



# Revolutionary Cause

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COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION

## OCTOBER LEAGUE

# HOW NOT TO BUILD A COMMUNIST PARTY

PART II

(All references to OL's Party Building Plan are taken from the November, 1975 issue of the CALL)

Party Building is a strategic and ongoing task which must be carried out until the final development of classless Communist society

Party building encompasses three basic periods (1) the pre-party period covers the time from the consolidation of revisionism in the CPUSA in the late 1950's until such time as the party is actually formed, (2) the period from the founding of the party until the armed seizure of state power by the proletariat, (3) the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism

The pre-party period is the period of "the formation of the vanguard (i.e., the party) of the proletariat, the period of "mustering the party's cadres" (Stalin) This period is that in which Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers become welded as one on the basis of unity on the party's program and general line

The pre-party period has three stages which correspond to the fundamental ideological, political and organizational tasks required to build a Bolshevik party. Stages, then are determined by the TASKS facing our movement at any particular time. For instance, during the first stage of the pre-party period, the mass movements and rebellions of the 1960's and early 1970's raised many questions squarely before the developing conscious element. What was the enemy we were fighting? Could we overcome this enemy peacefully? Who was to lead our revolution? Was the state an instrument of repression, or an instrument to solve the fundamental problems of the oppressed? These and other questions HAD TO BE ANSWERED if we were to have a foundation for our revolution. And these questions began to be answered by the developing communist forces as they studied and grasped the general Marxist theory of proletarian revolution which clearly identified our enemy as imperialism, and showed us that we needed a Marxist-Leninist party to lead the revolutionary working class' in armed overthrow of the bourgeois state and to establish workers' political power. During this first stage, breaking with bourgeois ideology, developing our ideological line and strengthening ourselves with proletarian ideology, the stand, method and viewpoint of the proletariat, was the key link to the forward development of our movement. Through the struggle against eclecticism, which sought to base our movement on

a scattering of disconnected and even exclusive ideologies, revisionism which sought to base our movement on the bourgeois stand, method and outlook covered over with Marxist phrases -- the developing communist movement developed a sound ideological basis for the new party they were constructing. We must point out that even though the development of the ideological line and breaking with bourgeois ideology was the key link in the first stage -- it was also necessary to carry out simultaneously our political and organizational tasks -- to work in the mass movements, and to build democratic-centralist organizations which could give a planned and conscious character to our work. At all times we must carry out ideological, political and organizational tasks - they are interrelated and to neglect one will doom our work to failure. However one always stands out as the key link, the seizing of which moves all of our other work forward

In summary then, the first stage saw the developing communist movement base itself solidly on the class stand, method and viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, reaffirm and uphold the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian theory of revolution. The revolutionary trend of the communist movement (although not clearly demarcated at that time) upheld Marxism in both word and deed. Time was to show that the opportunist trend of that movement was to make the ideological break in word only. Groups like the October League were to show through the development of their political line and practice that they still operated according to the stand, method and viewpoint of the bourgeoisie. These groups were to soon reveal the historically developed forms of opportunism "peculiar" to the United States: chauvinism, economism, pragmatism -- all reflective of the worship of spontaneity (the basis of all opportunism).

The early disunity of the movement was followed by the growth and development of such groups as the Revolutionary Union, the California Communist League, the October League, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the Young Lords Party etc. The temporary unity of these groups was soon to give way to fierce struggle as the fight around the burning questions facing our movement developed. However the development of these groups as Marxist-Leninists did represent a leap in development from the earlier eclectic period.

The transition to the second stage of party building occurred about 1972-73 when the ideological break with the bourgeoisie and the revisionists had in the main been

made by the communist forces. the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles reaffirmed in theory and practice, and general unity on the ideological line achieved. The essential question which accelerated the forward motion and transition to the second stage was the question of party building. In the main, the party principle was upheld and the anarchists and liquidators who denied the necessity for a proletarian party were defeated. Struggle then unfolded around whether party building or building the mass movement was the CENTRAL TASK. This struggle and the growing unity that party building was indeed the central task gave rise to the necessity to develop the political line on party building so that it could guide our work within the factories, trade unions and national movements. As everything divides into two, the transition to this second stage also saw the development of revolutionary and opportunist wings in the communist movement. The struggle broke out on the National Liason Committee between the organizations which were to lead the two wings and crystallized on the national question and party building. On the one hand was the staunch representative of chauvinism and opportunism -- the Revolutionary Union. On the other, stood the organizations who upheld the line of revolutionary Marxism -- the Black Workers Congress and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization

As the ideological basis had been laid, in both theory and a practical sense for the development of the party, the revolutionary wing of the U.S. communist movement undertook to fulfill the tasks of the second stage -- the development of

