

One of the most important tasks of Marxist-Leninists in the pursuance of the goals of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the correct determination of strategy and tactics. It is in this process that the viewpoint and stance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought develops a method, the following of which is intended to achieve the goals set by communists for a specific period. The question of strategy and tactics assumed even greater importance in this period, when all genuine communists in the United States are in the process of fulfilling their central task, i.e., the building of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Bolshevik Party of the proletariat. True communists, must, as an essential part of this central task, struggle for a correct grasp of strategy and tactics and apply this grasp to the concrete conditions facing us in the U.S.

The starting point of this topic has got to be a definition of the general principles of communist strategy and tactics. Then we must proceed to the role of strategy and tactics and relate this, based on the general line of the international communist movement to the world and national situation today.

Stalin, in his work "Political Strategy and Tactics of the Russian Communist," lays out three general principles of strategy and tactics. These are:

1. Dictatorship of the proletariat (for capitalist countries) -- any strategy by communists must be based on the irrefutable fact that the only way to the emancipation of the working class and the subsequent liberation of mankind from capitalism is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Any strategy (again, for capitalist countries) which does not have this as its objective is not a communist strategy.

2. Proletarian Internationalism - Correct strategy and tactics cannot be determined if communists see their particular situation apart from the rest of the world. Communists must view things from their totality, (in this case, a global view) before they can correctly deal with particulars. This is especially true in the U.S., the bastion of imperialism, to try and determine strategy and tactics for the U.S. without taking into account the international situation is tantamount to denying the essence of imperialism.

3. Struggle against all Doctrinairism, both Right and Left - strategy and tactics are based on the theory and programme of Marxism, which is dependent upon a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. Therefore, communists must wage a fierce and consistent struggle against revisionists and opportunists of all kinds whose strategy and tactics do not correspond to reality, those who take the revolutionary spirit out of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics by dealing with artificial plans and lifeless formulas.

This too is critical for us to comprehend, as we shall examine at a later point. The forces of revisionism, both right and left, distort and deform the Marxist-Leninist application of strategy and tactics in numerous ways, and it is our duty to expose these deceivers for what they are.

Now that the general principles of communist strategy and tactics have been laid out, let us examine their respective function and the relationship of one to the other, Stalin, in another work, "Concerning the Question of Strategy and Tactics of the Russian Communists", discusses this topic in depth. After explaining the two sides of the working class movement - its' objective side, the processes which occur outside the will of the proletariat, and the subjective side, that which deals with the conscious movement of the proletariat towards a definite goal. He writes:

"It is this side (the subjective) which interests us because, unlike the objective side, it is entirely subject to the directing influence of strategy and tactics. Whereas strategy is unable to cause any change in the course of the objective processes of the movement, here, on the contrary, on the subjective, conscious side of the movement, the field of application is broad and varied, because strategy can accelerate or retard the movement, direct it along the shortest path or divert it to a more difficult and painful path, depending upon the perfection or shortcomings of the strategy itself." 1

Further on he discusses strategy:

"The most important function of strategy is to determine the main direction of which ought to be taken by the working class movement, and along which the proletariat can most advantageously deliver the main blow at the enemy in order to achieve the aims formulated in the programme." 2

Strategy, then, is an elaborate plan, based on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, that will enable the class, guided by its' Party, to take the most direct and speedy path to accomplish its' goal. It is the plan for winning the war. It must take into account the main and secondary reserves of the proletariat, the direction of the main blow, and the disposition of forces. The strategy, since it deals with a whole historic turn or period, remains basically unchanged throughout that period, and any action taken by the proletariat and its' Party must keep the strategy in mind and not forsake it. The most important feature of strategy is that it changes only when a change has occurred from one historic period to the next.

What then is the relationship of tactics to strategy? Again, we refer to Stalin:

"Strategy strives to win the war, or carry on the struggle, against tsarism let us say, to the end; tactics, on the contrary strive to win particular campaigns successfully, or particular operations, that are more or less appropriate to the concrete situation of the struggle at each given moment." ³

We see that tactics, being subordinate to strategy, are the different steps that will lead to the fulfillment of the strategy. These steps deal with the forms and methods of struggle, based on a given situation. Do we utilize open revolutionary mass type organizations in a "flow period" (a period of increased revolutionary activity) or more closed, legal-type organizations in an "ebb" period (period of low revolutionary activity)? Will the conditions require legal or illegal work? Should we call for work within the existing political system or boycott it? All these things depend upon the flow or ebb of the movement and require very close analysis to determine what form or method is best suited at a set point in the struggle. Tactics must never supersede strategy, for then it leads to Right Opportunism, "the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing"; just as Left errors will be made if the strategy is seen divorced from tactics, in which case mechanical, dogmatic errors will occur. Stalin and the other great teachers tell us that sometimes it is necessary to take a tactical loss in order to insure strategical victory, although most of the time, correct determination and application of tactics should leave the proletariat and its Party in a better position to complete its strategy than it was in before.

The correct implementation of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics also depends a great deal on the question of strategical and tactical allies. How do we distinguish strategical allies from tactical allies? This is a question of paramount importance for communists. Failure to grasp this concept correctly will result in numerous and costly deviations.

We have seen how strategy deals with the war as a whole, and how tactics deals with particular battles of that war. We then must investigate how allies are determined, based on the basic principle of strategy and tactics.

In order to carry out the revolution, the proletariat must have its allies. For a vanguard class alone will not achieve victory. It must win the leadership of the broad masses of the people in order to smash the bourgeois state and implement the dictatorship of the proletariat. This process is a process of winning the overwhelming majority, objectively in contradiction with the minority ruling class, to the side of the proletariat led by its Party.

But among these allies, there are differences. Some of these allies are not interested in winning the whole war with imperialism.

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In fact, it would be against their wishes to see the monopoly capitalist system torn asunder and a mighty Socialist system rise on its ruins. However, they may be interested in a particular battle of this war. The victory in this particular battle might pave the way for their own strategical aims, which are contrary to those of the proletariat. What must be the position of the communists in regards to these types of allies? Should they be shrugged off as insignificant, and ignored? Should they be supported unconditionally without struggle? Communists must regard these allies, which are tactical in that they can be allied with for a particular battle, as unreliable and temporary. However, it would be a grave error to ignore them, and in essence, create unnecessary antagonisms with them. Insofar as they fight to win any particular episode they must be united with on the basis of unity-struggle unity.

