more and more limited and less and less able to offset the crisis. In a real sense, the recent period must be described as a MAJOR CRISIS of U.S. imperialism--one which will continue and deepen--not just "another cyclical problem."

This crisis is definitely related to the previous post WW II recessions, but not in the way the bourgeoisie pictures it. Each time the capitalist system goes through an overproduction crisis--which the bourgeoisie calls a "recession"--this leaves its mark on the system as a whole, weakening it, and even where there is temporarily recovery, the means by which this is achieved only lay the basis for worse crisis in the future. This was analyzed by Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto"--"AND HOW DOES THE BOURGEOISIE GET OVER THESE CRISIS? ON THE ONE HAND BY ENFORCED DESTRUCTION OF A MASS OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES; ON THE OTHER, BY THE CONQUEST OF NEW MARKETS, AND BY THE MORE THOROUGH EXPLOITATION OF THE OLD ONES. THAT IS TO SAY, BY

PAVING THE WAY FOR MORE EXTENSIVE AND MORE DESTRUCTIVE CRISES AND BY DIMINISHING THE MEANS WHEREBY CRISES ARE PREVENTED."

This stems from the basic nature and the basic contradiction of capitalism--that production is socialized but appropriation is "private"--and from the anarchy of capitalism that inevitably flows from this. "Development" under capitalism can only take place through the accumulation of capital in the form of private profit, and the battle between capitalists to accumulate an ever greater share of this profit, from the labor of the workers.

The capitalists are compelled to make increasingly large investments in machinery to beat out their competitors. But it is only labor power applied to production which creates value for the capitalists. And the more these investments grow, the more the capitalists' rate of profit falls, exactly because these machines which cost large sums of money, produce no new value for the capitalists.* The efforts made by the capitalists to offset this tendency eventually turn into their opposite as the law reasserts itself. The drive for profit continually runs up against the fetters that capitalist relations place on the economy. This is especially marked today where the rate of profit has fallen sharply over the last few years.

This contradiction is in no way eliminated or lessened by the development of capitalism into imperialism, but is, in fact, intensified. Imperialism is capitalism grown even more parasitic, and capitalism in the stage where the contradiction between socialized production and "private" appropriation has become all the more explosive.

The development of U.S. imperialism since WW II is further proof of this. As our Party's Programme points out, "In fact, bound by the laws of capitalism, the very means the U.S. imperialists used to get out of the '30s depression, temporarily avoid a new one and build themselves to new heights at the end of the war, have only laid the basis for an even bigger crash than ever before."

Since WW II, the U.S. imperialists have been continually faced with the problem of staving off crisis, even while they have expanded. This is a reflection of the fact that imperialism is capitalism rotten at its foundation. Their "method" has been to try to stimulate growth through more parasitism--through greater taxation and government spending, and monetary policies that have fueled inflation. In the past they have been able to pull out of the "recessions" temporarily, largely because of their dominant position in the imperialist system world-wide and their ability to "export" aspects of their crisis to both capitalist and Third World countries--intensifying their exploitation in those countries and making them bear the burden of inflation and the continual collapse of the capitalist monetary system. All this has been backed up by the military might of U.S. imperialism.

But beginning with its defeat in Korea and accelerating with its even greater defeat in Indochina, the military might of U.S. imperialism has suffered great blows, and its economic might has declined in dialectical relationship with this--each affecting the other, in a downward spiral. The Tet Offensive by the Vietnamese people in 1968 is a clear example of this--for

*HOWEVER, THEY DO ALLOW THE WORKERS TO PRODUCE MORE GOODS, AND INCREASE THE RATE OF EXPLOITATION.

this body blow against the armed forces of U.S. imperialism encouraged rival capitalist countries, many of which were gaining in economic strength relative to U.S. imperialism, to demand changes in the capitalist monetary system, weakening the position of the dollar.

In this same context, the growing trend of Third World countries to unite in opposition to the economic domination of imperialism has both been stimulated by the military defeats of U.S. imperialism and has in turn weakened U.S. imperialism's position, economically as well as militarily. The Arab oil boycott, during the Mid-East War of 1973 and the continuing demand for higher prices for oil and other raw materials by Third World countries--which are major exporters of these raw materials--as well as demand for sea rights, and other similar struggles, have also clearly intensified the crisis of U.S. imperialism and the whole imperialist system.

Even the more recent efforts of U.S. imperialism to force other countries to bear the burden of the crisis--dollar devaluations, trade limitations and tariffs, etc.--have, overall, led to greater difficulties for U.S. imperialism and to more chaos and turmoil within the imperialist system as a whole. For these measures may weaken the economic position of other capitalist countries, but this in turn undercuts "the market for U.S. capital", which is heavily invested within these economies. And it adds to the growing rivalry, both between the U.S. imperialists and the capitalists of these other countries and among the U.S. imperialists themselves who have the bulk of their investments concentrated in different sectors of the economy within these various countries.

To sum up this point: the present crisis is a world-wide crisis of the imperialist system, the first such crisis since the first world economic crisis of the '30s and the war and redivision of the world among the imperialists that followed it. The conditions of the crisis in each of the capitalist countries react upon each other due to the interdependence of the whole imperialist system. This crisis will continue to deepen--although it develops unevenly in different countries--both within the U.S. and within the imperialist system as a whole. The options and maneuvering room of the U.S. imperialists are lessening and will continue to do so, despite ups and downs in the situation.

A clear example of the deepening of the crisis is the fact that the stagnation of the U.S. economy is now reaching into the heart of the producer goods section.

For example, the steel industry, which for a time continued to have almost full capacity output and high profits, is now forced to cut back drastically and is moving in the direction of massive layoffs.

For a short time, even in the face of deepening crisis, the producer goods section--or parts of it--may be able to continue near capacity production, even expand, but as the crisis continues and people are able to buy fewer and fewer consumer goods, this inevitably leads to a cutback in orders for machinery, etc. from the capitalists who produce consumer goods--for example, auto cuts back on its order for steel, rubber, and so on, housing cuts back orders for construction materials, etc.

This accelerates the downward spiral of the economy--more workers laid off in producer goods sections means less overall consumption in society, leading to more cutbacks, etc., all coupled, of course, with even more wild

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scrambling among the various capitalists to more intensively exploit the existing markets in the U.S. and markets in other countries, to drive out and wipe out competition, etc. And so it goes, and is going.

At the same time, the ruling class is faced with the sharpening contradiction that it needs spending--in particular, government spending--to stimulate the economy, but such spending and similar measures (such as the easing of credit rates), fuel inflation, which along with other problems it creates or intensifies, leads to less overall consumption--since it amounts in fact to a wage cut for the masses of people. And along with this, the government, where it is engaging in such spending--and it is doing so on a large scale, running up the government deficit, despite the further problems this creates for the economy--is actually diverting capital that otherwise might go to private investment. This is so where the government has floated bond issues with higher interest yields than even large companies, such as General Motors, are willing, or able, to offer for investing in their operations. (So investors go for the government's bonds, instead of investing in GM, etc.) And the tremendous borrowing of companies like GM to bolster their rate of profit through new investment (aimed at grabbing more of the market) has contributed to major liquidity problems--that is, inability to pay back past debts and finance new investments.

And yet another contradiction--the government (Federal Reserve) is trying to have banks keep more capital reserves on hand, to guard against failures--such as the failure of Franklin National in 1974, the 14th largest bank in the U.S. at that time. But this means that corporations can utilize less capital for investment.

Through all this complicated picture emerges once again the ANARCHY OF CAPITALISM and the clear fact that U.S. imperialism, together with the whole imperialist system, worldwide, is enmeshed in a deepening crisis--a real crisis and not simply a "downturn in the business cycle." And the direction is DOWN, despite whatever temporary and partial "ups" there may be within this.

This means two things: (1) greater efforts to intensify the exploitation of the workers employed in this country--and hand in hand with this growing numbers of unemployed workers who cannot be profitably employed--and intensified exploitation of working people in other countries; and (2) more cut-throat competition among the capitalists, within the U.S. and internationally. Among the capitalists in the U.S. there will be, and already are, increasing numbers of bankruptcies and mergers, as the most powerful crush and/or grab up the weaker firms. Especially hard hit already, and certain to be harder hit as the crisis deepens, are the petty capitalists, who are being forced out of business at an accelerating rate--both in industry and in agriculture.

Another trend which has been growing with the crisis is increasing state control within the economy. This is already taking the form of subsidizing major companies and promoting and organizing mergers--even government anti-trust sections which are generally accompanied by sermons about the evils of monopoly (!), are aimed at aiding powerful sections of capital to push out or gobble up other capital, even other big sharks as well as smaller ones.

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In the future, it is even possible that there may be moves toward nationalizing certain industries and introducing more overall planning, through the government--already this latter step has been proposed by Senators Humphrey and Javits. Again, what all this reflects is the more fierce struggle among capitalists, and such measures will in turn intensify this, as the different capitalists fight to carve up the shrinking pie of capital and profit, attempting to make use of the government toward this end.

But most fundamental will be the fist of the capitalist class and its state aimed directly against the working class to increase the rate of exploitation. This will mean an intensification of speedup--"productivity"--and enforced overtime, together with wage cuts. All this will continue to come down together with more and more layoffs.

Why does this happen? Because as the crisis deepens--as unsold goods pile up and investment opportunities dry up--it becomes less profitable to operate at the old level of production. Machines lie unused. Unemployment mounts. Contraction sets in. But precisely because each capitalist tries to secure and expand his share of the shrinking market, competition between them intensifies. Each tries to increase his rate of profit faster than the other, because only to the extent that each capitalist can wring more surplus value relative to the total amount of capital invested can he stay in the running for the diminishing spoils.

As this competition heats up in the context of the overall slowdown, some capitalists go under. Still more workers lose jobs. And the competitive battles between capitalists to intensify the exploitation of the workers continues. So the spiral goes: growing unemployment, stepped up exploitation, as the contraction deepens. And as stagnation and unemployment grow, the capitalists try to take advantage of this to beat down the wages and conditions of the employed workers even further.

This will mean increasing use of the various agencies of the state to suppress the struggles of the workers--outlawing of strikes in "strategic industries," (which will be an ever expanding category), compulsory arbitration around more and more contracts and contract issues, such as health and safety and pensions (this is already being talked about seriously); and, of course, more and more vicious use of the armed forces of the bourgeois state to break strikes and suppress workers' struggles.

Combined with this, of course, will be the increasing role of the top union officials to sabotage and shackle the struggle of the working class. I.W. Abel's scab no-strike agreement and the extension of it to 1980 is a clear example of this trend. But along with that are steps such as the "master agreement" which is presently being "explored" by the heads of the Operating Engineers union and the Associated General Contractors, who are talking about such a master agreement to cover some 120,000 construction workers in 13 western states--a move they hope will curb strikes and increase productivity.

Another tactic already employed in March of 1975 is the "ten-step" bargaining agreement adopted by the Joint Labor-Management Committee for the Retail Food Industry--including the Retail Clerks, Meatcutters, Teamsters, eight supermarket chains, the National Association of Food Chains and the

Supermarket Institute. This "ten-steps" agreement includes "early-bird bargaining" (sell-out in advance of a contract expiring); mediation to resolve disputes, limitation on the use of the press "by either side," exhausting all other avenues before considering strikes, etc.