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ALAMOSA CONFERENCE 4

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the party's program and general line As Comrade Mao teaches us "the building and Bolshevization of the Party have been closely linked with its political line" (Introducing the Communist, MSW, vol 2)

ATM holds that the key link to moving forward all of our work in the ideological, political and organizational spheres is the struggle to answer the questions posed by our revolution the national question, revolutionary strategy and tactics based on an analysis of the classes of our society, party building; the role of communists in the U.S. trade unions and the mass movements, etc In other words we must develop the general political line for our revolution. This line is developed through the ideological struggle with opportunism and through its testing in the course of leading the class in the political and economic struggles. Only in this process can we win the advanced to the side of communism The political line then is the practical linking of the communist movement with the labor movement. Furthermore the ideological and practical struggle against opportunism lays the basis for the unity of all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists -- unity built in the course of fighting to answer the fundamental questions of our socialist revolution, unity based on the correct application of Marxism-Leninism to our concrete conditions, unity tested in the practical struggles to lead the class and in opposition to opportunism. This does not mean that we negate the further development of our ideological tasks, and ideological line. The ideological line must be further developed in close connection with the political line for as Comrade Mao points out "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." If the ideological line is incorrect then the political line will be incorrect Thus in struggling against opportunism we must always get to the essence of an opportunist political line by pinpointing its social, ideological and philosophical roots. In this way we can strengthen ourselves to recognize and root out opportunist tendencies within our own ranks, which must inevitably manifest themselves as our struggle proceeds through its twists and turns

## Political Line is Key Link For All Communists

Political line is the key link for the entire Communist movement and not for just certain organizations at certain times We do not deny that uneven development is a basic law of dialectics and that certain organizations and collectives developed faster than others Our organization is relatively young and did not grasp at the rational level that political line was the key link until 1975 However even our limited experience and study told us in 1972-73 that the lack of a political line held back our development and fostered small circle spirit -- hindering our participation in party building and carrying out the general tasks faced by the communist movement However to hold that political line becomes the key link when an organization finally grasps it is, in essence, an empiricist approach which will lead into the marsh of historical idealism and pragmatism -- it is reflective of detaching oneself from the whole and of bending history to fit one's own outlook alone It would be as if we said that political line became the key link in 1975 when we began to firmly grasp it, rather than in 1972-73 when it became the link which was moving forward all tasks We must resolutely oppose those organizations, such as the October League (and now Workers Viewpoint Organization) which analyze history and determine our tasks by summing up only their own development and generalizing from it.

### Our Main Tactical Tasks

Up to the formation of our Party we see our main tactical tasks as  
1. Uniting all Revolutionary Marxist Leninists on the political line;  
2. Winning the advanced to communism

These tasks are interrelated and must be carried out simultaneously.

To carry out these tasks both Marxist-Leninists and advanced must struggle to develop our general political line and program. This struggle is both theoretical and practical. That is, we must develop our line in close connection with revolutionary practice, through the course of which we must make propaganda the chief form of our activity. This simply means that we arm the advanced with a sound theoretical understanding of the political line. This understanding enables them to give a planned conscious character to the struggles which they lead, and thus makes them

true political leaders of the masses So we can see that political line cannot be developed by Communists alone, but only in conjunction with the advanced In turn the correctness of this line will help to bring forward ever greater numbers of the advanced, who in turn enrich and develop it further.

### Burning Questions

We must say a few words as to how we determine what questions must be developed as our general political line To determine these questions we must first study the history of revolutionary movements -- Marxism-Leninism This theory tells us that no revolution can be in isolation. Revolutions are part of a world wide phenomena which requires that revolutionaries of all countries understand the international situation. Secondly, the history of our country tells us that the national question is a burning question in the U.S. -- that it MUST be solved if we are to have revolution. History also shows us that no revolution can be successful if revolutionaries are not armed with an understanding of the motion of all the classes and strata of society -- to determine who are allies, and who are enemies. Our study and experience also show us that communists must grasp tightly the role they are to play in the mass movements and the trade unions -- to avoid getting swallowed up by reformism and trade unionism. The history of the development of modern revisionism tells us quite vividly that we must know the history, theory and practice of party building if we want to construct a party that will withstand the stress and storms of class struggle. Lastly, we must understand all of these questions in their interrelationship in order to develop a comprehensive strategy and tactical plan to guide our movement.

So we can see that it is history and the practical movement which places "burning" questions before us.

The last stage of party building will require the complete development of our organizational line and the fulfillment of general organizational tasks such as the development of a weekly newspaper, the building of a cadre school, the calling of the party congress, the coordination of all cell and fractional work, coordinating resources, etc In this last stage organization will be the key link to moving all of our work forward -- to the organizational formation of a Marxist-Leninist Party.