This means that we unite with tactical allies around certain political and economic demands, avoiding the error of infantile "struggle on every point", which would jeopardize our success in the particular battle we are involved in and would negate the reason for uniting with them in the first place. We also must avoid the even greater danger of unprincipled unity with these unreliable forces. Our responsibility to the masses to expose all falsehood and deception, and in uniting with tactical allies we must wage a fierce and relentless struggle against the opportunist, selfish lines that these forces will put forward in the course of united action. In this way, we educate the masses as to the very nature of tactical allies, and show why they must not be elevated to a higher standing. We also create conditions for winning over those under the sway of these tactical allies and bringing them over to the side of the proletariat.

In this way, we avoid both the right error of unprincipled unity with tactical shaky allies, and the left error of disregarding the importance of tactical allies.

There are many examples of tactical allies and our relation to them and many have been touched upon in the pamphlet, i.e., the bourgeoisie of the capitalist and imperialist countries of the Second World as tactical allies of the international proletariat in the UFAI. This can be seen because although the bourgeoisie of these countries are not interested in the ultimate destruction of imperialism as a world-wide system (this would mean their own death), they are interested in winning a particular battle in the war against imperialism, precisely because of the inherent contradictions in imperialism. (Competition and the Big Bourgeoisie overpowering the small). This particular battle takes the form of the struggle against hegemonic policies of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. that threaten the bourgeoisie of the Second World from accomplishing their exploitative tasks. Insofar as they struggle against the superpowers, they are allies, albeit shaky ones in the UFAI. But the minute they get out of hand and betray the interests of the UFAI, they will be criticized and struggled with. This is the way the international proletariat led by the parties of China and Albania, has correctly utilized the contradiction among the international bourgeoisie to win still more - victories, while at the same time avoiding and forbidding

unprincipled unity and concessions on question of principle. There are many more examples of this, but it is important to grasp the essence and see how that applies both internationally and domestically. (See corresponding parts to the pamphlet)

What then constitutes strategical allies? These are the forces which can be generally counted on throughout the entire war your strategy is designed to win. Although there are definite class and other contradictions between these allies and the proletariat as well as among each other, the nature of these contradictions are not antagonistic and communists must follow the correct policy of education and persuasion to win over these allies and continue to consolidate them around the correct Marxist-Leninist line. These constitute the main force and main reserves of the proletariat. This is important to grasp because just as victory is impossible without the allies of the proletariat, so too is the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat impossible unless the broad masses support it and fight for it, and this process can only be insured by the continuous struggle and unity among the strategical allies that is forged in the heat of the struggle against imperialism as well as the struggle to retain state power.

The strategical allies of the proletariat will generally be the majority of the oppressed intermediate strata of the population; and the degree and reliability of different strata depends upon the concrete conditions of that time. The main thing to remember is that they are long range relatively stable and reliable allies. Such allies in the international arena are the Third World, the storm center of the revolution. More on this in the international situation. In the U.S., the strategical allies are the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie and other progressive and revolutionary intermediate strata.

Determination of strategical and tactical allies is key to the success of any strategy. If you raise tactical allies to strategical allies, concessions on principle will occur and the strategy will be paralyzed and ineffective. If you lower strategical allies to tactical allies, you lose precious friends and leave the proletariat more vulnerable to attack from the enemy. Both errors liquidate the essence of the strategy, for they make it impossible to win the war and its successive battles.

Therefore to sum up:

Strategy deals with a historic turn and involves the determination of the main direction of the proletarian movement in order to achieve its goals. Strategy remains basically unchanged throughout the entire period for which it was developed.

Tactics deals with particular episodes of the historic turn and involves the forms and methods of struggle best suited to that particular episode. Tactics can change many times, but must not be placed above the strategy or the strategy will be jeopardized.

With the fundamental understanding of strategy and tactics, we can now proceed to see how the international communist movement

determines its' strategy for world-wide revolution. In "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", written by the CPC in some fierce polemics with the CPUSSR, the basic principles concerning the tasks of communists are determined and the fundamental contradiction in the world are analyzed.

First let us examine the principles concerning the tasks of communists in this period. They are:

"Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism, and without the exploitation of man by man." 4

These then, are the goals of the strategy for world-wide revolution for this historical turn, i.e. the era of proletarian revolution and dying imperialism. In the same document, an analysis of the major, fundamental contradictions in the world today are examined. They are:

"The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp (Today where there is no socialist camp, this contradiction exists as that between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries); the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries; the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism; and the contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopoly groups". 5

It is from this concrete analysis of concrete conditions that the strategy for world-wide revolution is determined. This is a broad united front, involving the vast majority of the world's people against the main danger and common enemy-- U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. It is through this strategy that the international proletariat, in conjunction with its main and secondary reserves, will smash the forces of reaction and establish a "new world without imperialism, without capitalism, and without the exploitation of man by man."

Now we must examine just how this united front against imperialism applies in the different countries of the world. The first thing we must see is that no matter what the conditions in the particular country, the strategy remains the same because we are living in the same historic turn:

"The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat, and the

people in various countries go through different stages and all have their own characteristics, but they will not transcend the general law of development of world history. The general line should point out the basic direction for the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries." 6

Thus, we see that all erroneous views such as the UFAI applies to colonies but not to advanced capitalist countries must be struggled against and defeated. The UFAI is the world-wide strategy, and it is also the strategy for all the countries in the world.

First we will examine the colonial situation. The UFAI generally consists of all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces. These forces include the proletariat in the leadership, the peasantry, the semi-proletariat, the petty-bourgeoisie, and even the patriotic national bourgeoisie. In order to get deeper into this question we will touch on 3 types of colonial situations referred to by Stalin in his work, "Tasks of the U.T.E. in Relation to the Colonies and Dependent Countries". It is a lengthy quote, so we will get to the essence of what is stated:

The first situation would be where there is no or almost no proletariat. Industry is not developed and there is no basis for a split among the national bourgeoisie into a compromising party and a revolutionary party. In this situation, the communists' main task would be to build the UFAI before the Party; this UF would include the minute, if any, proletariat, the peasantry and other intermediate strata, and the national bourgeoisie. The Party would come from the UF in this case and would subsequently lead it.

This is an important case to recognize and understand because underdevelopment of nations is part and parcel of the criminal imperialist system. There are many countries where the level of the productive forces is very low, due to the retardation in growth and development which comes with being dominated by an oppressor nation(s). It is vital to see that, although their productive forces may be weak, they have the key role to play in the world-wide revolution. The Third World, the underdeveloped nations have been the center stage for the resolute struggle against world-wide monopoly capital. See international report-Struggles of Africa, Asia and Latin America, ex. Yemen, Dofar.