In addition, there are already discussions among a number of top union hacks about merging unions, with the aim of centralizing control by these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class even more powerfully over the rank and file workers. All this makes clear that, in the period ahead, with the deepening of the imperialist crisis, the working class, in its day to day struggle, and in all spheres of society, will be face to face in battle after battle with both heads of the two-headed monster and with the various arms of the bourgeois state.

At the same time, as the struggle of the working class develops, in the face of these direct attempts to suppress it and intensify the exploitation of the workers, the ruling class will also make use of and build up phoney "progressives" to divert this struggle, diffuse the anger and militancy of the masses of workers and disarm them in the face of the growing attacks. The "progress" and "solutions" of these "progressives" amount to offering a spoon to the workers, with sugar on the top and poison on the bottom.

They will often make a show of opposing the more open enemies of the working class, including within the trade union bureaucracies, especially as those enemies are more and more exposed. But, of course, they are in fundamental unity with the Hueys, Abols, etc. Even those more openly reactionary "trade union leaders" are forced to react to the anger and militancy of the rank and file workers, and try to divert and misdirect it into reliance on themselves and the ruling class they represent.

But as the rank is more and more ripped off of Huey and friends, these "progressives" try to step in and, often in a more sophisticated way--appearing to side more with the fight back of the workers and their hatred for their overlords, and for oppression in general--try to tell the workers that their only choice is between "friends" ("liberals") and "enemies" (open reactionaries) in the ruling class. They put forward, in only more disguised form, the same line that the most that can be done is to "pressure" the ruling class, or at least "liberals" within it, for reforms and to rely on them to "solve the problems."

At the same time, these "progressive" bloated toads try to use the struggle of the workers, and their growing opposition to the Huey types, as leverage to improve their positions within the bureaucracies and to increase their "capital" in dealing with the ruling class--and in many cases to literally gain more capital for themselves (in the form of dues, etc.).

The working class, however, while it will take tactical advantage of such differences, has no strategic interest in taking sides in such in-fighting among these traitorous hacks any more than it has any stake in siding with one section or the other of the ruling class, which these "labor leaders" represent.

But as the working class, led by its Party, builds its struggle and

becomes more conscious of itself as a class and of the mission of its class, there will be more scrambling among the hacks, just as there will be within the ruling class. In particular, from among the phony "progressives" and among new, up and coming forces in the bureaucracies, there will be increasing attempts to put on a show as "militants," and some will even come on as "socialists" as the consciousness of the need for socialist revolution grows among the workers.

As the Programme of our Party says, social-democracy is not at present and has not been for some time a significant trend in this country. And it is wrong to label all phony progressives "social democrats." Social democracy is a tendency within the working class that CONSCIOUSLY aims at preventing socialism, while speaking in the name of socialism.

There are already some forces within the labor bureaucracies who--at times at least--call themselves socialists. Some of these have taken steps to organize themselves into various social democratic formations, while others who profess socialism (at times at least) remain unaffiliated with these groups at present.

But today, to call all phony progressives "social democrats" leads away from recognizing the real treacherous role they play at this time--to blunt and divert the present struggle of the working class, which is not yet a conscious movement for socialism. The correct way to defeat them, and to lay the basis for defeating social democracy if it does develop as a significant trend, is to join with the actual struggles of the workers and lead them toward the goal of proletarian revolution, exposing the real role of the phony progressives, and other enemy agents within the workers movement, in this process.

The recent period in this country has seen a tremendous upsurge of the rank and file. In 1974, workers fought back with tremendous fury, with more strikes--5900--than in any previous year in US history. In some cases these were more "token" strikes called by union officials for a brief period to "prove" that they were ready to fight for the workers interests. But even this testifies to the anger and militancy of the rank and file, which forced such gestures from the union "leaders."

In 1975, there have been fewer strikes than in 1974. This is partly because there were far fewer contracts up in '75 than the previous year. It is also due, in part, to the fact that workers are increasingly forced with massive layoffs and even those still at work are under the constant threat of unemployment.

But, another major factor is the treachery of the union officials, who along with the bourgeoisie, were scared to death by the strike wave of 1974 and the potential strength of the working class represented in this strike wave, and who have taken steps, such as those summarized earlier, to shackle the rank and file and prevent strikes, while furthering the exploitation of the workers.

But despite this treachery, and other factors contributing to a decrease of the number of strikes in 1975 as compared to '74, the length of strikes in 1975 (as indicated by figures for the first part of the year) was greater than the average in '74. This shows the determination of the

rank and file in struggle and the fact that they are engaging the capitalists in sharper battle when they do strike (as dramatically demonstrated by the miners' wildcat that erupted with great force and great significance for the whole class, in the second half of 1975).

At the same time growing numbers of workers, employed and unemployed, have united in the fight for jobs, and a small but increasing number of workers have actively taken part in a class conscious way in struggling on other fronts against the ruling class--against the oppression of minority nationalities, against police repression, against the no-strike agreement in steel and no strike deals in general, against the war in Indochina and U.S. acts of aggression and war in other parts of the world, and in other battles against the ruling class.

All this, and other events, like the May Day rallies across the country, where several thousand workers, altogether, united to declare war on the capitalist class and to begin marshalling the forces of the working class for the main battles in this war in the coming period, represent the potential power and indicate in the embryonic form the revolutionary movement of the working class. It is the responsibility of our Party to mobilize and lead the masses to develop this potential into the reality of proletarian revolution.

To carry this out, as our Party's Programme states, "the Revolutionary Communist Party takes part in, learns from and brings leadership to the struggles of the working class and its allies, unites all who can be united, consistently exposes the enemy and points to the final aim of overthrowing imperialism and building socialism" It is this that gives substance to our central task today--"to build the struggle, class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and develop its leadership of a broad united front against the U.S. imperialists, in the context of the worldwide united front against imperialism aimed at the rulers of the two superpowers."

This last part is also extremely important--the international situation and context of our central task. For just as the crisis of imperialism is world-wide, so too is the struggle of the working class international. And the importance of this is emphasized by the fact that, just as the crisis is driving the ruling class of this country to intensify its attacks on the working class in this country, it is also driving them to intensify their exploitation throughout the world, and to contend with other capitalist powers, most especially the other imperialist superpower, in their mad scramble for profit. And more than that, it is driving the imperialist powers, and especially the two superpowers, toward a third world war.

Obviously, the outbreak of such a war would create new conditions for the struggle of the working class in this and all countries. And, at the present time, the growing danger of world war places special responsibilities before the Party of the working class, especially in this country, which is one of the two superpowers.

It is therefore crucial for our Party to have itself and arm the masses with a correct understanding of the contention between the two superpowers, the struggle against them, and the relation of this to world war and to revolution, in this country and world-wide.

At present not only is it the case that contention between the two superpowers is principal over collusion but this contention is increasing

all the time--as can be seen by events in Europe, the Middle East, Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, Portugal and other parts of the world. This contention is characterized by the fact that the U.S. imperialists are trying desperately to hold onto their position--and in military terms to secure a "defense perimeter" in the world--while the Soviet social-imperialists are just as desperately pushing out everywhere, trying to take advantage of the decline of U.S. imperialism to grab up new areas.

The U.S. imperialists are trying to maintain the present world status quo, because in terms of division of "spheres of influence" among the imperialists--specifically among the two superpowers--they still hold an advantage over the Soviet social-imperialists. In other words, the present division still reflects, to a considerable degree, and earlier time in the post WW II period, when U.S. imperialism was in a much more powerful position, and was apparently undisputed strong man among the imperialist powers.

The Soviet social-imperialists, driven by the same laws as the U.S. imperialists, and with a weaker position economically--especially in terms of machinery and other capital goods and capital exports--are on the offensive, needing to change the present division just as desperately as the U.S. imperialists need to maintain it (and, in the final analysis, to expand).

Europe, as the Chinese Communist Party has pointed out, is the focal point of this contention, while areas like the Middle East and the Mediterranean are the flanks of Europe and thus play a crucial part, militarily and economically, in this contention. For example, the oil reserves of the Middle East are of strategic importance not only in terms of economic domination of Europe (as well as Japan), which is heavily dependent on this oil, but also in military terms--monopoly of oil is a tremendous advantage in war. The Mediterranean is crucial as a "gateway" to several continents, a vital area to control in terms of economic trade AND naval activity in a war.

Why is Europe the focal point? Because, as our Party's Programme points out, "it is in Europe that vast economic, political and military power is based, which the superpowers must seek to control." In particular, the U.S. imperialists have tremendous investments in Western Europe, and this has increased in recent years, especially with the defeat of the U.S. imperialists in Indochina and the upsurge of struggle throughout the Third World. This has convinced many of the U.S. capitalists that, while they must continue to dominate the Third World and make superprofits from exploiting it wherever possible (and expand their domination and exploitation in the Third World wherever possible), Europe represents a more "stable" and more strategic area for investment and exploitation. But this emphasizes the need of the U.S. imperialists to "secure" Europe (and, along with it, Japan--which is a major reason the U.S. imperialists are determined to keep--and if possible extend--their domination in Korea).

The Soviets, on the other hand, are on the offensive in Europe, having at present more firm control, economically, politically and militarily, over their "sphere of influence" in Eastern Europe than the U.S. imperialists have in Western Europe. And the Soviets are making use of revisionist parties in Western Europe as "fifth columns" for their offensive there.

Portugal today is a clear example of this tactic. And as Portugal shows, the Soviet social-imperialists have drawn the lesson from Chile that they need "armed revisionism" to carry out their interests in other countries--as indicated by the attention the revisionist party is playing in Portugal to building a base of control in the bourgeois army.

War is the continuation of politics by other means, and the fact that the Soviet Union is overall on the offensive makes it more likely that a war in Europe or on its flanks will break out with Soviet military

action. This may well come not as a simple invasion, but in the form of "support" for "socialist revolution"--revisionist parties loyal to the Soviet Union leading or taking part in coup attempts. This makes the international situation, and the struggle against the two superpowers, all the more complicated. At the same time, it is important to realize that the U.S. imperialists cannot afford continual economic and political setbacks, especially at the hands of the New Tsars, and may be forced to take the first step in extending political contention to war.

The greater likelihood of Soviet attack starting a new world war does NOT mean that the correct strategy is to UNITE WITH THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT WORLD STATUS QUO AND DIVISION OF "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE." Such a line would do great damage to the struggle of the working class in this country and internationally. And it would be all the more disastrous in the event of world war, especially if such a war starts with a Soviet thrust--giving the appearance that the U.S. counterattack was "defense against Soviet aggression."

In such a case, especially, it would be crucial to go beyond appearance to essence--to examine, as Lenin stresses, the class basis and the economics and politics that gave rise to such a war. In other words, our Party has the duty to arm the masses of people in this country with the understanding that, regardless of who fired the first shot, a war between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. can only be the extension of their conflict for domination and plunder.

But we can only carry out this duty, and counter the propaganda of the U.S. imperialists, by exposing the nature of superpower contention now and building the class struggle against the U.S. imperialists here while supporting the world-wide struggle against the two superpowers. The correct strategy is to build the united front against imperialism aimed at THE TWO SUPERPOWERS--"to build the broadest united front, on a world scale, aimed at the ruling classes of these two superpowers, while at the same time uniting all who can be united within each country to continue the battle for socialist revolution." (Party Programme)

This strategy of aiming the spearhead at the two superpowers furthers the struggle of the international proletariat by making more difficulties for the superpowers, making use of contradictions among the imperialists, encouraging splits within the imperialist blocs, and making it more difficult for the two superpowers both to collude to suppress struggles against them, and to carry their contention to the stage of world war. Of course, as long as there is imperialism it will produce war, and the danger of world war can only be eliminated with the elimination of imperialism.