Comrades, the above represents our analysis of the development of the periods and stages of party building in the U.S. We lay them out in order to struggle in an open and aboveboard way for unity with all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. We feel that our line represents not only the analysis of ATM but also that of the revolutionary wing of our movement. We don't seek mechanical acceptance of our views but only a positive forward motion in the struggle for unity and in the struggle against opportunism, and the open and honest repudiation of errors of line and practice so that we can all learn from the lessons of class struggle

### The October League Party Building "Plan"

In the November issue of the CALL the October League unveiled its plan to unite Marxist-Leninists to build the new party The OL said

ONWARD TO THE PARTY!  
UNITE MARXIST-LENINISTS AND  
WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!

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# O.L....

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1. "Party building has become a question of immediacy" and
2. "The present period calls for the actual organizational formation of the new party".

We would like to briefly analyze this plan so that the communist movement can draw the logical conclusions and see the dangers inherent in the OL's "call" to Marxist-Leninists. As this and future polemics will show, this plan is the logical culmination and outgrowth of the general right opportunist line of the October League.

We will organize our analysis by section, beginning with the introduction and going point by point through the "call".

## Introduction

This section is a vague non-analysis of periods which states that the old period, from the late 1960's to the end of 1975, is over and that we are now in a new period in which we must immediately form the new party. This vague and diffuse analysis at best only "draws lines" with trends outside the par-

was not until about 1972-73, when political line became the key link, that the struggle was unfolded against the liquidationist Revolutionary Union, and the majority of the communist movement adopted party building as the central task. As to being "consistent and clear" on the central task, the OL has never IN PRACTICE upheld party building as the central task. Negating open and principled ideological struggle, tailing the mass movement, tailing trade unionists (whom they define as advanced) - the OL, in fact, upholds the line of "build the mass movement" and not that of building the party. Of course, like true opportunists, the OL would mouth phrases about party building if the "conditions, time and place" seemed to call for it. However a good example of HOW they carried out party building came in May Day forum held in 1974. This forum was held jointly with a collective which later became part of ATM. When a member of the October League was asked for their position on party building (this at the time of the National Continuations Committee motion), they answered that they could not discuss it - they were there (as communists?) to talk instead about May Day, the Dasco strike and workers unity(!). Party building here, economic strikes there - never shall they meet. This is the "consisten-

many in the movement began to grasp revolutionary theory, to become anti-revisionist (especially after seeing its treacherous role in the mass movements).

In their introduction the OL talks about the "left" and "right" who try and liquidate party building - failing to state who these mysterious liquidators are. Since the OL has always avoided open polemic, unless "attacked", we are left to guess who the culprits are. In fact, in this section the only organizations mentioned are the OL and the CPUSA. They also state that revisionism will "continue to be the main strategic enemy within the working class." This passing glimpse of a strategic plan and the direction of the main blow just happens to leave out reformist leaders, and the bribed trade union leaders - the social props of the bourgeoisie. The implications of this are that the OL will "move the trade unions to the left" by allying with reformist bureaucrats, who of course are not "revisionist". And of course the only revisionists are the CPUSA (as distinct from the "left" revisionist RCP).

## Section B. "Conditions Exist"

The thrust of this section is to prove that the subjective condition necessary for the party's formation are now in line with objective conditions

The major points in this section are

1. From collectives in the old period, there now exist national organizations which represent a general trend.

2. That other(?) opportunist trends consolidated and have been driven out of the communist movement and that the fight against trotskyism, anarchism, syndicalism and ultra-leftism has set the ideological basis for the new party

3. That ultra-leftism for a long time posed the main danger in the communist movement and consolidated in the CL and the RU. The CLP has been exposed and has disappeared from view while the RCP is now revisionist in a "left" disguise.

4. A line of centrism is developing in regard to the Soviet Union and the split in the international communist movement - led by the Guardian.

5. Within the last three years an ideological leap has taken place and is one of the main reasons that the party can now be formed. Only pessimists will claim that the movement is not now ready for the organizational formation of the Party.

The first point sums up development from the standpoint of organization and not from the standpoint of ideological and political line. The OL reduces the political development to a question of quantitative development. Of course, if they are big, and can put out a weekly newspaper this will "prove" that they are the party. This opportunist approach also combines two into one and blurs the development and existence of two distinct ideological trends in the communist movement - a revolutionary wing and an opportunist wing - and tries to make it appear as if the OL represents the trend of Marxism, and the other trend consists only of "left" opportunists and "centrists". Right opportunism gets lost in the shuffle

The second point is merely further cover for OL's failure to fight against right opportunism (see RC #3). By zeroing in on the fight against the trotskyites and



*Dorothy Healey, long-time leader of the CPUSA announces her resignation from the revisionist party along with Al Richmond, former editor of the People's World. Both belonged to a faction of the party which opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.*