This revolution would be of a two stage (New Democratic) character, the first stage kicking out imperialism and sweeping out the remnants of feudalism in order to clear the way for the second stage, which is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The second situation, more common, is where the proletariat is small and the national bourgeoisie has split into a compromising and a revolutionary party- reflective of the comprador and patriotic bourgeoisie. Here, the Party must be built and must lead the UF. This UF will include the proletariat, the pea-

santry, and other intermediate strata, the petty-bourgeoisie and the patriotic national bourgeoisie. In this situation, also, you have a two-stage new democratic revolution.

The third situation is a capitalist colony, where the proletariat is well developed and feudalism is no longer the dominant system. The split in the national bourgeoisie is of such a nature that the compromising party, outnumbering the revolutionary, has welded itself into a solid block against the people of the colony. The central task of communists is to build the Party while building the UF which will include the proletariat, the semi-proletariat and other intermediate strata, and what little there is left of a patriotic national bourgeoisie. The comprador must be thoroughly exposed and discredited. The revolution will be to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This may or may not be accomplished by a one-stage revolution, depending on certain concrete conditions. These include the extent of feudal remnants and the relative completion of the democratic revolution. Whether a country goes through one-stage or two-stage depends upon these and many other things.

Naturally, the main thrust of the UFAI in all these situations will be against foreign aggression and intervention as well as feudalism.

Within the capitalist countries, like the U.S., the UFAI is composed of the proletariat and its party in the leadership, the semi-proletariat and revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie. What do we mean by revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie? We know that the petty-bourgeoisie is a vacillating class because although it owns some means of production and has an exploitative character (small stores, plots of land, etc.), it is constantly being squeezed out of the picture by the bourgeoisie and driven into the ranks of the proletariat, thereby giving it an exploited character. This dual character accounts for their overall vacillation. However in general they constitute a revolutionary class because in addition to their exploited character which plays the principal role in general serving as the objective basis for their contradictions with the bourgeoisie, they are generally receptive to the ideas of the revolution and can be transformed into class-conscious proletarian fighters. Here we must realize that although generally this is the case, there are particular strata of the petty-bourgeoisie which will not fight on the side of the proletariat. This strata, the size and number of whom may change with a change in the concrete conditions cannot be considered revolutionary even if in general the class is. It is in this light that we speak of the revolutionary and non-revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie.

There is no unity with the bourgeoisie of a capitalist country in the UFAI. This is because whereas in the colonies,

the principal contradiction is between the imperialists and the colony, in the capitalist, imperialist countries, the principal contradiction is between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and there can be no unity in that situation. The bourgeoisie plays a totally reactionary role. In fact, the most thorough-going complete and reliable class in modern society is the proletariat. It is the only class with irreconcilable contradictions with the bourgeoisie.

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The Proposal says:

"The proletarian parties in imperialist or capitalist countries must maintain their own ideological, political and organizational independence in leading revolutionary struggles. At the same time, they must unite all the forces that can be united and build a broad united front against monopoly capital and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war." 7

At this point, we are going to deal specifically with the U.S. and the importance of the UFAI and its composition. We must re-emphasize that the UFAI, as the world-wide strategy, is the strategy for revolution inside the U.S. Why is this so?

"U.S. imperialism remains the chief enemy of all peoples, the greatest oppressor and exploiter of other countries, the bastion of international reaction. It cannot live without economic expansion, without oppressing and exploiting other people. It is intensifying its barbarous war in Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos (although the play may be different, the actions are the same- Ed.); it incited Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. The struggle against U.S. imperialism is the supreme duty of all revolutionary forces, for all peoples. The duty of all revolutionaries is to make the masses of the people politically and ideologically clear, to raise their vigilance, to show them where the enemy is." 8

We are where the enemy is. We are in the bastion. Our duty to the world's peoples is clear. U.S. imperialism, as the international exploiter of the world's people, is also the domestic exploiter of the U.S. proletariat and oppressed peoples in the U.S. As such, the strategy for proletarian revolution must coincide with the world-wide strategy; we must build a UFAI, the key to which is the building of a M-L Communist Party in the U.S., with the purpose of smashing the bourgeois state and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This must not be confused or distorted by comparing it with the revisionist line of the CPUSA (R). Their "United Front Against Monopoly Capital" is nothing more than an alliance with the bourgeoisie and prevents the proletarian dictatorship. We are opposed to this and all other forms of this revisionist garbage, which cuts the heart out of the UFAI, and denies its

revolutionary nature and purpose. More on this later.

Now that we are clear why the UFAI must be the strategy for the U.S. revolution, let us proceed with an examination of the UFAI in the U.S.

Who is in the UFAI?

The proletariat-- Those who sell their labor to the capitalist, who own nothing but their ability to work. (This includes the reserve army of labor, the unemployed). This is the bulwark of the revolution. We understand that the proletariat is divided into production and non-production workers. The most advanced of the proletariat are the industrial proletariat, those production workers in basic industry. The non-production workers, like hospital, post office, telephone, etc. are just as much a part of the proletariat. This class, led by its Party, is the most revolutionary class in the U.S. They lead the struggle against all forms of tyranny and oppression. This excludes the labor aristocracy, which we will deal with shortly.

The semi-proletariat-- Migrant farmers, shop assistants, street vendors, share croppers, part-time laborers. They constitute a strata in the society that is a result of the many complexities of the development of capitalism. Like every system, capitalist development occurs in stages and processes of transition from one stage to another. This is manifested in the semi-proletariat strata. Their social position is that they must sell their labor on a part-time basis in order to survive. On the other hand, they still maintain other means of subsistence which are not proletarian. Generally, the principal aspect of this strata is the proletarian aspect; they are on the verge of complete transformation to become proletarian; this does not rule out the possibility of some elements reversing this general trend. However, in general they are surpassed only by the proletariat in the level of exploitation they suffer at the hands of the bourgeoisie, and are therefore the closest allies of the proletariat. There must be much more investigation as to the concrete conditions, size and disposition of the semi-proletariat in the U.S. We put forward this analysis as a starting point for discussion on this question:

The revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie-- This class can be divided into the revolutionary and non-revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie, as explained. Generally, the upper stratum, due to its material wealth, will fall within the ranks of the non-revolutionary and the lower and middle stratum, more oppressed by the bourgeoisie, will fall within the ranks of the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie. However, this situation should not be viewed statically or mechanically. Under certain conditions, changes may occur that will alter that alignment, but the main thing we wish to emphasize is that the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie constitutes the main ally of the proletariat in the UFAI.