But, as Mao Tsetung has stated, in calling attention to the danger of world war, there are two possibilities; either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war. The united front against imperialism, aimed at the two superpowers, in making more difficulties for the two superpowers and increasing the turmoil within the imperialist system as a whole, also helps to make the conditions for revolution more favorable both in the Third World, and in the imperialist countries, including the two superpowers themselves.

The Programme of our Party states, "Either the working class in the

U.S. and the Soviet Union will prevent such a war by overthrowing these greatest oppressors, in conjunction with the world-wide struggle against them, or they will launch a world war before they can be overthrown. But even if they launch such a war, with all the suffering it will bring to the people throughout the world, this will only hasten their own downfall, and the end of imperialism."

But this will not happen "automatically." It will only happen through the conscious struggle of the working class, led and armed with a correct understanding by our Party into this country. As a crucial part of building the struggle of the working class into a class conscious struggle for revolution, we must mobilize the masses to defeat particular acts of aggression and warfare by the U.S. imperialists, and unite with the people of the world to oppose imperialist aggression and war, especially by the two superpowers.

At the same time, we must recognize that as the world-wide struggle against imperialism and in particular, the two superpowers, grows and deals more powerful blows against them, this makes them even more desperate. While it weakens the position of imperialism, and in particular, the two superpowers, it also intensifies their contention and their drive toward world war. The only answer to this is to continue to build the struggle against them, fight them on every front, including the battle to delay the outbreak of world war and to defeat particular acts of aggression and war, and to carry this fight through to overthrow them.

Given the present situation, including the growing contention between the two superpowers and the level of development of the working class movement in the imperialist countries, especially the two superpowers, it appears more likely that the two superpowers will unleash a world war before they can be overthrown, more likely that world war will give rise to revolution than that revolution, in the two superpowers, will prevent world war. But this is not pre-determined, not will this be "automatically" the case either.

The struggle, especially in an imperialist country, can undergo dramatic, qualitative changes in a very short period of time, depending on the development of the objective situation AND the work of the Party in leading the masses in struggle and raising their consciousness in the course of it, it is impossible, and not at all in the interests of the proletariat, to say with certainty that there is no way we can make revolution to prevent world war, so we might as well sit around and wait for world war so we can then make revolution. This is the logic of the bourgeoisie and not dialectical materialism, which represents the proletariat.

In any case, the more broadly we mobilize the masses in struggle against imperialism, including its acts of aggression and war, and through the course of many battles raise their consciousness, the more the struggle of the working class will be able to weaken the imperialists and advance toward the point where it can overthrow them and bring an end to the misery and destruction of capitalism, even if the superpowers do launch a third world war.

In building for this today our Party must be guided by the principles formulated by the Chinese Communist Party in the polemic against the Soviet

revisionists on the General Line of the International Communist Movement: "EVEN IN ORDINARY TIMES" (non-revolutionary situations) "WHEN IT IS LEADING THE MASSES IN THE DAY TO DAY STRUGGLE, THE PROLETARIAN PARTY SHOULD IDEOLOGICALLY, POLITICALLY AND ORGANIZATIONALLY PREPARE ITS OWN RANKS AND THE MASSES FOR REVOLUTION AND PROMOTE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES" (mass struggles that attack and expose the system) "SO THAT IT WILL NOT MISS THE OPPORTUNITY TO OVERTHROW THE REACTIONARY REGIME WHEN THE CONDITIONS FOR REVOLUTION ARE RIPE. OTHERWISE, WHEN THE CONDITIONS FOR REVOLUTION ARE RIPE, THE PROLETARIAN PARTY WILL SIMPLY THROW AWAY THE OPPORTUNITY OF SEIZING VICTORY."

As our Party's Programme summarizes, the present struggles of the working class in this country are mainly against individual employers (or employers associations) "around wages and benefits, working conditions, against speed-up and lay-offs, against discrimination." And the Programme stresses that, while such battles are not the whole war against the ruling class, they are an extremely important "school of warfare," through which the workers can build their strength, unity and organization and begin to develop a basic understanding of the nature of the enemy.

Today it is in these struggles that the work of our Party must be concentrated. And we must not only "take part" in these struggles but must take the responsibility for leading them, establishing this leadership through correctly applying the mass line. To carry out this responsibility we must, as the Party's Programme states, "bend every effort to fulfill three main objectives: to win as much as can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy; to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the struggling masses and instill in them the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat; and to develop the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists, recruit them into the Party and train them as revolutionary leaders."

How do we fulfill these objectives? Our basic guideline must be the principle set down by Lenin: "The Party's activity must consist in promoting the working class struggle. The Party's task is NOT TO CONCOCT SOME FASHIONABLE MEANS OF HELPING THE WORKERS, but to join up with the workers' movement, TO BRING LIGHT INTO IT, TO ASSIST THE WORKERS IN THE STRUGGLE THEY THEMSELVES HAVE ALREADY BEGUN TO WAGE." ("Draft and Explanation of a Programme for the Social-Democratic Party," Vol. 2, p. 112, emphasis added.)

This principle must be firmly grasped by the entire Party: it is through the course of struggle that the masses learn, it is in CHANGING REALITY that the masses are able to learn more about it--and in turn change it further, and more fundamentally. This is why, in formulating our central task, the Party Programme BEGINS with "Build the STRUGGLE...."

It is by joining with the actual struggles that the workers are waging, as Lenin stresses, and ON THAT BASIS, bringing light into them, that we can and will develop the class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and enable it to unite all who can be united against the imperialist ruling class and finally overthrow it. This too is a fundamental point, rooted in the Marxist understanding of the relationship between practice and theory.

The Party must think, and act, in terms of the whole working class. It won't do to think only in terms of a small handful and lead them AWAY from the rest of the class. We must unite with the advanced, but unite with them to LEAD THE MASSES, to build the struggle of the working class in its thousands and millions.

This, of course, does not mean that every battle we take up must or will BEGIN with thousands and millions of workers--or even the majority of workers in a plant, or even a department--involved. But it does mean that, in taking up these battles, we must keep firmly in mind the objective of MOBILIZING THE BROADEST MASSES in any situation.

To do this we must deepen our application of the mass line. We must investigate broadly among the masses to determine the questions, the outrages and abuses, that are uppermost in the minds of the masses, the questions around which, in one form or another--even if it is only angry outbursts or writing on the wall--the masses broadly, are already waging resistance. Then we must sum up and concentrate, through the application of Marxism-Leninism, the anger of the masses and return it to them ACTIVELY in the form of AGITATION. That is, we must unite with the advanced workers and go broadly among workers as a whole. ORGANIZE their anger into militant, disciplined struggle, AND UNFOLD AROUND THE PARTICULAR STRUGGLE exposure of the system of exploitation which continually gives rise to such outrages and abuses.

We must grasp fully and firmly that what Engels wrote about the strikes of English workers 100 years ago applies to the working class in this and all countries--people who can sacrifice so much to bend a single bourgeoisie (Engels said) can certainly overthrow the whole bourgeoisie. The masses of workers, in this and every country, have never lacked courage and determination in fighting back against their exploitation and oppression. What has been lacking has been the conscious leadership of the Party of the working class, leadership that is rooted in their day to day struggles and ON THAT BASIS is able to point the way forward.

If we fail to recognize that in the daily struggles of the workers lies the potential for the revolutionary movement of the working class, then we will fail to develop this potential into reality. If we do not actively and militantly lead these battles then there is no way we can lead the class to win the whole war.

In this light, it is very important to examine the dangers of "left" and right errors in the Party's work in the workers movement. Often, the same comrades have made both "left" and right errors, sometimes in the same situation--which reflects the fundamental unity between "left" and right deviations.

For example, in many cases, there has been a serious tendency not to actively lead struggle on the shop floor, even when the workers are clearly looking for active leadership in fighting back. This right error has often been coupled with the "left" tendency to concentrate the main blow against the union hacks, instead of building mass struggle against the company and exposing the role of union misleaders as front men for the company in the process.

On many occasions this means that, instead of building mass

struggle right on the shop floor, and carrying this into the union meet-
ings, comrades go instead to union meetings by themselves, or with only
a handful of "supporters," and attack the union leaders as sell-outs,
reducing the masses of workers to spectators in this "superpower contention"
to determine whether the communists, or the trade union hacks, are the
"real heroes" of the workers' movement. This is an easy thing to do, since
(while it may involve some risks) it is far safer to "wage struggle"
in this way, than to actually join with and lead masses of workers in
battle right in the plant itself. But failing to lead in this way
just as surely leads away from building the revolutionary movement of the
working class.

On the other hand, a "left" line on the trade unions has also arisen
 in the form of downplaying the importance of struggle within the unions--
 a tendency to say, "well, we have to work in unions because workers are
 there, but basically that's the turf of the bourgeoisie." This has some-
 times taken the form of opposing the building of caucuses and intermediate
 workers' organizations to work in the trade unions, and in extreme form
 the line that trade unions are part of the state apparatus!

These "left" tendencies on the trade unions have been furthered
 by the fact that communists have had to wage sharp struggle against trade
 unionism and economism, in their own ranks, as well as in the form of
 consolidated lines on the part of opportunist so-called "communists". But
 the internal basis for these erroneous tendencies has been a petty-bour-
 geois infantilism--a failure to grasp the importance of unions to the
working class and to root ourselves in the actual struggle of the workers,
but instead to take the line of "forget the unions, join us."

Coupled with this has been the tendency to direct a few advanced
 workers away from the struggle in the plant into the "fight against all
 oppression"--police repression, national oppression in the communities,
etc.--all oppression except the exploitation right in the plant! This, of
 course, does not mean that we should not unite with advanced workers to
 lead the struggle against all oppression, or that we should not mobilize
 workers in the fight against police repression, etc. Nor does it mean that
 workers in the long run develop their class consciousness mainly in the
 struggle around wages, working conditions, etc. or that masses of workers
 are not presently actively involved in the other struggles. But unless we
unite with the advanced workers to lead the struggles that the masses of
workers are waging at any time, as Lenin emphasizes, there is no way we can
assist the masses of workers to make the links, in their understanding and
their action, between these struggles and the other battles throughout
society against the same system that is crushing and tormenting the wor-
kers every day.

On the other hand, where comrades have actively led struggles against
 exploitation--on the shop floor, in strikes, wildcats, slowdowns, etc.--
the tendency has often arisen to fail to BRING LIGHT into these struggles.
That is, comrades in these situations have made right errors--failing into
trade unionism, narrowing the struggle to the immediate battle in the plant
and union, making reforms an end in themselves, failing to conduct agit-
ation to expose the system in these struggles; failing to assist the
workers in drawing the links, in their understanding and their active
struggle, between these and other battles against the ruling class, failing

to indicate the CLASS RELATIONS that underlie exploitation and all oppression, and to indicate the general and long-term interests of the working class in overthrowing capitalism and eliminating class society.

Overall, right errors will continue to be the main danger, especially -as the Party becomes more rooted in the actual struggles of the workers. This is shown by the fact that where comrades are rooted in these struggles, right errors are the main deviation. Further, not only is it generally true that "left" errors are rightist in essence, but the particular "left" errors summarized earlier are only a thin veneer covering rightism and are often coupled with right errors.

