

INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE FOR A DISCUSSION TOWARDS DEVELOPING AN ORGANIZATIONAL STRATEGY ON PARTY BUILDING

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\* This outline is drawn up as a guide to facilitate discussion and struggle on the question of "How will the Party come into being?" The Outline does not discuss the present international and domestic situation, nor does it examine in detail the ideological and political state of the present communist movement. It does outline four topics to be discussed and developed on the basis of further investigation, study and struggle:  
1. General Development of the Communist Movement. 2. Obstacles on the Path to be Overcome. 3. Three Roads, One Party. 4. Practical Steps to be Taken.

I. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Comrades! Let us begin by quoting from the BWC's Outline Study Guide on Party Building: "Our organization grew out of the spontaneous struggles of the masses of people against national and class oppression. In the U.S. like the rest of the advanced capitalist countries, bourgeois ideology is very powerful and appears in many diverse forms. Of course, the real set back and betrayal has been the wiping out of the communist vanguard by the treachery of revisionism which robbed the working class of its general staff. The struggle for the clarity of Marxism-Leninism as opposed to the foul weeds which were, and are still, pushed by the C.P.U.S.A. is finally bearing good results. The BWC and PRRWO are proof of this quickening process...In regards to the present period, the entire movement, both internationally and nationally, is locked in an intense struggle for clarification on the Marxist-Leninist line. This requires a high degree of ideological vigilance and development on the part of all genuine Marxist-Leninists. It is not enough for this fight to be confined to a handful of "leaders". In the final analysis, a communist organization is by definition, an organization of leaders with a division of labor. Those who IGNORE THIS MANDATE WILL NOT REACH THE NEW LEVEL THAT THE MOVEMENT IS ON THE VERGE OF REACHING." (Introduction Statement by M.H. and G.F.W.)

The last 5 to 10 years has seen the growth and development of numerous Marxist-Leninist organizations, circles and groups, both nationally and locally. To mention only a few: BWC, PRRWO, O.L., CL, RU, IWK, New Voice, North Carolina Marxist-Leninist Cadre, MCLL, The Guardian, El Comite, Resistencia, etc., (Black Anti-Imperialist League, Yobu, League of Revolutionary Black Workers - Chicago, Black Workers Organizing Committee, Struggle Newspaper, Peoples College, ALSC, etc. These latter groups do not fully see themselves as M-L but each grouping contains many developing M-Ls and fall within the general revolutionary movement of advanced elements.) At the same time there are numerous M-L study circles and anti-imperialist organizations and groupings throughout the country consisting of all nationalities. More and more advanced workers in the shops and plants are taking up the call to actively participate in the political struggle of their class.

These new conditions are a welcome signal that there are plenty of communists and advanced workers of all nationalities fit to establish an anti-revisionist communist party. At the same time, the line which states that it is the central task of all communists to build a new communist party is beginning to gain hegemony within the movement. Of course, this is not to say that there are not a host (the majority) of "important" forces who have only adopted this line in "words only". On the other hand, a conference has been held to call a Congress to establish the party, a continuations committee has been established and a set of resolutions and points of unity have been issued for struggle and debate. And finally, the objective conditions for establishing a higher level of unity within the communist movement short of actually establishing the party, does exist, and is exemplified in the unity of BWC, PRRWO and other independent circles of Marxist-Leninists. But what is the actual "fitness" of these forces "fit" to establish the party?

Let us proceed to discuss some of the obstacles on the road to forging the unity of Marxist-Leninists in order to build a new anti-revisionist communist party.

II. OBSTACLES ON THE PATH TO BE OVERCOME

This section is aimed primarily at listing the chief forms in which bourgeois ideology is manifesting itself among the anti-revisionist forces. Within the working class the main danger facing the whole class and especially its communist vanguard is the bourgeoisie's counter-revolutionary spearhead of modern revisionism with its head in Moscow and its puppet lackeys here in the CPUSA. The anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninists cannot stand outside class struggle, cannot stand above the class, and therefore cannot exempt themselves from either standing with the working class or the bourgeoisie. And they certainly cannot exempt themselves from the danger of revisionism by simply declaring it so by screaming that "WE" face ULTRA-LEFTISM as the main danger. But the facts speaks for themselves. Just what is the ideology and politics of certain forces within the anti-revisionist communist movement? Is it not true that the movement is characterized by widespread and blatant bowing to spontaneity, to the most backward subservience to the mass spontaneous struggles of every sector of the population? And is not all of this done while making a "learned" attempt to justify the belittling of theory and the conscious element? What is this if not the ideology of the bourgeoisie, the ideology of trade unionism? What is this political activity that politically disarms the working class and prevents the revolutionary proletariat from developing the necessary scientific leadership? Within the labor movement the opportunists have literally burned incense to "caucus building", pushing the trade unions to the left, "romantic, play-acting at leading economic struggles, etc., etc. Does any of this activity sound like "ultra-leftism"? When it has come to developing and carrying out a Leninist line on the national question, these chauvinists talk about the discovery of "new stages of the national question", "new conditions", and "new nations", all for the purpose of throwing on the scrap heap the revolutionary demand of the right of nations to self-determination. And isn't it true that these "left-wing" front men for the modern revisionists are exactly like the open revisionists in their fear of open polemics and ideological struggle within the communist movement? Don't they use their newspapers like any other old bourgeois and revisionist rag crying "unity, unity, unity", while ignoring and running from every major question of principle?