Also within the UFAI, the righteous struggles of the oppressed nationalities are an important force. The oppressed nation and national minorities suffer as a direct result of the evil imperialist system, which lives on the oppression of nations and the dispersion of nations. This manifests itself in the U.S. in the struggles of the Black, Latin, Asian and Native-Americans who are the victims of the most blatant national oppression. Their battles have set countless examples for all of us in the U.S. and the world. And their weight in the war with imperialism must not be undercut.

The lumpen-- Declasseed elements, parasites living off the working class. As Marx put it so aptly, "the scum of the earth". They are extremely unstable and unreliable elements, and are progressive only insofar as they subordinate themselves to the leadership of the proletariat and transform their world outlook. At best, a very shaky ally.

Who is not in the UFAI?

The bourgeoisie-- Both the monopoly capitalist and non-monopoly capitalist (petty capitalist) groups. This constitutes the ruling class, reactionary to the bone and totally irreconcilable with the forces of the revolution. They cannot be united with under any circumstances. This includes the comprador Black bourgeoisie of the Black Nation, which is totally sold out to their white masters.

The labor aristocracy-- The labor hacks, trade union bureaucrats and highly skilled workers who are bought off by imperialism. Lenin refers to them, and rightly so, as the "bourgeoisified" strata of the working class. They are in the hip pocket of the bourgeoisie and are against the interests of the proletarian revolution. They're the material basis for the opportunism which divides the working class.

Here we have a very basic, skeletal class analysis and composition of the UFAI in the U.S. Now we can proceed to see how the strategy will shape up. We must bear in mind that we are dealing with the most monstrous imperialism the world has ever known; and this brings the question of the liberation struggles of the colonies and dependent nations. The UFAI would be a farce if it did not deal with the unity between the proletariat and oppressed peoples within the U.S. and the liberation struggle around the world against U.S. imperialism.

It is in this light that we will break down the Objective, Main Force, Immediate Reserve and Direction of the Main Blow and the Disposition of Forces.

Objective: To overthrow the U.S. imperialists and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. This act will be a day of

celebration all over the world; it will signal the defeat of the main criminal in the world arena.

Main Force: The multi-national proletariat of the U.S. along with the struggles of the colonies and dependent countries against U.S. imperialism. This includes the national liberation struggle of the Black people within the U.S.

Main Reserve: The semi-proletariat and revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie and the oppressed national minorities of the U.S., along with the socialist countries of the world, headed by China and Albania.

Direction of the Main Blow: Against the revisionists, both right and left maintained by the state power and restoration of capitalism in the USSR, and represented by the CPUSA. Although the names and forms of revisionism are many, its content remains the direction of the main blow because they blunt the class struggle.

These forces, although cloaking themselves in Marxism, in essence call for a compromise with the bourgeoisie. Either by such blatant theories like peaceful transition, or many different forms of the same line, they liquidate the party of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat and wish to leave the proletariat weaponless in its fight against imperialism.

Plan for the Disposition of Forces: Alliance of the proletariat of the U.S., the national liberation struggles of the colonies and dependent countries and the semi-proletariat and revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie and struggle of the oppressed national minorities, with the purpose of neutralizing the backward forces and thereby taking state power.

This brings us to the question of strategic leadership. In regards to this question, the proletariat must take into account the direct and indirect reserves of the revolution, and must utilize them skillfully to its advantage.

Direct reserves of the revolution: a) the intermediate strata of the population (the middle and lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletariat). The struggle within of the oppressed nation and national minorities within the country; b) the proletariat of the neighboring countries; c) the revolutionary movement in the colonies and dependent countries; d) the conquest and gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist countries, headed by China and Albania.

Then there are the indirect reserves of the revolution: a) the contradictions among the non-proletarian classes, especially the contradictions among the bourgeoisie. At this period of the capitalist crisis, this is bound to intensify. Watergate

is but one example of this fact. Of course, such contradictions are of a tactical nature and must be seen in this light; nevertheless they are contradictions which can and must be utilized; b) the contradictions among the bourgeois states. This is manifested by the current farce of "detente" going on between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and the contention and collusion between the two. We must remember the line put out by the CPC on this question:

"Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary." 9

These contradictions, also tactical, must be utilized by the proletariat to its best advantage.

Stalin warned against disregard for these indirect reserves, especially those of the second category:

"It must be presumed that now, when the contradictions among the imperialist groups are becoming more and more profound, and when new wars among them is becoming inevitable, reserves of this description will assume ever greater importance for the proletariat." 10

All these things must be taken into account in correctly determining the strategy and tactics in a revolution.

We have attempted to lay out the general principles of a communist strategy and tactics, the function of strategy and tactics, and their relation to the world situation and the U.S. revolution in particular.

Up to this point, we've dealt with the UFAI as a worldwide strategy for revolution and with its application to the U.S. Every strategy has to be applied according to an analysis of the objective conditions and class forces. That's why we've included a skeletal class analysis of the U.S. to make crystal clear what's meant by the slogan "unite all that can be united against the common enemy" in the struggle against imperialism, who is united with and why.

On what basis do the working class and the broad masses of people unite and what is the role of Communists in the UFAI? The basis of unity is on the basis of the concrete struggle against imperialism. The "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" says,

"the proletarian party must under present circumstances actively lead the working class and working people in struggles to oppose monopoly capitalism,

to defend democratic rights, to oppose the menace of fascism, to improve living conditions, to oppose imperialist arms expansion and wars preparations, to defend world peace and actively to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations." 11

The masses are involved in these struggles which deal death blows to the imperialist system. Under conditions of moribund, decaying imperialism, the lives of the working people and toiling masses worsen day by day. This steady deterioration in the material conditions of the people forces the masses to struggle against imperialism. It's an objective law of historical development, where there's oppression there's resistance. Communists must lead these struggles uniting all the forces that can be united concretely in the struggle against the U.S. ruling class. In the struggle, communists fight for the leading role of the working class. We unite to give resolute support to the storm-center of world revolution, the national liberation struggles of the Third World. We unite to fight the growing attack on the living standards of the masses- massive unemployment, wage freeze, etc.