The CALL caption misses the main point: D. Healy was a leader of the party faction most anti-Stalin, anti-Lenin. She ended up being a mouthpiece for NAM (New American Movement) an anti-communist liberal, reform organization. ty building movement such as trotskyites, revisionists and anarchists -- trends rejected by revolutionary Marxism in the first stage of party building. What seems to be the thrust of the "old period", according to the OL was not carrying out the tasks put before us by the movement, but the growing ties of the communist movement to "the mass movement of workers and oppressed peoples", and struggle against revisionism. The OL fails to analyze the motion of the old period and what gave rise to the tasks of that period -- they merely assert, but do not explain. Their analysis also contains certain distortions. For example they state that, "from its very beginnings to the present time, this movement has viewed party building as central among its many tasks" and "the OL for one, has been consistent and clear in its stand on party building". In fact during the early 1960's the movement did not hold party building as the central task. The Communist League was probably the first grouping during the late 1960's to hold party building as the central task (albeit in an opportunist way). Other groups were to hold this line at a later time, but it

cy" of the OL. They remained "consistent" in May Day 1975, when they attacked advanced workers in the Bay area who had the "audacity" to want to put politics into May Day - the OL objected to mentioning the struggle against imperialism in the May Day leaflets. We will leave it to the reader to determine what type of "consistency" the OL is referring to.

Another distortion by the OL is that "it was primarily in struggle against the forces of modern revisionism that the young communist movement was born (our emphasis - ATM). Those stubborn things called facts are the kernel of the dialectical materialist method - the OL is "consistent" in avoiding this method and disregarding the facts. In actuality many of the forces in the communist movement were born out of the struggles of the revolutionary national movements or out of the anti-war and student movements of the 60's. Most had never even heard of revisionism or knew what it was when they began participating in these spontaneous movements. It was only after struggling in these movements, that the question of revisionism confronted us. In struggling to answer the questions which the movement placed before us

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anarchists, who are not even part of the party building movement, OL tries to build a case for their line that "ultra-leftism" has been the main danger in the Communist movement

As far as setting the ideological basis for the party - a failure to fight right opportunism inevitably leads to right opportunism in both theory and practice. The only ideological basis that the OL has established, as their line and practice ("bring in the national guard") show, is a bourgeois one. They lead the opportunist trend represented by themselves, the Guardian, the PSP and others.

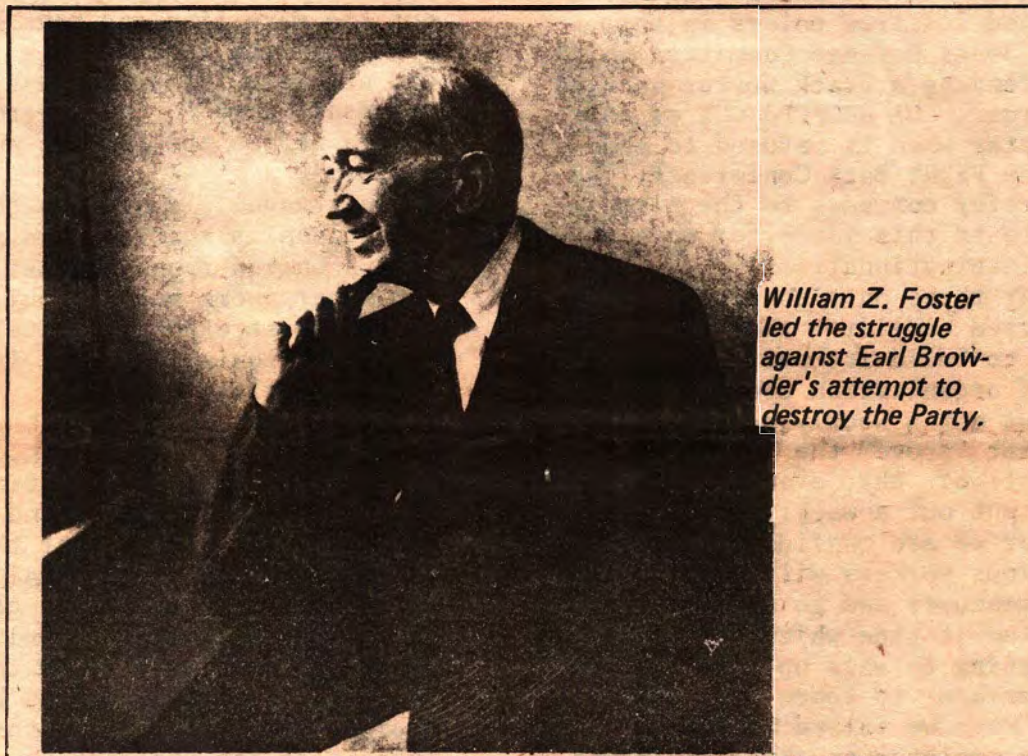
The third point emphasizes how ultra-leftism has always been the main danger, particularly the CL and the RU. We ask, since when are trotskyites such as the CL a part of the anti-revisionist communist movement? Why don't we include PLP, the SWP and the Spartacist League and say "look at all the ultra-leftism"? And of course calling the RCP "left" revisionists is only a sophistic trick called for by the complete transparency of RCP's revisionist line. Calling it "left" of course, blurs the fundamental unity of principle between the OL and the RU. As for saying that the CLP has disappeared from view - if the voluntarist OL would get their heads out of the marsh and into the class struggle they would see that CLP is building a base among the proletariat in Detroit, San Diego and parts of the Southwest - how their poison is being spread in the labor and national movements. The CLP will not "disappear from view" nor be wished out of existence by the OL, but must be defeated through struggle in the real world.