These are some of the major obstacles standing in the way of uniting the genuine and honest Marxist-Leninists around the correct line. It is necessary for us to begin advancing practical solutions towards the building of the party. The time is fast coming to an end where we can stand on the side lines and state over and over again we got "figure out how the party will come into being". This is doubly important for us because this raises another obstacle, which though not one of the main ones at present, nonetheless, it is one which we will have to guard against. This is the tendency to remain "aloof" and separated off into our "national form" organization saying that it is not necessary to fight for every inch of unity, even unity short of the party, but that we should remain "insulated" from the struggle inside the communist movement until the full deal comes into being - the party. And finally, there appears to have been not nearly enough ideological struggle and polemics on all the burning question in order to clearly draw the line between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line.

### III. THREE ROADS, ONE PARTY

The BWC like all the other Marxist-Leninist organizations, circles, and individuals is faced with the choice of rejecting the opportunist road, the swamp and camp of the CPUSA. If this is to be done then there lies before us work on three fronts, three roads. These "roads" or this line of development is objective and independent of our will. Let us spell out clearly what we mean. Anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninists have already held a conference (Last year) to prepare for calling a Congress to establish a new communist party. This conference established a continuations committee which they describe as a form for ideological struggle; they issued a set of resolutions and several broad points of unity, and they have set a date for holding another conference or Congress in September of this year. All of this political activity has been done in a non-sectarian manner. By this we mean they have openly invited all anti-revisionsit Marxist-Leninists and published their resolutions and distributed them widely throughout the country. At this point no honest Marxist-Leninist can stand aloof from this effort or simply reject it off the top of his head, unless it can be shown that the line of the continuations committee is opportunist and revisionsit. To fail to make a Marxist-Leninist analysis the basis of rejecting the committee would be pure sectarianism. On the other hand, if we are in basic agreement with the points of unity and resolutions then we have the responsibility to struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninists in order to establish the party as soon as we can passibly do so, whether that is in September or December. This is one of the paths open to the BWC.

In the past the BWC has argued that our form didn't mean anything because the key question to be answered was how will the party come into being. The problem with this formulation is that it seems to imply that the BWC would not ACTIVELY FIGHT for more unity within the communist movement short of actually establishing the party, or that we would reject unity BASED ON M-L unless again it was the full deal - the party. The idealism of this formulation is easy to see. But what then is this next path? The BWC by virtue of its history has the opportunity to unite with a significant number of Marxist-Leninists of all nationalities: PRRWO, ex-RU members, independent circles of Asians, etc. In other words this is an objective path of development facing the BWC: the task of forging even more unity within the various circles of Marxist-Leninists even short of establishing the party. And finally, there is the task before us of deepening Marxism-Leninism within the BWC ideologically, politically and organizationally. This means pushing ahead with our plans to centralize the leadership of the organization, develop the

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national center with its component parts, with special emphasis on the newspaper and political education and training. These then comrades are the three roads open to us. We must travel all of them at the same time. Each one of them must be taken up. In no way can we throw our "eggs" into one basket, nor is it correct to simply take the road of focusing our attention on the BWC alone. "Yet what we need is not a solution of the question in principle, but its practical solution; we must immediately advance a definite construction plan through which all may immediately set to work to build from every SIDE." (LENIN)

#### IV. PRACTICAL STEPS TO BE TAKEN

Comrades! The steps we should take are inherent in the reality which faces us. We must carry out further investigation of the communist movement, and especially the continuations committee. On the last question, we should join the committee with no fear of "losing our independence and becoming liquidated". We have a responsibility just as all other M-Ls to actively fight for what we think is correct. Next, we should enter into consultations with PRRWO and other independent M-Ls of all nationalities to discuss the question of Marxist-Leninists Unite! In this activity we should be guided by the positions worked out so far on all the burning questions, that is, contained within our pamphlet. And finally, we should approve the recommendations of the Secretariat for recruiting a staff to run the National center; the newspaper should be our key and starting point as opposed to a "physical party school".

Other practical steps and ideas will be forth coming at the appropriate time. This is not the place to discuss all the details. As far as our study on these questions is concerned, every member of the NCC should take the last 2 or 3 days off from any KIND of local work to study this document and all subjects pertaining to the up coming meeting. This is an absolute must and should be carried out to the letter.

#### READINGS AND STUDY:

WHAT IS TO BE DONE, SEC. V., THE PLAN FOR AN ALL-RUSSIAN POL. NEWSPAPER

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

LETTER TO A COMRADE (ALL THREE WORKS ARE BY LENIN) The first work should help us to see how Lenin proceeded to carry out the task of Party Building from a many sided approach and not by just focusing on "getting ourselves together" or sitting and wringing our hands while not attempting in the least to solve the burning question of today. The second work by Lenin establish~~s~~ unequivocally the principle of organizational unity between the proletariat of the oppressed nations and the proletariat of the oppressing nations. Section IV of this essay will suffice for all the comrades who are hard pressed. And finally no. 3, Letter to a Comrade lays out the importance of CENTRALIZATION towards the end of the essay and its relation to decentralization. Comrades must focus on this aspect of the essay without getting all bogged down in the passages on how the the district committees and etc. should carry out their work.

MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION by STALIN Comrades should read the last two or three pages from the SECTION ON CULTURAL NATIONAL AUTONOMY and the entire SECTION ON, THE BUND, ITS NATIONALISM, ITS SEPARATISM We must clear up once and for all the history of Bundism and the principle of the Bolsheviks in regards to organization.