"The proletarian party must lead the masses in waging struggles against the enemies, and it must know how to utilize the contradictions among those enemies. But the purpose of using these contradictions is to make it easier to attain the goal of the people's revolutionary struggles and not to liquidate these struggles." 12

While the proletariat and its CP unite with the broad masses, it must maintain its own ideological, political and organizational independence in leading the revolutionary struggles; it must not submerge within these struggles but maintain its independence, initiative and leading role. Within the United Front, communists have the responsibility to raise the political consciousness of the broad masses and educate them to proletarian revolution. At the same time, communists must lead the immediate struggles of the people- like the struggle for better wages, better housing, the struggle against police brutality, racism, etc.- link them up with the long range goal of socialism and never sacrifice the long range goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat for an immediate gain or victory. To do this is revisionism pure and simple- like the line expressed by the infamous words of the revisionist Bernstein, "The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing", which is still among us.

Within our movement today this is a real danger and the main influence holding back the development of our movement. Communists must struggle to raise the political consciousness of the masses and bring the science of Marxism-Leninism to the most advanced. We must constantly combat revisionism of Marxism-Leninism, in word and deed, and draw clear lines of demarcation between ourselves and the revisionists, especially around the question of

the aim of the struggle against imperialism- to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"On the other hand, it is always necessary to proceed from reality, maintain close contact with the masses, constantly sum up the experience of mass struggles and independently work out and apply policies and tactics suited to the conditions of one's own country. Errors of dogmatism will be committed if one fails to do so, if one mechanically copies the policies and tactics of another CP, submits blindly to the will of others or accepts without analysis the programme and resolutions of another CP as one's own line." 13

In the fight against imperialism, there are bound to be twists and turns, zig zags and sacrifices along the way because conditions are constantly changing. The proletariat and its Party through an analysis of the situation must be skillful, flexible and very principled to be able to determine the forms of struggle best suited to conditions. Communists must master all forms, legal and illegal. To do one to the exclusion of the other is to fall into right or left opportunism. Legal work must be carried out where it can be carried out. Not to deal with illegal work, however, is to degenerate to reformism like the Parties of the Second International, the social democrats, who preached that the road to socialism was through elections. Today in the U.S., this line is represented most crudely by the CPUSA as "peaceful transition to socialism".

To sum up, the main principles which guide Communists in the work of developing a UF are to fight for the leading role of the working class, unite all that can be united, maintain the leading and independent role of Communists, make clear lines of demarcation with revisionists and combine legal and illegal forms of struggle, show how the final solution is proletarian revolution.

It's clear that at this time, we are still under bourgeois democracy, but the menace of fascism exists. We have to understand what it is and how to struggle against it as part of the struggle against imperialism. We have to understand how and under what conditions the bourgeoisie develops its fascist apparatus.

Here we would like to go more in depth into the question of the menace of fascism. Throughout the rest of this pamphlet, there has been more elaboration and explanation on the other struggles against imperialism, to oppose monopoly capital, to defend democratic rights, etc. The struggle against the menace of fascism is a component part of the struggle against imperialism. It's within this perspective we examine it. Also it's important to go into this particular question because of some of the erroneous lines that exist within our movement on it today.

First, what is fascism? The definition most often used by Marxist-Leninists is the one put forth at the 7th Congress of the Comintern in 1935, which said:

"Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. Fascism in power is the open, terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of finance capital. Fascism is a tactical method of finance capital to defeat proletarian revolution, to divide the exploited people and maintain the capitalist class in power. The only difference from other capitalist parties is its particular methods, in its practice to realize the basic aim of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." 14

For the working class and oppressed masses, fascism is the expression of bestiality, disease, torture, slaughter and death.

But fascism doesn't come all at once, from one day to the next. Fascism develops within bourgeois democracy. The tendencies and germs of fascism are found within every capitalist country although it takes different forms. The general characteristics of fascism are: 1) the attempt of the bourgeoisie to place the burden of the capitalist crisis onto the backs of the working class by taking away the economic and political gains already won by the working class; 2) the capitalists use the real discontent of the people to build a reactionary mass force to smash the revolutionary movement; 3) the imperialists practice extreme aggression and exploitation internationally, enslaving weaker nations, intensifying colonial oppression and redividing the world.

What are the principal objective and subjective factors that determine the development of fascism? In every country where fascism has come to power an analysis of history shows that the main subjective factor for the development of fascism has to do with the absence of independent, militant, class conscious leadership of the working class. Where the working class movement is strong, fascism can't win; but, where the movement fails to fulfill its revolutionary role and follows the leadership of reform, fascism is able to win. Where the working class leadership fails to rally all discontented strata, the discredited old regime is able to draw support under quasi revolutionary slogans and build up forms of reaction. In the 30's, fascism was able to come to power because the Social Democrats (Revisionist) parties pursued a policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the communist parties weren't strong enough to be able to, apart from and instead of the Social Democrats, rouse the masses and lead them in decisive struggle against fascism.

Some forces in the Communist movement are calling for a UFAF

as the strategy for the American revolution, pointing to the menace of fascism and the line of the Comintern in the 1930's. But what were the conditions then? They were very different from now. The forces of imperialism were stronger, the fascists had taken state power in some countries and had formed an alliance to further its imperialist plunder and to destroy the Soviet Union, there was only one socialist country- the Soviet Union, - the national liberation struggles were weak. Based on this situation, the Comintern called for a UFAF. Today, the forces of imperialism are moribund and decaying; there are 2 great socialist countries, China and Albania; the national liberation movements are strong. The conditions are excellent for the world's peoples struggle against imperialism and revolution is the main trend in the world today. Part of this revolutionary struggle is against the menace of fascism and it's important to understand it and how it comes to power.

Objectively, fascism corresponds to a given stage of the development and decay of finance capital. It comes to power because of the intensification of the economic crisis and the class struggle. Worldwide, the class struggles intensify, more and more national liberation struggles are victorious, throwing the imperialists into a mad scramble for remaining possessions, leading to competition and wars for the redivision of the world. The imperialists intensify their military and war preparations to keep down the national liberation struggles, to fight other imperialists and to repress the rising proletarian movement within its borders. Within the country, the system of class relations are also deteriorating. The lives of the working class worsens every day with the imperialists putting the burden of the crisis on our backs. The ranks of the unemployed swell. New dispossessed and ruined petty-bourgeoisie elements are driven into the ranks of the working class and they break out as extremely unstable and violent, potentially revolutionary or ultra reactionary without clear consciousness, seeking any line of immediate action. Fascism bases itself primarily on the petty-bourgeoisie, the peasantry, the declassed elements and backward workers. Social Democracy (Revisionism) bases itself on the upper strata of industrial workers. The bourgeoisie bases itself on the support of both, bringing one or the other to the forefront.