The fourth point says that "centrism" and "rightism" are on the rise led by the Guardian and certain unnamed independents and collectives. Of course, what the OL is doing here is insinuating that anyone who opposes their hegemonic scheme for party building is "centrist", "rightist", or "anti-party". Nowhere does the OL analyze what gives rise to centrism and "rightism" in the United States, they only make general assertions without even attempting to show HOW and WHY they reached their conclusions. For instance, they attribute the "ideological leap" taken by the communist movement in the last 3 years to the OL's struggle against "ultra-leftism". Except for one polemic against the Communist League, (done long after polemics had been raised against CL by others), the OL has never waged a consistent struggle against "ultra-leftism". For years they have held that BWC, PRRWO and ATM were "ultra-left". Where then is the open polemic with these organizations? We request that our readers compare the polemics against the CL by the old BWC and the OL to see just WHO was fighting against ultra-leftism. The only ideological leap we have seen from the OL in the last three years is into consolidated right opportunism -- reflected by their party building call. As for the "pessimists" like the ATM, PRRWO, the Revolutionary Workers League and others who have grown up in the struggle against opportunism; we are undoubtedly trying "to hold the movement back" from uniting with the right opportunism of the OL.

While the OL asserts that the subjective conditions are now ready for the building of the party, they ignore(?) the question of programme and line - the prerequisite of any communist party. "ideological leaps" alone are not enough, what is needed are the guiding line, program and policies - developed by correctly applying theory to our conditions, integrating it with practice and taking our general experience (as opposed to the experience of any one organization) to the level of theory. So we can see that it is more than "leaps" which are required to form a party. Of course, the OL is prepared to casually skip over this necessary step in the absence of which the OL is perfectly willing to substitute its line and program for the line and program of the party. Why struggle -- the OL has already done the work for us (in fact, the OL chairman told us as much in one of our meetings with him. When we mentioned the necessity to struggle out the line and program of the party he replied, "Our line has been out there for 5 years." That, of course, is the problem).

## Section C The Fight Back

The major points in this section are



*William Z. Foster led the struggle against Earl Browder's attempt to destroy the Party.*

The OL takes a completely uncritical look at Foster -- CPUSA's architect of the revisionist "Anti-Monopoly Coalition".

1. Marxist-Leninists are playing a stronger role in mobilizing and influencing many "class conscious workers" and oppressed minority fighters to fight back against the crisis - this growth exposes the anti-(OL) party forces as defeatist and anti-worker elements. The independents and narrow nationalists are increasingly uniting to oppose party building while becoming increasingly isolated from the mainstream of the revolutionary struggle.
2. Organizational growth and ties to the masses indicate our ability to move into the organizational building of the party. The OL is opposed to the formation of new independent Marxist-Leninist groupings built on national lines.
3. Organizational growth can be seen in the increased publication of Marxist-Leninist literature. Conditions now exist to publish a weekly party newspaper, which will strike a blow at the RCP. The main feature of the movement is sharp internal and external ideological struggle.
4. We must unite with great speed and oppose "academic revolutionaries" who want to redefine differences and draw further lines of demarcation outside the new party, as

this will lead to "disaster". Trends have already been demarcated - a Marxist-Leninist trend in opposition to right and "left" opportunist organizational trends.

In conclusion OL determines that the above points make organization the key link.

Point one is notable for its omission of the names of the "anti-party" and "anti-worker" forces who are becoming isolated from the revolutionary movement. Why do they make this omission? Because the anti-party and anti-worker forces are all those who oppose OL's line or their hegemonic and opportunist party building scheme, such as the PRRWO, RWL, ATM, WVO, IWK, MLOC, etc., etc. This begins to leave the OL very lonely and isolated as more and more people discover who is really "anti-party" and pro-opportunist. Of course, the OL is again "consistent" by refusing to name the narrow nationalists and independents who oppose them. The narrow nationalists (a cute, chauvinist term borrowed from their ideological cousins of the RCP) just couldn't happen to represent RWL, PRRWO and ATM could they now? Or is a coincidence that these organizations in, or in motion towards, the revolutionary wing of our movement, are mostly oppressed nationalities - developed out of the nat-

ional movements? And all are resolutely anti-(OL) party.