But in order to overcome both "left" and right errors the most essential thing to grasp is the unity between them and their common basis-- the failure to rely on the masses, first and foremost on the masses of workers. Both "left" and right deviations fail to grasp that it is the masses who make change and will make revolution. Both fail to mobilize the masses in struggle, raise their consciousness in the course of this struggle and unleash their "potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism" (as Mao Tsetung puts it). And both fail to correctly grasp the relationship between the day to day struggles, especially in the plants, and the overall and long-range struggles of the working class.

This report has emphasized the importance of leading the day to day struggles of the workers, especially in the plants, and other work places. At the same time, however, the movement of the working class and its day to day battles cannot be, and is not confined only to this struggle. For any given period in the class struggle, it is essential for the Party to sum up what are the main battlefronts of the struggle and to mobilize the masses around these battles, uniting all who can be united and bringing to the fore the revolutionary interests and outlook of the working class in the process. And the Party must correctly handle the relationship between the day to day struggles, which are its main concentration now, and the other main areas of battle, so that ever broader numbers of workers are mobilized to take up all these battlefronts, to actively link these battles against the common enemy, to take up AS A CLASS and "infuse its strength, discipline and revolutionary outlook into every major social movement," as our Party's Programme stresses.

In this period, the main battle lines around which the Party must mobilize struggle are: wage cuts, speed-up, harassment, compulsory overtime and similar attacks aimed at increasing exploitation; unemployment; discrimination in work and throughout society; police repression and terror; war--opposition to U.S. aggression and superpower contention to carve up and dominate other countries; deportations; defend the right to strike; and cutbacks in social services.

At any particular time, however, while all of these struggles must be taken up, not all of them can have equal weight. The Party cannot run around, and try to pull workers around, fighting on all fronts with the same intensity at the same time. This will only guarantee that the proletariat, and its Party, will scatter and weaken its forces and demoralize the ranks of the Party and the whole class.

The Party, through its leading bodies must constantly sum up developments in the overall struggle and focus its work and the forces of the working class on the most decisive battles at each point, persevering in these battles and unfolding other work around this, in order to advance the overall struggle. It is on this basis that this report stresses that the Party's main concentration--its "center of gravity"--must now be in the day to day struggle of the workers around wages, working conditions, lay offs, jobs, etc. and that it is mainly by building this struggle and bringing light into it--as summarized earlier--that the Party will be able to mobilize masses of workers, link up struggles, and make the greatest strides in broadening the workers' movement into an all-around fight against the imperialist system.

To sum this up, the Party must view and handle its tasks dialectically, concentrating on the principal aspect and unfolding the secondary aspect around it. This must be applied in several ways:

The Party must concentrate on taking up and giving leadership in today's actual struggles of the workers, and in this context work at the same time to develop the workers' movement into a struggle on all fronts against the ruling class, developing "fighters on one front into fighters on all fronts."

The Party must concentrate its forces in the plants, especially basic industry, and root itself in struggles there, and with this as its concentration apply the "single spark" method to spread important struggles for the class and the lessons of these struggles to the whole class, sparking further struggle and consciousness in the process.

The Party must build its main base among the employed workers, but must also concentrate work among the unemployed and unite the struggles of employed and unemployed workers.

The Party's basic concentration must be in large scale industries, with specific focus in strategic industries which are already unionized in the main; but at the same time, secondary to this, it must take up the task of organizing the unorganized, in a systematic way, concentrating in a key industry (or a few industries) and persevering to make a breakthrough that can be built off and spread.

And the Party must concentrate its forces in the working class, but at the same time it must work among other strata, among all social movements, and develop proletarian leadership in these movements, to build the broadest possible united front under the leadership of the working class and its Party.

One of the most important questions for the Party in carrying out this work is the role of workers' organizations that are intermediate between the trade unions and the Party. Our Party's Programme stresses that these organizations are not a substitute for either the trade unions or the Party but are "an important organizational form in which communists can unite with advanced workers to build the united front under proletarian leadership."

But these organizations can play this role only if they are rooted

in the plants and other work places and play a leading role in the struggle there, as well as taking up major struggles arising in the area, or the country as a whole, applying the "single spark" method and as the Programme states, "mobilize masses of workers in these struggles and develop them into campaigns of the working class."

If these organizations are not rooted in the plants and do not lead struggle there, then there is no way they can mobilize masses of workers around broader struggles that affect the whole class. On the other hand, if these organizations do not take up these broader struggles and mobilize the class as a whole around them, then they will not play their full role in helping to develop the struggle and consciousness of the workers as a CLASS. In fact, these organizations are a key form through which the Party, together with advanced workers and in combination with its own propaganda and agitation, can really help the working class to "take up and infuse its strength, discipline and revolutionary outlook into every major social movement."

What is the correct relationship between such area-wide workers' organizations and organizations within individual plants or industries? The trade unions are organized along industry lines. This reflects the actual organization of the workers in production. Therefore, it is important to develop workers' organizations that are also based along industrial lines, AND to link these with area-wide workers' organizations. Our aim should be to WORK TOWARD establishing plant and industry-wide organizations as branches of the area-wide organization. In some cases this will mean affiliating already existing organizations in plants and industries, or at least many of the workers active in these organizations, to the area-wide organizations as branches of it. In some other cases, it will mean that these area-wide organizations will play an important role in establishing organizations in plants or even industries where the Party, for various reasons--including the difficulty of getting jobs--has not been able to place cadre.

At the same time, however, we must guard against the tendency to treat this mechanically. Organization must serve the purpose of developing struggle. In different situations, the level of struggle, and of consciousness, differs. And the relation of organizations in plants and industries to area-wide workers' organizations will have to be determined according to the actual conditions and development of the struggle.

The Party itself must initiate and build organization in plants and industry, and while working to link this with area-wide organization must guard against the tendency to see such area-wide organization or any other form of intermediate organization as THE ONLY form through which the Party does its work in the plants and industries. To take the line of "everything through the intermediate organizations" is in fact to liquidate the leading role of the Party. Only the Party can determine the overall needs of the class struggle at any point. Only the Party can thoroughly sum up the struggle of the working class at each point and determine the main focus and concentration of the struggle. And only the Party can lead the struggle to its final goal of proletarian revolution.

The basic approach of working toward linking organization in plants and industries with area-wide intermediate workers' organizations is the

overall method we must use, once the basis for the area-wide organization exists, and as we are building organization in the plants and industries and building toward area-wide organization. But at the present time, in most places, no such area-wide organization yet exists, and the question before us is how to lay the basis for them out of the actual struggle of the working class and the actual work of the Party.

Keeping in mind the principle that the purpose of organization is to build the struggle, and keeping in mind, on that basis, the goal of building area-wide intermediate organizations as a key force for the class struggle throughout the country, we must be guided by the following basic points:

*We must always keep in mind the aim of building area-wide intermediate workers' organizations, but we must base ourselves on what is possible and will really advance the struggle under the actual conditions at any given time.

*In accordance with the development of the struggle, we must move as quickly as possible to link plant and industry organizations together to form area-wide intermediate workers' organizations. Not to do so would turn these plant and industry organizations into their opposites, into blockades to the development of the struggle of the working class, rather than organizations that advance its struggle and promote its revolutionary interests. We must base our work on the understanding that the working class is one class with one class interest, and that area-wide intermediate workers' organizations will reflect and further the interests and struggle of the working class as one class more fully than plant or industry organizations and will be a tremendously powerful force for the class struggle. Building organization in plants and industries does not, of course, automatically lead to syndicalism and trade unionism, and such organization must be built, but this cannot be opposed to building area-wide organizations and building the struggle of the working class as a whole.

*Establishing an area-wide intermediate workers' organization is not a question of building an in-plant intermediate workers' organization in every shop and then signing them up into an area-wide intermediate workers' organization, but is dialectically related to building organization in plants and industries. Once the basis has been laid for establishing an area-wide intermediate workers' organization, this organization will in turn further the work of building and strengthening organizations in plants and industries, linking them together and enabling them to play a greater role in building the struggle of the workers in the plants and industries as part of the struggle of the working class as a class for itself.

*In the process of developing area-wide intermediate workers' organizations, classwide committees around particular struggles or issues will play an important role.

*Nation-wide committees and/or newsletters which have developed out of concrete struggles in particular industries will also play an important role in developing the struggle and organization of the working class, and the ways must be found to link the area-wide intermediate workers' organ-

izations with these committees and newsletters and the struggles around which they develop.

Through all this, we must also keep firmly in mind and base our work on the guiding principle that the Party must on the one hand put out its line to the masses of workers, showing up the situation and pointing the way forward through its own propaganda and agitation, while on the other hand it must develop and give overall leadership to various forms of mass organizations that can build the struggle of the working class in its masses. As this report has repeatedly stressed, it is through the course of these struggles and the work of communists rooted in them that the masses of workers will come to see the need for revolution and more and more workers will embrace the Party's full Programme.

The Programme of our Party states that "As an important part of its overall struggle, the working class will fight to organize unions, to unite masses of workers in unions in the common battle against the capitalist exploiters, to make unions militant organizations of class struggle, and to replace agents of the bourgeoisie with true representatives of the proletariat in union office." But the Programme also emphasizes that the class struggle cannot be reduced to the struggle for control of the unions and that the working class "cannot restrict its struggle to the limits set by the trade unions at any given time. The policy of the proletariat and its Party is to build its strength in the unions as part of building its revolutionary movement."

The Party must take up the task of organizing unorganized workers into unions, concentrating in a few key industries and carrying this through to make a breakthrough that can be built on and spread. But from the beginning, the Party must work to unite the advanced workers who come forward around this struggle into an organized form (together with Party cadre), to lead the masses in the immediate battle to win unionization and to continue the struggle, both against the company and the union officials, once this beginning battle is won. Not to do so, and not to arm the masses of workers with an understanding that while unionization is an important step forward, it is only one battle in the larger class war, would only mean that we were doing nothing to advance the workers' consciousness beyond elementary trade union consciousness, and more, that we are delivering the workers up to the treachery of the union hacks and ensuring that any immediate victory would be sabotaged.

Through building such battles for unionization and other struggles against the companies in this way, and especially by consolidating the advanced workers into an organized form to give leadership to the struggle of the masses of workers in the plant, we will be able to carry out the policy of "jamming the union officials," while at the same time, linking the struggle in the plant with other struggles of workers and other strata against the ruling class. In this way we will strengthen the basis for area-wide workers organization and for developing the workers' movement into a more class conscious struggle against the imperialist system.

Besides organization based in the plants and unions one of the most important organizations the Party must build is UMOG. It must be our aim to make UMOG a mass organization, in its own right, with its own life;

and this can only be done by leading UMOC to wage militant struggle against the main attacks on the unemployed.

Already, around the country, a number of workers have become active in building UMOC, and we must unite with them to broaden UMOC as a fighting organization of unemployed workers. The main thrust of UMOC must be the battle for jobs. This is crucial in rooting UMOC among unemployed workers who have had a more stable relation to production and who want to work. In raising the main demand, jobs or income, and building struggle around this--through the petition campaign and other forms--the emphasis must be on jobs, with income for those unemployed as the secondary aspect. This is the correct way to carry out the line of the Party, as expressed in the Programme, "Union jobs at union wages--and the same income for those without jobs--this is the uncompromising stand of the working class." But, along with this, UMOC must actively mobilize unemployed workers in the fight against eviction, repossession and other attacks that are mounting all the time.