Within the Communist movement, there are different positions on this question. In general, the right opportunist line says that it's not a real threat or that it is a threat but you unite with the 'liberal' bourgeoisie to fight it.

Because they pave the way for fascism to come to power, ranting and raving and raving that it's the fault of the communists for not allying with the 'liberal' bourgeoisie, they are called social-fascists, socialists in words and fascist in deeds.

They become the direct representatives of fascism within the working class movement. Historically from the old revisionists of the Second International to the modern day revisionists, they have followed the tail of the bourgeoisie. In the 30's, it was this policy of class collaboration that eased the way for fascism to come to power in countries like Germany, Spain and Italy. They have gone so far as to hunt down communists and collaborate in police slaughter of workers on strike among other crimes. Furthermore, the revisionists say that the fight against fascism is to restore bourgeois democracy. Communists say that we fight fascism in power, overthrow it and move not to bourgeois democracy, but to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since then to now, their role is the same, to attack communists, fight for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie all in the name of socialism.

The revisionists of the "left", the Trotskyites are no less treacherous. Trotsky himself said that the rise of fascism to power was the fault of the communists for not allying with the revisionists. He spread trash like saying that Social Democracy (Revisionism) is 'irreconcilable' with the bourgeoisie, the two can't meet. His position was that communists shouldn't attack revisionism. This road takes us to the same place as the other. Today, Trotskyites say that fascism is inevitable and a necessary stage of the development of imperialism, which completely denies the historic role of the working class in overthrowing imperialism, preventing fascism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today The Trotskyites overestimate the strength of the enemy and deny that revolution is the main trend in the world today.

Today in the U.S., we are still in a period of bourgeois democracy. However, we must propagandize, agitate and fight the menace of fascism wherever it raises its ugly head, without making either of the errors of underestimating or overestimating its danger. The struggle against the menace of fascism is an integral part of the struggle against imperialism, interrelated with the struggle to oppose monopoly capital, defend democratic rights, etc. The unity of all the peoples in these struggles within the U.S. together with the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism, will surely send it to its grave.

We will now examine the revisionist line of the CPUSA in relation to the strategy and tactics of the American revolution.

Generally, as we have previously stated, we see the strategy for proletarian revolution in the U.S. is that of the UFAI- with the proletariat and its party as the leading force, and its corresponding strategical and tactical allies in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and USSR social-imperialism. The principle contradiction within the U.S. is that between labor and capital.

The civil war inside the U.S. signified the period of a qualitative change from the negation of one social system to another that was coming into being. With the rise of capitalism over the slave system, in the form of the establishment of a bourgeois democratic state, the basis had been laid for the simplifying of the basic contradiction (that is, between labor and capital). The next stage was that of proletarian revolution inside the U.S.

In examining the new program of the CPUSA, we have their analysis of the relation between the state and monopoly, the rise of state monopoly capitalism and what they pose as the solution to monopoly capitalism.

"To sum up: the exploitation of wage labor by capital leads to a struggle by the working class whose final goal is to abolish exploitation of man by man by establishing socialism. To the exploitation of wage labor, monopoly and state monopoly capitalism add the exploitation and oppression of other sectors of the people, leading to a many sided struggle against all forms of robbery committed by monopoly capital. This is a struggle whose immediate purpose is not socialism, but restriction of the power of the monopolies through controls by people's organizations and by political power in the people's hands. At its heart is the struggle to win control of the government and to use it for the benefit of the people, not the big corporations. This takes place within the framework of a great diversity of struggles against monopoly domination. These diverse democratic struggles, alongside of and intertwined with the class struggle, are objectively struggles against a common enemy, monopoly capital. Hence, as awareness of this grows, they tend to merge into a common stream of struggle, into a coalition of all democratic forces against the power of monopoly. The strategy and tactics of the fight for socialism is closely intertwined with the anti-monopoly struggle." 15 (our emphasis).

We see here the first part of the statement is correct, in relation to the contradiction between labor and capital. But, we

inside the U.S. are not confronted with the question of strategically having to pass through a two-stage revolution, of having to win over a large number of peasantry as a strategic ally of the proletariat. That is one of many other aspects of a situation in a capitalist country where there are still many remnants of feudalism, which would demand in accordance with Marxism-Leninism, a two-stage revolution. Further, Marxists-Leninists do not separate the state and the government as two separate independent apparatus.

The purpose of the state is to serve the class which is in power at particular epochs of history, for it specifically serves as the tool of oppression.

As Lenin states, "The state is a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another."

We see here how the line of the CPUSA is revisionist straight-up, in stating that strategically, the proletariat and oppressed people in order to emancipate themselves must "take over" through "people's organizations, etc.", the existing state of the bourgeoisie (including the non-monopoly capitalists). To say this is to deceive the proletariat and can only lead it to remain shackled to the chains of the oppressor class. It is proposing that the proletariat subordinate itself to the "good intentions" of the non-monopoly capitalists, so-called liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, and adopt the principle of class collaboration. This line can be traced back historically to the revisionist second international, specifically Kautsky.

"On the other hand, the 'kautskyite' distortion of Marxism is far more subtle. 'Theoretically', it is not denied that the state is an organ of class rule, or that class antagonisms are irreconcilable. But what is lost sight of or glossed over is this: if the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, if it is a power standing above society and 'increasingly alienating' itself from it', then it is obvious that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class and which is the embodiment of this 'alienation'." 16

Therefore the strategy must be the UFAI focused specifically at the bourgeoisie as a class (not just monopoly capitalists), the smashing of its corresponding tool of oppression, the bourgeois state, and the proletariat replacing it with the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will be necessary in this transitory period of socialism to communism to suppress the bourgeoisie and to crush its resistance, its attempts to restore capitalism. But we know that this revisionist

national policy of the CPUSA, is the application of the line internationally which they are aligned with- the revisionist line of the USSR, Soviet social-imperialists.

We must be clear that these forces are diametrically opposed to the genuinely proletarian forces guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, as applied to concrete conditions.

Revolutionary Union--

Throughout the communist movement there are various lines representative of a right opportunist trend.

We will now examine the particular line of the RU and see how this right opportunist line is manifested specifically on how they view the UFAI.