Point two makes organization, or the body count, the key to party building, while the secondary stuff such as program, strategy, tactics and line unity will be taken care of later on, (like it was "taken care of later on" by the CL and RU). What the OL is saying is that they have recruited enough people to "flesh out" their "party". By "ties to the masses" they definitely do NOT mean the uniting of the advanced workers with communism. OL requires only that "advanced workers" be "open to socialism" as opposed to Marxism-Leninism which teaches us that the advanced "accept socialism consciously" and, as Lenin said, "determine the character of the mass movement". A little bit of a difference we think. To us, ties with the masses means winning over, in the course of struggle, the finest representatives of the class, those who are ready to sacrifice their whole lives to give political (and not just trade unionist) leadership to the masses; those who represent the most advanced ideas and aspirations of the masses, and not just their immediate concerns. Or perhaps by "ties to the masses" the OL is re-

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ferring to their "Fight Back" campaign, which makes it a point to avoid any mention of the necessity for socialist revolution (as opposed to only mentioning socialism) Such ties to the masses have already been made by the reformist leaders and trade union leaders, and con-men politicians like Fred Harris who also want the masses to "Fight Back".

As for opposing the development of organizations built along "national lines", it has always been the duty of all communists to oppose national exclusiveness in principle. We must always and everywhere stand for the multinational unity of the working class, including organizational unity. However, the OL in the past was content to tail the incorrect nationalist tendencies of some forces. They did this, not out of a sense of proletarian internationalism, but to co-opt these organizations and to give the appearance of being multinational. Of course, like everything else proletarian internationalism is determined by one's actual practice, and as we laid out in the last issue of the paper - OL has revealed its true colors in the Gregg Jones Defense Committee which is defending a black worker accused of murder. OL DROPPED OUT of this committee when it refused to endorse the Fight Back Conference. (we also refer comrades to the Alamosa article in this issue for more on OL's "internationalism")

Point three only confirms what we suspected earlier - that the OL wants to build its party on the basis of organization alone. If they can put out a weekly paper - does this not "prove" the correctness of their line? Why, even the RCP can't put out a weekly newspaper. However we are confident that class conscious workers will see through this maneuver and go against the opportunist tide which the OL is attempting to whip up. We call on all comrades to learn from our past error when we failed to take a strong proletarian stand and capitulated to the opportunism of CL's party building scheme. Don't repeat our error comrades, stand up to opportunism. Remember, line is key - as comrade Chou En-lai once said, "With the correct political line, one can have no soldiers and one will get soldiers. One can have no political power, and one will obtain political power."

In point four the OL gives everyone a directive to unite "with great speed" and to struggle against the academics who have the audacity to want to draw lines with opportunism, and to develop a political line and program before we have the party. The OL sternly warns us in a fatherly-chauvinist manner that if their directive isn't carried out this will "lead to disaster". They want to scare us into uniting by waving the very real danger of war and fascism in front of our faces. But it is this very danger which requires a true vanguard party, a party free from opportunism and loyal to Marxism-Leninism. ONLY such a party can turn imperialist war into revolutionary civil war and fascism into the dictatorship of the proletariat. Leave it to opportunists to turn things upside down using patronizing melodramatics at that.

The OL ends this section by telling us that it is fruitless to redefine anything, that trends have already shown themselves - the "left" opportunist trend of the

RCP(?) and the CLP, and the right opportunist trend of ??? And of course the Marxist-Leninist trend is represented by the OL - who want the NATIONAL GUARD to protect Blacks in Boston, who solve the women's question through court suits such as at General Motors in Fremont, California, who tail behind Cesar Chavez on the question of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, failing to show that this board represents the bourgeoisie and not the interests of the working class, who told CLUW members in Oakland that they could fight the international trade union bureaucrats by writing letters to them. We think it's becoming clear just what "trend" the OL represents.

## Section D. Principles of Unity

1. The OL begins by stating that the dictatorship, and not socialism is our strategic objective. They say that the dictatorship represents the transitional stage between capitalism and communism and is based on the anti-imperialist struggle.

2. This point deals with party organization and explains how there must be discipline, democratic-centralism, one center, unity of action and unity of will, carry out the mass line and have secret work play the leading role (like it did at their Third Congress, whose documents were in the Congressional Record before the ink was even dry on them).

3. This vaguely runs down the international situation, and says that a united front against the two superpowers must be built, and that we must expose detente, oppose revisionism, support liberation struggles, etc.

4. This point deals with the national question, independence for Puerto Rico, full democratic rights for national minorities and non-citizens. It states that the national movements are the main strategic ally of the working class.

5. This point calls the United Front against Imperialism the vehicle for overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. It includes all that can be united to oppose the reactionary policies of the giant monopolies (sic!), and the core of this United Front is the alliance of the labor and national movements. It calls for no united action with the revisionists.