UMOC cannot be a "social service" organization, bogged down in endless legal battles over grievances. Neither can it be a small propaganda sect "enlightening the unemployed." But UMOC can, by mobilizing the unemployed in struggle and uniting this with the struggle of employed workers, expose and attack the capitalist system around one of the most glaring effects of its basic contradiction.

At the same time, only the Party, and not UMOC as such, can put out the whole picture for the unemployed and point to socialist revolution as the solution to unemployment and the other evils of capitalism. By working to build UMOC in its own right, as a mass, fighting organization of the unemployed, and conducting its own Party propaganda and agitation in this context, the Party will be able to recruit many of the unemployed workers into its own ranks and defeat the efforts of the ruling class, through various phony "progressives," and even open reactionaries, to divert the struggle of the unemployed into dead-end schemes, away from the ruling class and against other workers.

As the Party's Programme states, "the capitalists, especially in times of crisis, do everything they can to pit the employed and unemployed against each other, to use the threat of unemployment as a club against the employed workers' struggles, while using the fact of unemployment to increase competition for jobs, force speed-up and overtime and push down wages. The capitalists try to recruit the unemployed as scabs, and to do so utilize every contradiction that capitalism fosters and maintains among the people--between different nationalities, men and women, rural workers and urban workers, and many others. The working class and its Party answer this with the fighting slogan, "Employed, unemployed, same crisis, same fight!" and mobilize the unemployed behind the battle cry, "We won't scab and we won't starve"

And the Programme speaks of the importance of building employed/unemployed committees in the plants and unions. Already, in several areas, such committees have been built and the struggle of the rank and file has forced the union officials, in some cases, to give in to the demands that these committees be an official part of the union but controlled by the rank and file.

Recently, however, the word has come down in major unions from the International offices that these committees are "the work of communists" and that local union officials should stop them or control them. This itself is further indication of the importance of these committees, in fighting lay-offs and linking the struggle of employed and unemployed workers, and carrying this fight into the unions.

On the other hand, these committees are not important as an end in themselves, but as part of building the fight against layoffs and the unity of employed and unemployed workers. It is with this understanding that we must take up the building of these committees. And even where it is not immediately possible to force the union heads to make them officially part of the union, while keeping control in the hands of the rank and file, we should unite rank and file workers into committees and other forms of organization to carry forward the fight for jobs, in unity with the unemployed and with UWOOC in particular.

The development of area-wide intermediate workers organization will also help to strengthen the unity of employed and unemployed workers. The Party must lead these organizations in taking up the struggle around jobs as one of the major campaigns of the working class. Active fighters who come forward in UWOOC should, together with communists in UWOOC, work to link UWOOC as a whole with these area-wide organizations in major battles against the capitalists.

In the past period, the communist forces, not yet united around a single battle plan, did not approach organizing in industry in a systematic way. But with the formation of the Party this must and can be systematized.

The Party, through its leading bodies, will determine the main industries for concentration and develop the means for carrying this out. The most fundamental basis for determining this concentration is the strategic importance of certain industries and along with this the degree of socialization of the workers. But the Party must also take into account the importance of building struggle in particular industries for the overall class struggle at this time.

At the same time as it carries out such concentration, however, and aims to turn factories into fortresses, especially in strategic basic production, the Party must combat the tendency toward syndicalism--toward viewing the struggle from the point of view of a particular plant, industry, union, instead of from the view of the whole class. That means it must build the struggle in these strategic concentrations as part of the overall class struggle, and while mobilizing the masses of workers to fight the companies and heads of the unions in these industries, must link this with other struggles, not falling behind trade union consciousness but developing the workers' class consciousness.

The application of the "single spark" method, the development of area-wide intermediate workers' organizations, building the struggle of the unemployed and uniting employed and unemployed must be carried out by the Party in combination with its main concentration in strategic industries. And in an overall way the work of the Party on these and other fronts must be developed with the central task of the Party today

firmly in mind--"to build the struggle, class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and develop its leadership of a broad united front against the U.S. imperialists, in the context of the world-wide united front against imperialism aimed at the rulers of the two superpowers." (Party Programme)

As the Party's Programme states, "the solid core of the united front in the U.S. will be the revolutionary alliance of the working class movement as a whole with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities against the common imperialist enemy. The tens of millions of these nationalities who suffer discrimination and other forms of oppression as peoples are, in their great majority, workers, part of the single U.S. proletariat. Their fight for equality and emancipation is bound by a thousand links with the struggle of the working class for socialism, and lends its great strength.

The policy of our Party is to build the fight against national oppression as part of the overall class struggle and to "work at it from two sides." This means that, on the one side we work to mobilize the masses of the oppressed nationalities in the battles against this oppression, while on the other side working to mobilize the whole working class to take up these battles, and at the same time bring forward the revolutionary stand of the working class and the common interest of all workers in fighting exploitation and all oppression and ending their source, capitalism.

How do we correctly apply this policy? We must base our work on the fundamental principle that "where there is oppression there is resistance." This means that in response to discrimination and other attacks on them, masses of the oppressed nationalities will spontaneously fight back. On the other hand, they will also spontaneously tend to follow petty bourgeois and bourgeois forces among their nationality.

We cannot overcome this tendency through sloganeering about how the working class must lead, nor can we defeat petty bourgeois and bourgeois influences PRIMARILY by waging ideological struggle against these influences, though such ideological struggle must be waged. But most of all, we must APPLY the ideology of the working class in these struggles, uniting with the desire and determination of the masses of the oppressed nationalities to fight their oppression and, by applying the mass line, develop policies that will mobilize the broadest masses of people of all nationalities on these battles, uniting all who can be united, and directing the struggle against the source of this oppression, the capitalist system. And together with the masses in these struggles we must persevere in them, win as much as can be won, raise their consciousness in the process, instill in them the outlook of the working class, and recruit into the Party the advanced who come forward and grasp this outlook.

In carrying this out we must rely on and mobilize the masses of workers of the oppressed nationalities as the main force in the struggle of these nationalities and at the same time work to mobilize the broadest number of workers of all nationalities to take up the battles against national oppression as a crucial part of the struggle of the working class -- as a class for itself--against the capitalist class, building the unity of

workers of all nationalities, AS A CLASS, as the most fundamental unity.

In doing this, we will be faced with the fact that there will continue to be uneven development. When a sharp attack comes down on a particular nationality, it will generally be the masses of that nationality that will move first, spontaneously, in the greatest numbers--though this will be so in varying degrees, depending on the concrete conditions. The Party must unite with this resistance and build the struggle as broadly as possible, while directing the fire against the ruling class. But, in order to sustain these struggles and develop proletarian leadership in them it is essential to work from the start to build the unity of workers of all nationalities in these struggles.

The aim of the Party is to unite the working class as one class and to build the broadest possible united front, uniting the masses of people of all nationalities, under the leadership of the working class. This means that our overall objective is to build mass organization that unites people of all nationalities in struggles against imperialism. The Party cannot make a principle out of organization along separate national lines, without giving up its responsibility as the Party of the working class and its role in building one united front under the leadership of the working class. There cannot be any such thing as the revolutionary mass organization for Black people, the revolutionary mass organization for Chicanos, etc.--this approach in fact reduces the united front to a "grand coalition" of separate constituencies, and does not build unity based on the interests and outlook of the working class.

On the other hand, in certain conditions, where it is the best means to advance particular struggles, the Party should unite with people of a particular nationality in forms of organization based among that nationality. In some cases where conditions require it, it will be correct for the Party to initiate such forms, together with active fighters against a particular attack; in other cases, the Party will find it necessary to work in such national forms initiated spontaneously and under petty bourgeois or bourgeois leadership. But in any case, the aim of the Party in carrying out this work must be to work toward linking the masses in these organizations with other forces in the struggle and forging the unity of all who can be united, of all nationalities, organizationally as well as politically, while consistently basing our work on and bringing forward the revolutionary ideology of the working class.

The overall basis for this is to build the movement of the working class as the vanguard fighter against all oppression, including national oppression. The key to this, as stressed before is to develop agitation in connection with actual struggle--agitation linking exploitation in the plant, the outrages and abuses there, to the oppression of workers and other strata and groups throughout society, including especially the oppression of minority nationalities--so that, as Lenin put it, even "the most backward worker will understand or will feel" that these other groups are being "abused and outraged by those same dark forces that are oppressing and crushing him at every step of his life. Feeling that, he himself will be filled with an irresistible desire to react..." (What is to Be Done?, emphasis Lenin's).

And, at any given time, we must unite the advanced workers of all nationalities, in various forms of organization, in the main battles against oppression, including national oppression; rely on and lead them to take those

battles broadly among the workers and among the oppressed nationalities; and build unity between the workers' movement and the movements of the oppressed nationalities through the course of many such battles. This is a long-term process and will not be accomplished overnight--but we must continue to advance it as far as possible through each decisive battle.

At the same time, we must base our work on the understanding that it is primarily in the class struggle itself--the struggle of the working class as a class for itself--that workers of all nationalities will develop their class consciousness and unity. Merging the national movements with the workers movement as the core of the united front must and can be done only as part of the overall process of mobilizing the working class as a whole in the all-around fight against the capitalist system, bringing to the fore the basic class conflict in society and pointing the way to proletarian revolution as the only means to resolve this conflict. This is the basis on which we lead the working class in taking up the fight against all oppression, including national oppression--not because the working class is a missionary group, or the "best liberals," but because it is the only revolutionary class, and can emancipate itself only by emancipating all humanity, can overthrow its exploiters only by building the broadest united front against them, under the leadership of its Party.

In this light it is important to point out that the tendency to fall after bourgeois nationalism among the oppressed nationalities constitutes at the present time the main deviation in the Party around the national question. While communists in the recent past have waged considerable struggle against this tendency--and at the same time have continued to struggle against white chauvinism--this struggle has only begun to get to the roots of this deviation.

This is shown in the events in Boston where the tendency to regard all white workers opposing the busing plan as "just racists," revealed itself very strongly, even among the genuine communists. And it is shown in the fact that many comrades still regard the struggle against national oppression as THE IMPORTANT STRUGGLE and are strongly influenced by the notion that the working class should be "the best of all liberals" and fight national oppression from that standpoint.

At its basis, this deviation reflects the thinking that, when all is said and done it is not the working class, after all, that is the only truly revolutionary force in society, but it is Black people, or the oppressed nationalities, separate from the rest of the working class. Or, it may find expression in the idea that, "yes, the working class is the revolutionary force, but"--but it is not really the working class because "there is something about those white workers"--blaming them, rather than the ruling class in fact, for attacks on the oppressed nationalities and for chauvinist ideology. Along with this is the continuing tendency to overestimate the CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS of workers of the oppressed nationalities--or to confuse national consciousness with class consciousness--which explains why many comrades still are surprised when workers of the oppressed nationalities are influenced by petty bourgeois or bourgeois forces of their nationality. It is the duty of our Party to develop class consciousness among workers of all nationalities, and we can only perform that duty by rooting out deviations from the ideology of the working class in our own ranks, in the course of building the struggle of the working class.

On the other hand, among the masses the main danger around the national question is white chauvinism--though bourgeois nationalist tendencies among the oppressed nationalities do have significant influence. Among the masses white chauvinism is overall the main danger because it is a tendency in the direction of unity with the bourgeoisie of the dominant nation--the ruling bourgeoisie in society--and because, simply put, the masses of white people, not the oppressed nationalities, make up the majority in society. But we can overcome white chauvinist influences among white workers only with the proletarian class stand and the application of proletarian ideology in concrete struggle--and definitely not with a holy moral crusade based on tailing after the tendency to bourgeois nationalism. Once again the important principle here is that it is in the course of building the workers' movement into a class conscious revolutionary movement, and building the struggle against national oppression as part of the overall class struggle, that we will be able to overcome white chauvinism, and also bourgeois nationalism and other influences of bourgeois ideology among the masses.