If we look at the 3 tasks of the RU states must be carried out by communists:

"We must develop the UF, foster revolutionary working class unity, and build the CP based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. And we must set about all 3 tasks simultaneously." 17

The three tasks as historically put forward by the teachers are: 1) the Party; 2) the United Front; and 3) armed struggle.

We see there is no mention of the question of armed struggle; we know that the question of armed insurrection is a real task here in the U.S. when we speak of smashing the bourgeois state. This task must be raised for the necessary base building work of education and persuasion, training on what this is all about, and the history of past experiences to be studied and learned from.

We see that the RU replaces this with the task of "foster revolutionary working class unity and leadership in the struggle".

As Stalin stated there are 2 aspects to the working class movement, the objective spontaneous side and the subjective, conscious side.

First, what is exactly a resulting factor when we talk about the UFAI, if not the further strengthening of the ranks of the proletariat and its party with its allies. The RU states:

"The present UF is fragile, the proletariat is not united and cannot lead it, and has not developed its representative communist party." 18

Here we see in dividing the one into the two, the RU sees the UFAI as the strategy for proletarian revolution, but more emphasis is placed on the objective side of the movement. The UF has to be seen as a conscious planned strategy, guided by the subjective conscious side of the movement.

As we see there is a growing spontaneous movement- in essence a struggle against imperialism- for this is a law of history, where there is oppression, there is resistance. But to see our analysis solely on the basis of the objective, spontaneous side of the movement without seeing the dialectical relationship to the subjective side of the movement (which is the side where the field of application of strategy and tactics is undoubtedly limited to), something which the RU does, is to make serious right opportunist errors.

On this basis, the RU proposes that the task at this time is to develop anti-imperialist organizations, is itself incorrect. But again, we must divide the one into the two. For as we know, from our practice with them, the RU puts forward that the people in these anti-imperialist organizations are not yet at the level to be armed with Marxism-Leninism and trained accordingly.

For example, which is reflective of their view on strategy and tactics, in our work with them in the intermediate organizations, the right line is reflected in the RU taking from the "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", as proposed by the CPC, the part where they state:

"In the imperialist and capitalist countries, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are essential for the thorough resolution of the contradictions of capitalist society." 19

And further on, the CPC goes to state what is to be seen as the principles for the building of a broad national UFAI (as previously stated in another part of this paper). We see this is what the RU relegated to the 5 mechanical spearheads of struggle, where the different anti-imperialist organizations could be based, as they said, on 1, 2 or 5 of these spearheads. In essence, this takes the heart out of the UFAI, as a strategy, and doesn't deal with the question of defining who is to be seen as strategical and tactical allies.

This is precisely the task of the subjective side of the movement. The RU line is still representative of holding on to the right line of worshipping the spontaneous movement and belittling the role of the conscious elements. For the way that the most resolute anti-imperialist forces will be developed, will be through the training and arming with the science, and becoming further tempered in struggle by taking more of a leading role with guiding and developing the objective spontaneous struggles which will further strengthen the class stand of these elements.

It is key to grasp what is the principal contradiction, for it aids in determining strategy and tactics, on the basis of concrete analysis of concrete conditions and it enables us to better determine the disposition of forces. Strategy deals with the subjective factor which is the reflection of the objective processes.

During World War II, the principal contradiction in the world was between the fascist tide and democracy. The CPUSA, already in acute degeneration, put forward that the principal contradiction in the U.S. was between fascism and democracy. This was used as a cover for their alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Instead of accelerating the subjective factor to lead the masses to the resolution of what was the principal contradiction (i.e., the proletariat vs. the bourgeoisie), the CPUSA went to bed with the bourgeoisie and sold out the class.

By saying that the principal contradiction is between the oppressed nations and national minorities and the bourgeoisie, and by stating that the main thing dividing the class is white chauvinism, they sidetrack the proletariat and keep it further away from achieving its historic mission. It is precisely because the principal contradiction in the U.S. is between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat that the goal of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the proletariat. We know that through resolving the principal contradiction, all the others, including the question of white chauvinism as part of the national question, will be resolved.

The RU tries to hold back the wheels of history by throwing such obstacles in our path as creating principal contradictions on their fancy, reflective of the right trend in the Communist movement. They will try to say anything but the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction, because they fear the resolution of that contradiction-- the dictatorship of the proletariat. Further, to say that the principal reason for the division in the class is white racism denies the bankrupt role of the labor aristocracy and the opportunism it promotes within the working class that is the cause of its division. Again, they show their fear. They do not put forth that opportunism, receiving its material base from the labor aristocracy, divides the class because it will lead to the exposure of their line for what it is-- right opportunism. Saying that racism divides the class, only furthers the division, by keeping the truth from the proletariat.

Finally, we feel that the RU's formulation of the principal contradiction is a direct reflection of the fundamental philosophical root for all opportunism: complete adoration of the spontaneous movement. At the time of Red Papers #1, #2, #3 and #4 (even though they continue this formulation to this day), the Black liberation struggle was indeed the most profound and powerful spontaneous movement of that period. Many developing

communists can trace their development to those days; we are aware of the importance of that period. And it is this very awareness which enables us to see clearly the criminality of the RU's line.

As the PRRWO, we thoroughly repudiate this opportunist position, which we had also formulated. We see that this is a trend of the right opportunists which in practice holds back proletarian revolution and confuses and misleads the proletariat.

At that time, the communists had the duty to uphold the M-L line on the principal contradiction in the U.S. and wage a fierce struggle against opportunist distortions. In upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, the struggle against opportunism would have been consistent and the advanced elements in the society, primarily among the proletariat, would have come forward as an essential part of the party building process. This would have been the only organization that could have, most efficiently, militantly and with long-range objectives, been able to give conscious leadership to the mighty Black liberation struggle, as well as the many other spontaneous struggles of that time.

What did the RU do? Cringe before spontaneity, even going so far as saying that the leading spontaneous struggle was the principal contradiction in the U.S. This right opportunist adulation of the objective processes smacks of the patented right opportunist productive forces theory, which places at all times primary emphasis on the objective processes, and completely denies the role of consciousness in the development of history.

This is no mere error on the RU's part. We think it is further proof of their right errors, for if it is not repudiated, it will inevitably lead to the bankrupt theory of peaceful transition to socialism.

To conclude, we have seen how generally the RU has broken the dialectical relationship between the objective and subjective factors, placing more emphasis on the objective spontaneous side of the movement. We see this is a right opportunist trend within the communist movement, which in practice holds back proletarian revolution and confuses and misleads the proletariat.