6. Calls for party unity based on the proletarian approach to the struggle for the emancipation of women, that the women's question is, in essence a class question and that we must oppose male chauvinism and feminism, while fighting for women's democratic rights.

7. Within the labor movement we must work within the trade unions and organize the unorganized, build nuclei and carry out exposures to expel the labor aristocrats and revisionists from union leadership and replace them with revolutionary leadership.

This section concludes that the Marxist-Leninist trend has already developed enough programmatic unity to serve as the basis for organizational unity. At the same time, these points draw a line with the revisionists, centrists and ultra-leftists.

Point one fails to mention socialism. It not only contains this little "ommission" but also substitutes "anti-imperialism" for socialist revolution. We must be absolutely clear -- our struggle in the United States is for socialism, not for some form of new democracy. Again the OL is showing their "con-

sistency". Their leadership once told us that the dictatorship of the proletariat would be based upon the United Front. Since their united front, in practice, includes social props like Cesar Chavez and the Chicano and Black bourgeoisie, we have to wonder what kind of dictatorship of the proletariat the OL is talking about. And why is our struggle only against the policies of the "giant monopolies" instead of the entire capitalist class? Could we have here a call for an "anti-monopoly coalition"? We know of only one group which, heretofore has openly called for such a strategy -- the CPUSA. (We must be fair and mention that the RCP also talks of failing to expropriate the so-called non-monopoly bourgeoisie as a means of isolating the monopolies "to the extreme". We refer comrades to the

**DETROIT COLLECTIVE**

The Detroit Collective, a Marxist-Leninist collective, has reached political and organizational unity with the October League (Marxist-Leninist). Unity was reached after many months of study and struggle. There are several things that helped us reach this decision. First, the recent developments within the anti-revisionist movement which have led to more clarity on the danger of centrism and conciliationism to revisionism. Our Guardian struggle was directly affected by the OL point within the anti-revisionist movement, in that it laid bare the nature of the right danger on many important questions, especially on social-imperialism, the national

Now as it enters its fourth year of publication, The Call is preparing itself to come out weekly. This effort is planned to coincide with the actual organizational work to form the party officially. The weekly publication of The Call will mark a major leap forward for the U.S. communist movement and will reflect the qualitative development of our movement organizationally, ideologically and in its mass work. Many people have asked us, "Why is it so important for The Call to come out weekly?"

like the Guardian. This is a paper that has been existence first in the hands of the Communist Party, for a while then, and presently running behind a centrist line. The newspaper is 21,000. This month, The Call surpassed our previous record. We must remember of course that the Guardian is still a monthly. That means for every one of our four or five, filled with slanders of Marxism-Leninism, the Marxist-Leninists must establish a

**GUARDIAN COVERS UP REAL CHARACTER OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM**

**CALL EDITORIAL**

**NO 'UNITED ACTION'**

**WITH REVISIONISTS**

**October League Responds to the Guardian**

**STRENGTHEN YOUR**

**STAND AGAINST**

**REVISIONISM**

RCP program).

In point five, the OL talks about the alliance and merger of the proletariat with the national movements. We have seen what this means in practice (we refer comrades to the Alamosa article in this issue), as the OL told the Chicano movement to forget the struggle for regional autonomy while capitalism rules ("we must recognize our limitations"), and to fight for the list of reforms offered by the OL. This is more than merger, comrades, it is the liquidation of the national question by the social-chauvinist OL Communists effect the "merger" of the labor and national movements, by helping the proletariat to play the leading role in the national movements, to give it a revolutionary direction by putting forward the basic demands of those movements in a revolutionary way. In this manner we lay the basis for the voluntary union and merger of the labor and national movements.

Rather than repudiating their former view that the United Front was a strategy for revolution, the OL chooses instead, to call it the "vehicle" for revolution. This clever bit of sophistry cannot disguise the fact that the OL does not see the united front as part of the socialist revolution, but only as part of the struggle to "overthrow imperialism," (the policies of the giant monopolies) Of course only idealists would expect

clarity and firmness of principle from opportunists, so it is not surprising that the OL would change "strategy" to "vehicle" while maintaining the essence of their reformist line (oppose the "policies of the giant monopolies").

The rest of the principles of unity which purport to unite us into a Party are equally as loose and general as those we have looked at thus far. We agree with the OL that these vaguely Marxist formulations are "enough to draw a line of separation from the Opportunists". All revolutionary Marxists should easily be able to effect a "separation" from the OL.

Section E. Communists Unite!