In the fight against national oppression, as with other aspects of its work, the Party must systematize and concentrate its work, and the struggle of the masses, around the main lines of battle. At the present time, these battles shape up mainly in the fight against discrimination--in work and throughout society--against police repression and terror, and against deportation.

With unemployment growing and speed-up and harassment intensifying on the job, minority workers are hit especially hard. Discrimination in hiring, promotion and in firing are at the heart of this. Spontaneously, and with the conscious work of petty bourgeois and bourgeois forces among the oppressed nationalities (as well as certain opportunist "communists"), many minority workers tend to see this simply from a nationalist point of view and are influenced by schemes that aim to equalize the misery--and divide the class--such as "super-seniority." These schemes re-inforce the bourgeoisie's line that the fight against discrimination is a fight against white workers--a line which spontaneously, and because of the bourgeoisie's propaganda, many white workers are influenced by.

While rejecting and fighting such schemes--and the outlook they represent--the Party must actively take up and mobilize the working class in the fight against discrimination, and must build struggle for the upgrading of minority workers held in the lowest job categories, while directing the spearhead against the capitalists and forcing them to pay. Instead of "super-seniority," the demand that the working class and the Party must raise is No Lay-Offs!--and we must build active struggle around this, uniting workers of all nationalities. Again, the key to this is that comrades must be good at developing agitation around particular abuses that highlight for the masses the whole chain of outrages, and must organize this anger into militant, disciplined struggle--including, as a key part of this, struggle against discrimination in various forms on the job.

As our Party's Programme points out, besides discrimination on the job, national oppression comes down in the fact that the oppressed nationalities are forced into "the bottom of the housing barrel, the worst of bad health care and other social services." As the crisis deepens, social services for the masses will continue to go from bad to worse--as reflected dramatically in the bankruptcy of New York City and the closing of many schools, among other things. And the oppressed nationalities are especially hard hit in this area too.

The bourgeoisie's answer--as seen in Boston and other places--will be to attempt to force the masses to fight among themselves, telling white workers to protect what little they have "from the minorities," and promoting among the minorities the line that they should "take it from the white workers, who are keeping it from you." The Party must mobilize the masses of people to smash through these divide and conquer schemes, building active struggle, uniting the masses of all nationalities around the demands, "No cutbacks in social services, fight for better health care, education and other social services...Fight for decent housing and neighborhoods"--and in that context build the fight against discrimination and around the demand for "Equality in education and all social services," directing the spearhead against the capitalist class.

This struggle will take many forms--rent strikes, demonstrations at hospitals, against government agencies, school boards, etc. And in all these battles the Party must build unity between the struggles of the people in the community and the workers, and others who can be united with (teachers, professionals, etc.) in the hospitals, schools, etc.

Police terror has become all the more widespread and vicious as the imperialist crisis deepens. While police repression is a fact of life in all working class communities--and it is not correct to say "police shoot down minorities in their communities, and white workers get it on the picket line (only)," police terror is especially severe at this time in the communities of the oppressed nationalities.

Why? Because, with unemployment on a massive scale in many of these communities and housing and social services crumbling at the most rapid rate, the ruling class needs to terrorize the people to forcibly keep them in this situation and to beat back struggle against these conditions. On the other hand, in communities that it plans to "redevelop," etc. the ruling class also concentrates police terror with the aim of driving people out. While all this affects many working class communities, the oppressed nationalities are especially hard hit.

At the same time, the ruling class seizes on the fact that these conditions, and the desperation they create among many, leads to widespread crime, especially in the communities of the oppressed nationalities. Using street crime as a pretext, the ruling class intensifies its terror of these communities as a whole. As the Party's Programme states, "Capitalist society, which is based on the robbery of the working class by the bourgeoisie, breeds crime on all levels. The capitalists themselves are the greatest criminals of all time, and there is no way they can eliminate crime."

Workers in their communities--and this is especially so in the ghettos and barrios of the oppressed nationalities--are caught between the terror of the lumpenproletariat and the even greater terror of the police, who generally work hand in hand with the "street criminals." Communists should take up the question of how to mobilize the masses--in communities of the oppressed nationalities and other communities where workers face this situation in their neighborhoods--to organize self-defense, in all forms, against both the criminals and police repression and terror.

This must be done by applying the mass line--organizing the anger of the masses themselves in a disciplined way, and relying on the masses--and not through any individualism of communists, substituting for the action of the masses themselves. It must be built as one part of the broader struggle, in many forms, including mass demonstrations and other mass actions, against police repression and terror, and in the context of the overall struggle against the imperialist system and of the main concentration of that struggle and the Party's work now. In the course of this communists must direct the spearhead of the struggle against the real enemies of the working class and combat tendencies to vigilanteism.

In taking up this fight, the Party must also combat schemes for "community control of police" or utopian ideas such as "eliminating police from the Black community" or "Black cops for the Black community," which can in no way unite the masses of people to resist police terror and repression, and hit at its source, the capitalist system. More, while actively joining with the masses in struggle in many forms against this repression and terror, the Party must expose the role of the police as an armed force of bourgeois dictatorship, a main pillar of the capitalist state, and point to proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship as the only way to eliminate police terror and the other evils of capitalism.

In recent years, the ruling class has stepped up deportations of immigrants, carrying this out through a campaign of harassment and terror, both in the communities and work places. This is directly tied to the growing crisis, which like all capitalist crisis leads to a widespread situation where, as Marx and Engels put it in the "Communist Manifesto," the capitalist class is unable "to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him instead of being fed by him."

The answer of the ruling class is to intensify its exploitation and attacks on the working class, but in the case of immigrant workers, one of the main forms this takes is to force them out of the country, so that the bourgeoisie has fewer workers that it must "feed, instead of being fed by." At the same time, the ruling class tries to make use of its terror campaign of deportations to further divisions within the working class, especially between American and foreign-born workers in this case.

The Party must organize the working class to answer this attack with militant struggle. We must organize resistance, in the communities and right on the shop floor, when the Immigration Department attempts to carry out its raids. To simply conduct propaganda about this outrage and to do nothing to build struggle to stop it, especially when it happens right where communists work, is not to act as communists, but to fail to give leadership to the working class in meeting this attack.

And beyond building such active resistance to immediate raids and attacks, the policy of the working class and the Party must be to actively involve all immigrant workers in the unions, other organizations and struggles of the working class and to expose and combat the chauvinist propaganda of the ruling class that puts the blame for the crisis, for unemployment and the suffering of the working class on foreign workers. As in all struggles, we must direct the spearhead squarely against the real enemy--the capitalist class and the capitalist system of exploitation--and unite the working class, together with its allies, in struggle against this enemy.

By concentrating our struggle against national oppression in these main areas now, and by applying the policy of the Party in the struggle against national oppression--"working at it from two sides" and building the struggle against national oppression as part of the overall class struggle in the way summarized earlier--we will enable the working class to make the greatest strides toward merging the workers' movement and the movements of the oppressed nationalities as the core of the united front under the leadership of the working class and the Party. This will be a key part of advancing the struggle of the working class, leading all who can be united, toward the goal of proletarian revolution.

While concentrating our main work in the struggle of the proletariat itself, it is also important for the Party to work among all strata, all social movements against the ruling class, in order to build the broadest possible united front. But, especially in working among these strata and in these movements it is decisive to keep firmly in mind that the united front is the proletariat's strategy for making revolution--the united front is not, as the Party's Programme emphasizes, "a 'grand coalition' of 'different constituencies,' nor is it built by piecing together different 'united fronts' of separate groups--'Black United Front,' 'Women's United front,' 'United Front of the Trade Unions,' etc. The united front is the overall political plan of the proletariat for bringing together under its leadership all possible social forces and movements, in order to concentrate the most powerful blows against the ruling class and defeat it...The policy of the proletariat and its Party in building the united front against imperialism under its leadership is: to unite with those engaging in every such battle; to make clear through the course of those struggles the common enemy and the common cause of the masses of people; to develop fighters on one front against the enemy into fighters on all fronts; and to show how all these contradictions arise from and relate to the basic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and can only be finally resolved through the revolutionary resolution of this basic contradiction--the seizure of power by the proletariat and the continuation of the revolution to the elimination of classes and class conflict."

In carrying out this work, comrades must firmly base themselves on and bring forward, the ideology of the proletariat and no other class. On the other hand, they must be good at applying this ideology in a living way in any particular situation to develop policies that can mobilize the greatest numbers of people in struggle, direct the spearhead of the struggle against the imperialist enemy and unite all who can be united against this enemy in the process.

One of the Party's most important areas of work is developing struggle and revolutionary organization among youth, and students. As our Party's Programme states, "The problems of youth, however, are growing. Not only is it harder to get into and stay in school, but with or without a high school or college diploma, jobs are hard to find. The unemployment rate for young people is several times the general rate, and is even higher for Black and Latin youth. In addition, young people face legal inequality, police harassment, and the threat of having to be cannon fodder in an imperialist war. But the most basic problem the masses of young people face is the fact that imperialism is unable to offer them a life with a purpose... There is only one path that offers youth a genuine opportunity to put to use its enthusiasm, its innovativeness, its daring and its determination to change the world--proletarian revolution. Here and only here will they genuinely find a life with a purpose."

Taking this into account, in the context of the overall tasks and main concentration of the Party's work in the period ahead, the Party must assign cadre to work systematically among youth--to unite with the broad masses of youth in struggle around the main questions facing youth, to develop mass organization of youth, especially working class youth, to carry forward these struggles, and link them with the overall fight against imperialism, led by the working class and the Party. And through the course of this, the Party must work to build communist organization among youth.

While our objective is to recruit, develop and train advanced workers, young and old, as Party cadre, we must take into account the special characteristics of youth--both the positive aspects of daring, determination to make change, to refuse to accept things the way they are, etc. and, secondarily, the negative aspect that they have not yet developed the discipline and experience that the proletariat gains in production and class struggle. To deal with this correctly, we must develop a communist youth organization that is separate from but under the leadership of the Party and will--as the Party's arm among youth--enable more and more young people to fight for the working class in a thoroughgoing way and to find "a life with a purpose," while enabling the Party to work with them in a systematic way, help even the most advanced to become more steered in struggle, and recruit the most dedicated and disciplined into the Party.

The general policy of the Party, however, should not be to steer young workers into this organization, if they are in the plants and other work places, or if they have had experience in production and class struggle and have, through this experience and the work of communists, developed class consciousness and want to act as communist cadre. Instead, these workers should be recruited directly into the Party itself.

The main base of the communist youth organization will be working class youth in schools, including high schools, among the unemployed--especially those who have not worked at all, or have had only an unstable relation to production, etc. At the same time, while its main base must be among working class youth, this communist youth organization will also include youth from other strata--particularly students--who take up the stand of the working class and want to fight for proletarian revolution.

Such non-working youth, especially students, despite differences in class background, do share many of the same characteristics as working class youth--especially the desire and search for a life with a purpose, and the daring and determination to change the world. But these nonproletarian youth must take up the outlook of the working class in joining the communist youth organization--this organization cannot be a "united front organization," representing different and conflicting class viewpoints, but a communist organization, representing and serving the struggle of the working class.

The Party, on the basis of summing up the development of revolutionary organization among students--and specifically the Revolutionary Student Brigade--in recent years, has adapted the policy of transforming the RSB into a communist student organization at this time. The RSB developed in a period when, overall, the level of struggle and organization among masses of students was not at the same place as it was in the late 1960's. On the one hand, there was not the same broad struggle--nor the sharp focus, such as the Vietnam war, or the rising tide of Black liberation struggle--that masses of students were in motion around, at the high point of the student movement

in the 60's. On the other hand, with the growing crisis of imperialism and the intensifying attacks on not only the working class, but also other strata, including students--there has developed among students broadly a general recognition that something is rotten with the whole system, but that fighting it is serious business, and that students cannot by themselves, or as the main force, make fundamental change.

This means that, on the one hand, it has been more difficult than at the high point of the '60s, to develop broad-based struggle among students. But on the other hand it has also meant that where students have gone into struggle, it has often been with even more seriousness and determination than in the past. All this, coupled with the growth and development of the workers' movement, has meant that students who have come forward and remained active in many struggles, who have shown a strong desire to fight the imperialist system on all fronts, are also demanding basic answers about the nature of the struggle and the relation between the student movement and the overall revolutionary struggle against imperialism. And more and more these students look to the working class as the leading force in the struggle.

In this situation the RSB has played an important role in building struggle among students, in uniting white and minority students in this struggle, and in consolidating the advanced forces into revolutionary organization. But, under the particular circumstances summarized above, this consolidation has not been thorough enough and has represented a kind of "combining two into one."

Most of the students who have joined the RSB, as a "revolutionary" organization (with "revolutionary" vaguely defined), have had--and must have had--a very advanced understanding of the nature of the struggle, but objectively, most of them have been able to advance only so far--to "anti-imperialist" or "revolutionary" understanding--and no farther--not to a full communist understanding, even though they are reaching for this understanding. So, while most of the students active in the RSB have considered themselves communists, in a general sense, they have tried to water this down, in working among other students--and even in discussion within the RSB--in order to fit in with the "anti-imperialist" (or vague "revolutionary") level of the RSB, as it has been in the past.

In other words, most of the members of the RSB in the recent past have considered themselves and wanted to be communists, but they have not been developed and trained as such in any systematic way (except for the small number who have developed to the point of being actually ready to act as disciplined communist cadre). At the same time, the RSB, as it has been in the past, has had difficulty in uniting with broad masses of students in struggle, partly due to the errors of the RSB and the communist cadre playing the leading role within it, but also partly due to the fact that the RSB represented a very advanced level on the one hand--"revolution," vaguely defined--but on the other hand tried to keep itself "open-ended," and serve as the mass organization for students who became active in struggle.

To correct this particular "combination of two into one," the Party must carry through the consolidation of the RSB, transforming it into a communist student organization, and lead it in applying the mass line--through the application of communist theory--among the broad ranks of students. And the Party must continually recruit into its ranks the best, the staunchest, most dedicated and disciplined members of this organization--

those who show in practice that they have taken up the qualities and outlook characteristic of the working class.

But in carrying out this policy the Party, and its cadre in student work, must combat the tendency to see this as a "cure-all," or treat it as a gimmick--a way of "upping the ante" in the face of problems, instead of actually applying Marxism-Leninism to solving these problems. Cadre active among students--as in all areas of work--must deepen their ability to unite with broad numbers of people in struggle and persevere in these struggles, together with the masses of students.

Transforming the RSB into a communist student organization will not, in and of itself, overcome the difficulties and errors of the past in leading students in struggle. This can only be done by more thoroughly and correctly applying the mass line among students. A communist student organization will be in a better position than the RSB, in its past form, to do this. But this organization, and Party cadre within it, will still be faced with the task of doing painstaking work among students and, on the basis of uniting with and leading them in struggles around questions of sharp concern to students, link their struggles with others against the imperialist system and raise their consciousness in the process.

In order to carry this out this communist student organization must work to develop other, broader mass organizations among students. The life and form of these mass organizations will depend on the development of both particular struggles among students and of the student movement, as part of the overall revolutionary movement, as a whole. The Party, and its cadre among students, must guard against mechanical tendencies in developing this--and specifically against the tendency to sum up from the particular experience of the RSB in the recent past that it is impossible to develop mass organization that unites students in fighting around particular questions and, through this organization, linking these fights and directing the spearhead against the enemy.

In other words, we cannot take the approach that the ONLY kinds of student organization that can be developed, under any set of circumstances, are on the one hand communist organization among students, and on the other hand mass student organization around "single issues" or particular struggles. As the struggle of the working class and the overall fight against imperialism develops, the student movement is bound to develop as part of this. The Party, and its cadre active among students, must continually apply the mass line to develop struggles of students and the appropriate organizational forms among students at any time to build these struggles and carry them forward as far and as broadly as possible, linking them with other struggles against imperialism and developing "fighters on one front into fighters on all fronts," as an important part of building the united front under the leadership of the working class and the Party.

What is the correct relationship between developing communist organization among students at this time and developing communist youth organization based mainly among working class youth? Though it is necessary to consolidate a communist student organization at this time for the reasons summarized above, this organization cannot serve as the main vehicle for the Party--its main arm--in building communist youth organization. Nor can we make another "two into one combination" and say that the communist student organization, combined with the small number of working class youth who are ready to join a communist youth organization at this time, can constitute the communist youth organization.

This would mean, in practice, that these working class youth would be "swamped" by the mainly petty bourgeois base of the communist student organization, and it would make it that much more difficult to build communist organization based mainly among working class youth. Instead, our policy must be to consolidate and build the communist student organization on the one hand, and at the same time to assign Party cadre to work separately among working class youth to build mass struggle and the basis for communist youth organization there. Our goal must be to unite these separate forms into one communist youth organization, once a strong enough basis has been laid and communist organization built up among working class youth. The organizational merger of these two forms must be accomplished on the basis of developing communist organization among working class youth as the main form and in this way laying the basis for forging a single communist youth organization, based mainly among working class youth, in the future.

The error of "combining two into one" has also showed itself strongly in the work of communists in the past period in the area of propaganda and culture. And this error is especially deadly in this area--because it is exactly here that the ideology of the working class and the fact that proletarian revolution is the answer to the evils of capitalism must be fully and forcefully expressed.

This error has shown itself particularly in the "anti-imperialist workers papers," which have frequently fallen into presenting a "third ideology"--"anti-imperialism." In fact, there can be no such "third ideology," and the result of these errors has been that the need to fight imperialism was brought forward, but the need to overthrow it and replace it with the rule of the working class and socialism was not consistently or thoroughly explained, leaving the impression that the contradictions that bring people into motion against imperialism can be solved under imperialism--which, in the final analysis, is bourgeois ideology. Coupled with this there has often been the tendency to present "socialism" as separate from the struggle of the working class--the special concern of communists, divorced from the working class.

One result and manifestation of these errors in the "anti-imperialist workers papers" has been the way in which the role of communists has been presented in these papers. Despite the fact that communists have played the leading role in these papers, often the "Who We Are" editorials and similar statements in the papers have apologized for the presence of communists--"well, we have these communists, but we keep them in line," has often been the way it has come off.

On the basis of summing up this error, this can and must be changed. These papers should be the voice of the Party in the local area and be openly led by Party members. This does not mean that they should say on the masthead, "Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party," (though it should be made clear in the papers themselves that they are the voice of the RCP). Nor does it mean that these papers should be the "local version of REVOLUTION," or try to fulfill exactly the same function as REVOLUTION.

What it does mean is that these papers should put out the Party's line, with their major emphasis on shorter, agitational articles about local and regional struggles and the development of national campaigns and struggles

in the area. These papers should also, as their secondary emphasis, put out the Party's line on major questions of the day, nationally and internationally; and they should run some broader propaganda articles summing up the general situation and the road forward for the working class, and explaining, in popular form, important questions of communist theory.

These papers should solicit articles and letters from workers not in the Party and should strive to have many non-Party people active in distributing them inside work places, at plant gates, unemployment offices, in the communities, etc. People not in the Party should also be encouraged, on the basis of agreement with the Party's line, to work actively on the staff of these papers. But, once again, the fundamental point is that these papers must put out the line of the Party and put forward the stand of the working class and no other.

Under the direction of the Central Committee of the Party (and its standing bodies) a news service will be developed to assist the local papers. This news service will issue several articles centrally each month to the local papers on key questions and struggles (as well as sending other materials, such as pictures, etc.) This will strengthen the Party's leadership in the local papers and the presentation of the unified line of the Party on these key questions and struggles, and it will aid comrades leading these papers to present the struggle in the local area in the overall context of the struggle of the working class as a whole.

REVOLUTION is openly the organ of the Central Committee of the Party. As such its role is to put out to Party members, advanced workers and others who look to the Party for leadership, the line of the Party on major questions and important struggles for the working class as a whole, in this country and internationally; to explain lines and policies of the Party and important questions of theory; to expose and reveal the class nature of the enemies of the working class, both outside and within the ranks of the working class movement; to sum up developments around major campaigns of the Party; and to sum up key areas and key examples of the Party's work.

REVOLUTION cannot, of course, take the place of inner-Party directives from the Central Committee (and its standing bodies), summing up the work of the Party, dealing with inner-Party struggle, and so on. And it cannot be a separate center of leadership, summing up the struggle of the working class and the work of the Party on its own, for this could create the basis for it to become a second center, a bourgeois headquarters. But, under the direct leadership of the Central Committee (and its standing bodies), and as the organ of the Central Committee, REVOLUTION can and must put out the line of the Party around major questions confronting the working class, in the way summarized above.

We should encourage advanced workers to read both REVOLUTION and the local papers, and, along with Party members, to make use of the local paper as a tool to reach large numbers of intermediate workers in their plants and communities.

The Party, in addition to REVOLUTION and the local papers, will also publish a theoretical journal on a regular basis, several times a year. And

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it will, of course, put out many agitational leaflets and produce many pamphlets, dealing with particular questions and struggles and their relation to the overall class struggle, in popular form. Through such leaflets, pamphlets, and the broad use of the local papers, the Party will not only strengthen its work in shops where it has cadre, but will also be able in many cases to make contact and develop ties with workers in important shops where the Party has not been able to place cadre.

While, in the past, the work of communists in the area of culture, as well as propaganda, has fallen frequently into "combining two into one" (Anti-imperialism" and catering to the petty bourgeoisie), there have also been increasingly more positive examples of proletarian culture and propaganda--in music, film and other fields--that have put forward the stand of the working class around important questions and struggles in a powerful and popular way. Where this has been done it has been enthusiastically embraced by masses of workers and has served as an inspiration and impetus to their struggles. The Party must build on and give more systematic leadership to this, while also bringing forward and developing more and more cultural workers from among the ranks of the masses themselves, especially the working class.

As the Party's Programme states, "In their daily struggles the masses of people create the embryonic forms of this (proletarian) culture, and it is the task of the Party and its cultural workers to encourage and guide their growth and multiply them among the masses." The Party must take this up as a key front in the class struggle, and, through its leading bodies, sum up experience in this field and develop and guide an army of cultural fighters.