The main points of this section are

- 1 The principles are not meant to be a party program but Marxist-Leninists should unite with them anyway
- 2 After meetings and discussion, the new party should be established with a temporary leading body to establish democratic-centralism, survey the organizational forces in the party and prepare for the first party congress to be held one year after the party is formed. A newspaper is to be established under central leadership which appoints the editorial board and will be the main way to get out the party's line and program. Until the first Congress the newspaper will serve as the focal point for ideological struggle and determine how events are to be analyzed and what theoretical works are to be published.
- 3 The main thrust of the mass work will be to build a fighting revolutionary response to the capitalist crisis. In order to do this mass organizations must be built to fight for "Jobs or Income Now", a united front struggle against the imperialist "policies" (sic!) of war (!), fascism, and national oppression (!)
4. The OL asks what makes their program for party building "different" from the RU and CL? They answer that they are building a party based on Marxism-Leninism, and not a chauvinist, reformist, and opportunist trend and that political line is decisive. While CL and RU built their parties based on their isolation from the masses and the genuine communist forces, this isn't the case with the OL, who fought neotrotskyist attempts of RU and CL.
5. The OL's style of work is not sectarian, splittest, or that of wreckers, but is aboveboard and principled, and based on principled struggle and patient work. We must now shift our emphasis to the actual organizational work of party construction.

An analysis of the first point reveals the truth of the statement that the program is truly a minimal basis for unity, so minimal in fact that it could only stitch together a united front coalition to keep out trots and out-front revisionist. It certainly is not the basis of unity required to build a party.

The second point exposes OL's hegemonic designs by calling for organizations to liquidate and take leadership from a "temporary" leading body. Of course since the OL is the biggest organization around, and since it puts out so many thousand papers a month and has a journal, and since it has a large distribution apparatus it would only be "consistent" for the OL to have the majority on the body. Of course political line is "decisive" but size and numbers count too, you see. Of course, this whole arrangement is only "temporary" until the party

congress of a year later, by which time we will have been able to some how thrash out the party's line and program. But of course in spite of this lack of line and program our leading body will somehow direct common work for the entire communist movement. Very profound indeed!

The third points tells us to make the "main thrust" of our work, NOT the struggle for socialism, but the "Fight Back" against those nasty policies of the giant monopolies. Or we can confine our struggle to Jobs or Income Now, rather than showing the proletariat that capitalism can never fulfill such a demand, that only socialism can do so.

In the fourth point the OL tells us that their party program is different than CL's and RU's, after they just got through explaining that this was not intended to be a party program. More "consistency". As far as OL not being isolated from the communist movement, we predict that the "anti-(OL)party forces" will continue to increase as the truth and strength of Marxism-Leninism continues to be grasped by the advanced throughout the country (a fact confirmed through conversations we had with comrades from around the country at OL's Fight Back Conference).

As far as the OL never being sectarian we refer comrades to the example of the Gregg Jones Defense Committee which we cited earlier. In a future article detailing our practice with OL, we will go into more detail on this point, as well as examining their claim to patient and principled work. We point to the example of the Guardian to rebut OL's claim not to wreck or split. While essentially united, both politically and organizationally, for years, the OL did not hesitate to use the Guardian to get out the OL line and to build itself up, while carefully hiding whatever differences they might have had. Then when they felt "strong enough" they did not hesitate to split the Guardian all over the country.

Right Opportunism is Still the Main Danger

While the OL, by seeing organization as the key link, may seem to be skipping over the present stage of party building - a "left" deviation - they are in fact only finally consolidating a complete and thoroughly developed right opportunist line and program. As our future polemics will show this opportunism extends from party building to the national question, to work in the trade unions, to strategy and tactics and to questions of organization. It is this general content which we must expose, which reveals their essence, and which shows us that right opportunism remains the main danger to our revolution.

Comrades, it is our duty to oppose the October League motion, just as it was out duty (in which we failed) to go against the opportunist CL tide. Don't worry about "being left out", of not being part of the "party". A party is built in the struggle against just such opportunism as is represented by OL. Our task then is to intensify the struggle against all forms of right and "left" opportunism, in order to hammer out the party's basic program and line, to fuse ourselves tightly with the working class movement through our ties with its advanced representatives. Most importantly we must resolutely struggle to unmask the OL and expose its right opportunist essence which has crystallized in the form of its hegemonic plan for building a menshevik party.

**AND SEATTLE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE UNITY STATEMENTS**

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The Seattle Organizing Committee for a New Party (M.L.) is proud to announce our merger with the October League. Feeling that building a new party is a matter of principle immediacy, the Organizing Committee has struggled against the main deviations on the questions of principle which crop up in Seattle just as they do in the rest of the country. The Committee has had to guard against dogmatism and its twin brother, right opportunism. Since the beginning, in its attempt to build principled unity, the Committee has welcomed the ideological integrity of the October League, particularly its struggle against the left opportunism of some groups which sound very revolutionary, but practice national chauvinism, male chauvinism, dual unionism, and tend toward social-fascism.

**"On to the Party, Build the Weekly Call"**  
by Mike Klonsky