The bourgeoisie is continually bombarding the masses of people through its media and decadent art forms, trying to spread and encourage cynicism, individualism, defeatism and all kinds of degeneracy and backward ideas. The Party's tools of propaganda and culture must be strong and sharp, to assist and lead the working class in building its struggle to demolish the bourgeoisie and replace its filth and lies with the militant and scientific understanding of the proletariat. This is a crucial part of carrying out the Party's tasks today, building the struggle of the working class into a revolutionary movement of millions and leading it forward to its final goal.

ON SOME BASIC ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS, METHODS OF WORK AND METHODS OF LEADERSHIP

The formation of the Party represents a qualitative advance for the proletariat and its communist leadership, organizationally as well as ideologically and politically. This is so because "The Party reflects and concentrates the organization and discipline of the working class itself, and steels it with an iron will in the struggle against capitalism." (Party Programme). To do this the Party must now organize its forces to carry out its line and policies in the most unified, concentrated and systematic way.

The ideological basis for this is that all comrades must put the interests of the working class, as represented by the Party, first, and shoulder whatever responsibilities the Party's work requires. Only in this way can the Party play its vanguard role; in particular, only in this way can it achieve the necessary concentration in key industries and areas of struggle and develop newer and weaker areas, especially those that have particular importance for the class struggle, and focus its forces and the struggle of the masses on the key battles in the period ahead.

The general principles of organization of the Party are summarized in the Party's Constitution, which should be studied and discussed by the whole Party (and all new recruits in the future). But what is especially important to take up in this report is the relationship between democracy and centralism in the Party.

In the past there has been some confusion among comrades about which is the principal aspect, democracy or centralism. It is crucial that all Party members not only grasp that, in an overall sense, democracy is the principal aspect, but grasp firmly why this is so and what it means for the work of the Party and criticism and struggle within the Party.

Democracy and centralism form a contradiction, a unity of opposites. It is not possible to fully develop the one without the other, and there can never be all democracy or all centralism (though the relation of the aspects can change, so that sometimes centralism is principal over democracy.) Democracy means, in essence, the initiative of cadre, the flow of ideas, opinions, criticism, etc. from the whole membership to the Party leadership (the Party "center"). Centralism, in essence, is the centralization, the concentration of correct ideas, the summing up by leadership of the opinions, criticisms, etc. of the whole membership, through the organized structure of the Party. On the basis of this whole process, the Party unites in will and action to lead the proletariat and the broad masses in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

If there is no initiative from the cadre, no flow of ideas, criticisms, etc. to the "center" of the Party, then how can the center concentrate correct ideas? It is the cadre, the membership as a whole, and not a few leading members, who have the most direct and broadest contact with the masses and the class struggle. This is the SOURCE of correct ideas and correct lines and policies for the Party.

On the other hand, the center is in the best position to sum up the flow

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of ideas, etc. from the membership, through the application of Marxism-Leninism. Leading comrades are selected for their posts exactly on the basis of demonstrated ability to apply Marxism-Leninism to develop lines and policies to advance the class struggle.

But, in order to give this leadership, these comrades must also be linked, through the Party, with the masses, to the greatest degree possible. They must not simply develop general lines but must unite with comrades on the lower levels and, through the organized structure of the Party, give particular guidance in carrying out these policies, enriching their own understanding and the knowledge of the whole Party in the process.

The correct understanding of the relationship between democracy and centralism -- grasping that, in an overall sense, democracy is principal and why -- is rooted in the fundamental question, where do correct ideas come from? In other words, in the correct, Marxist understanding of the relationship between practice and theory. The correct functioning of democratic centralism is fundamentally a question of ideological and political line -- the flow and correct concentration of ideas, through the application of Marxism-Leninism, and the uniting of the whole Party to carry out its lines and policies based on this.

We must learn from the weaknesses and mistakes of the Communist Party USA even when it was a revolutionary organization. As the Programme of our Party points out, there developed a strong tendency in the Communist Party to regard theory as the province of the leadership only, while at the same time the leadership isolated itself more and more from the Party membership and the actual struggle of the working class. This amounts to nothing less than the separation of theory from practice, which, if it is persisted in, can only lead to revisionism.

In such circumstances Party leadership becomes more and more based on bourgeois standards and bourgeois politics. Party leaders become more and more concerned with protecting their privileged position -- for that is what leadership becomes in this situation -- and less and less concerned with linking themselves, and the whole Party, with the working class and leading its struggle to the revolutionary goal by applying Marxism-Leninism, and practicing the mass line. They begin to think and act like the bourgeoisie -- it is not by accident that, when the CP went thoroughly revisionist in the 1950s, many (though not all) of the top CP leaders were engaged in sharp factional disputes to determine who would get what share of the considerable funds donated to the Party.

As the Programme of our Party emphasizes, summing up the betrayal by the Communist Party, it is essential, in order to prevent such bourgeois corruption, to consistently follow the policy of "Linking the Party as a whole, including its leadership, with the masses, and conducting struggle throughout the Party to determine the correct line based on the study of Marxism-Leninism and its application to the actual situation." The whole Party must take this up as a life and death question, a dividing line between Marxism and revisionism, between serving and betraying the working class; and on this basis, through the struggle to grasp and apply the correct ideological and political line, the Party membership as a whole must supervise the Party leadership.

To sum up this point: the structure of the Party must be both a chain

of knowledge as well as a chain of command. The center of the Party must apply Marxism-Leninism to learn from and concentrate the ideas and opinions of the whole Party through its main and all leading bodies, on all levels, must do the same "on the way up." And comrades on all levels must apply Marxism-Leninism to develop and "send up" ideas, opinions, criticism, etc. even while they unite to carry "down" through the Party and out among the masses the lines and policies that have been set by higher bodies--and in this aspect of "carrying down and carrying out" they must apply Marxism-Leninism to carry out these lines and policies in a living way, under centralized guidance and with a unified line, in the actual conditions of their work. The organizational formulation of this can be summarized as "criticize up, carry out down"--and this must be a constant process.

All of this does not mean, of course, that the Party does not need discipline. Democracy, in the proletarian sense, does not mean ultra-democracy, individualism--anybody can say and do whatever they want, regardless of the line of the Party, as developed by its leadership. Such individualism and ultra-democracy fundamentally denies the principles that collective wisdom is greater than individual wisdom. It denies that knowledge, concentrated through the structure of the Party, up to the highest level, by the application of Marxism-Leninism, is a higher form of knowledge than the ideas and opinions of any particular member, small group, or part of the Party.

Beyond that it denies the principle that the importance of knowing the world is to change it, and that in changing it one comes to know it more deeply. It denies that the purpose of the Party in developing lines and policies is to arm its members and the masses with them so that the masses can change the world through class struggle, and that in order for this to happen the whole Party must carry out its policies with an iron unity and discipline. Unless this is done there is no way to test the correctness of lines and policies in practice, to sum up, overcome errors and weaknesses and build on what is correct, in order to advance the struggle of the working class.

The correct understanding of democratic centralism is especially important at this time, when the Party has just been formed. The Party is now faced with the task of solidifying itself into an iron-like vanguard, organizationally as well as ideologically and politically. To do this, the Party must overcome tendencies toward "federationism"--loyalty not to the Party, and to the working class, as a whole, but to a particular region, local area or other part of the Party. Linked to this the Party must overcome tendencies to "departmentalism"--concern only with one's particular area or work, putting it above the work of the Party and the interests of the class as a whole. These tendencies are only an organizational expression of pragmatism, which is bourgeois ideology and which if it is not corrected leads to revisionism in line and to factionalism in organizational affairs.

The Party can overcome such tendencies, and primitiveness in its work and methods of leadership, only by consciously applying proletarian principles of organization, proletarian methods of work and methods of leadership. The forces of the Party must be re-organized to achieve uniform structure, unified centralized leadership and what Mao Tsetung calls "better troops and simpler administration." This means that the organization of the Party and the bodies on the various levels, must be "streamlined" to develop and apply the line of the Party, concentrating in the key areas of work and

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struggle, AND TO CARRY IT OUT BROADLY AMONG THE MASSES, SURROUNDING THE PARTY AND ITS MEMBERS WITH THE MASSES AND IMMERSING ALL CADRES AMONG THE MASSES TO THE GREATEST DEGREE.

Meetings, on all levels, should not be held too often, and should be well planned by the leadership of the unit or level concerned, to concentrate on key questions and struggles at any time and go into them thoroughly--grasping the main questions of line involved and on that basis summing up the work and the main developments around these key questions and struggles and developing general guidelines for the work of the entire unit. The units should study Marxism-Leninism with particular problems and discussions in mind, linking theory with practice in a living way. But, in addition, comrades should study on their own, according to overall guidelines for political education developed by the leadership of the Party.

The Party must handle organizational affairs well and organize meetings and the work of all units so that the whole Party and all of its members, including leading members, are linked more and more closely with the masses and rooted in the struggle of the working class, in order to carry out the Party's tasks--this is a most important principle. Leading comrades, especially full-time cadre, must not "sit in their office" (or home) all the time waiting for reports to come in, as Mao Tsetung puts it. They must actively investigate the actual situation, hold discussions with other comrades in their units and areas of responsibility and, to the greatest degree possible, take part together with them in work among the masses.

This is especially important for comrades in positions of national leadership. In giving leadership to a particular area of work, or to the overall work of the Party, these comrades must "go down" to the lower levels and units concerned and "combine learning with leading," as Mao Tsetung formulates it. As Mao stresses, this means giving "personal guidance to those in charge to find concrete solutions for the practical problems facing those units...No one in a leading position is competent to give general guidance to all the units unless he derives concrete experience from particular individuals and events in particular subordinate units. This method must be promoted everywhere so that leading cadres at all levels learn to apply it."

And, as Mao further emphasizes, in doing this leading comrades must "in all cases go through the leader of the lower organization concerned so that he may assume responsibility; in this way both division of labor and unified centralized leadership are achieved. A department at a higher level should not go solely to its counterpart at the lower level...leaving the person in over-all charge in the lower organization...in ignorance or without responsibility. Both the person in over-all charge and the person with specific responsibility should be informed and given responsibility."

Carrying out these principles is essential for the Party, in order to fulfill its role as the vanguard of the working class--its organized advanced detachment. The Party is not an end in itself but is (as our Party's Programme states) "the instrument through which the working class wields its weapons of class struggle" and through whose leadership the working class is able to "become conscious of itself as a class, and to know and change the world in accordance with its revolutionary interests"--to achieve its historic mission.

Comrades!

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It is with this in mind that the whole Party must unite to carry out its line and the tasks set forth in this report. As stated at the beginning of this report, the formation of the Party is both the product of the struggle of the masses, first and foremost the working class, and in turn represents a great advance for the struggle of the working class.

The Party is the vanguard of the working class, but it must establish its leadership in the thick of the actual struggles of the working class, becoming itself more and more deeply rooted in and firmly bound to the working class as it leads the struggle forward toward the goal of proletarian revolution--learning from the masses while teaching them.

As was also emphasized at the beginning of this report, the situation for the working class is growing more and more favorable, as it grows more and more desperate for the imperialists. This places great responsibilities, as well as great opportunities, before the Party, as the vanguard of the working class.

To meet these responsibilities, to enable the working class to take the greatest advantage of the opportunities and make the greatest advances toward its revolutionary goal in the face of all difficulties and dangers the whole Party and all of its members must stand with both feet firmly in the working class, give our hearts completely over to the masses, our heads to the study and application of the revolutionary science of the proletariat, and our whole selves, body and soul, to the struggle of the working class to emancipate itself and all humanity.

FORWARD WITH THE WORKERS IN THEIR MILLIONS TOWARD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!