Communist League--

Now we will examine the CL's position on the UFAI.

As stated and correctly so, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist analysis, concrete analysis of concrete conditions, the main enemy of the world's people is U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism. This is shown by the struggle of countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and people wanting revolution. All these struggles are focused against monopoly capitalism. Due to the nature of imperialism and uneven levels of development, and in accordance with the General Proposal, the strategy and tactics of the proletariat on an international scale is the building of the broadest United Front against Imperialism. We see how this is in accordance with the Leninist theory of proletarian revolution:

"First Thesis: The domination of finance capital in the advanced capitalist countries; the issue of stocks and bonds as one of the principle operations of finance capital; the export of capital to the sources of raw materials, which is one of the foundations of imperialism; the omnipotence of a financial oligarchy, which is the result of the domination of finance capital.

All this reveals the grossly parasitic character of monopolistic capitalism, makes the yoke of the capitalist trusts' syndicates a hundred times more burdensome, intensifies the indignation of the working class with the foundations of capitalism, and brings the masses to proletarian revolution as the only solution.

Hence the first conclusion: Intensification of the revolutionary crisis within the capitalist countries and growth of the elements of an explosion on the internal, proletarian front in the "metropolises".

Second Thesis: The increase in the export of capital to the colonies and dependent countries, the expansion of 'spheres of influence' and colonial possessions until they cover the whole globe; the transformation of capitalism into a world system of financial enslavement and colonial oppression of the vast majority of the population of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries- all this has, on the one hand, converted the separate national economies and national territories into links in a single chain called world economy; and on the other hand, split the population of the globe into 2 camps: a handful of 'advanced' capitalist countries which exploit vast colonies and dependencies, and the huge majority consisting of colonial and dependent countries which are compelled to wage a struggle for liberation from the imperialist yoke.

Hence the second conclusion: Intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the colonial countries and growth of the elements of revolution against imperialism on the external, colonial front.

Third Thesis: The monopolistic possession of 'spheres of influence' and colonies, leading to a frenzied struggle for a redivision of the world between the countries which have already seized territories and those claiming their 'share'; Imperialist wars as the only means of restoring the disturbed 'equilibrium' - all this leads to the intensification of the struggle on the third front, the inter-capitalist front, which weakens imperialism and facilitates the union of the first two fronts against imperialism: the front of the revolutionary proletariat and the front of colonial emancipation.

Hence the third conclusion: That under imperialism, wars cannot be averted, and that a coalition between the proletarian revolution in Europe and the colonial revolution in the East in a united world front of revolution against the world front of imperialism, is inevitable.

General conclusion: Imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution." 20

With the general conditions prevailing in the U.S., an advanced capitalist country where the principle contradiction is that between labor and capital, the strategy is that of a broad United Front against Imperialism. Stalin states:

"The most important function of strategy is to determine the main direction which ought to be taken by the working class movement, and along which the proletariat can most advantageously deliver the main blow at its enemy in order to achieve the aim formulated in the programme. A strategic plan is a plan of organization of the decisive blow in the direction in which the blow is most likely to achieve the maximum results." 21

In the following quote from "The Proletariat" of the CL, we see their 'left' revisionist position on the United Front.

"Until now we have thought together with Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung that the dictatorship of the proletariat was the strategy for proletarian revolution. 'Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested.' (1) And, consequently, all work must be directed towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (2)

But now the conciliators of revisionism have enlightened us that the real "Marxist" strategy for the U.S. of N.A. should be their 'UFAI'. Of course, these con-

ciliators go on to say that their "new" strategy is really the strategy to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat after all, just as the Soviet Social Imperialists tell us that "the state of the whole people is continuing the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat".

Let us examine this nonsense. First of all, why do the revisionists and the conciliators both see the need to "improve" on Lenin by moving away from the vital "touchstone of Marxism"? Secondly, what is the need for this new formulation? Until now the international communist movement (Lenin, Stalin, the Comintern, etc.) has seen no such need". 22

Further they state:

"the call by the Chinese was a call to the colonial world which is exploited and oppressed by imperialism. Within the U.S.N.A. we're not exploited by a foreign power, but the U.S.N.A. capitalist class." 23

In accordance with the teachers, here is what the CPC states in the Proposal:

"This general line proceeds from the actual world situation taken as a whole and from a class analysis of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, and is directed against the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism.

This general line is one of forming a broad United Front with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as its nucleus, to oppose the imperialists. It is a line of broadly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the reactionary forces.

This general line is one of resolute struggle by the people of all countries and of carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the end; it is the line that most effectively combats imperialism and defends world peace." 24

In the CL stating the strategy is proletarian revolution, they are completely misapplying what is a strategy. Proletarian revolution denotes the period of struggle which exists at this time in the U.S., but as previously stated by Stalin, the strategy denotes the plan of organization based on the determination of the main blow in order to move to proletarian revolution.

To state that the UFAI is only for colonies is in essence to belittle and negate national liberation struggles as part of the proletarian revolution, which is a typical Trotskyite line.

What is CL's view on the UFAF? They see the UFAF as:

"A loosely knit coalition of organizations who are united solely on the basis to stop fascism. It is composed of both trade unions and the popular front, organizations which the working class belongs to that are not based in the plants." 25

In other words, we must see fascism as an impending fascist offensive by the bourgeoisie- meaning fascism is inevitable and part of the objective processes and that the proletariat has no allies and makes proletarian revolution by itself. This is again a typical Trotskyite line. This also goes counter to the theory which states that the proletariat must struggle for hegemony (leadership) precisely because it rallies its allies nationally-- especially in the UFAI dealing with both tactical and strategic allies.

FOOTNOTES:

1. "Concerning the Question of Strategy and Tactics", Collected Works of Stalin, Vol. 5, p. 164.
2. "Ibid", p. 166.
3. "Ibid", p. 169
4. "The Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", Peking, p. 4
5. "Ibid", p. 6
6. "Ibid", p. 5
7. "Ibid", p. 19
8. "Summary - Enver Hoxha's Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA", pp. 1-2
9. "The Tenth National Congress of the CPC", Documents, p. 24.
10. Foundations of Leninism, Stalin, p. 89.
11. "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", p. 18.
12. "Ibid", p. 24.
13. "Ibid", p. 54.
14. United Front Against War and Fascism, Dimitrov, p. 10.
15. New Program of the CPUSA, p. 21
16. State and Revolution, Lenin, p. 9.
17. Red Papers #1, #2 and #3, p. 41
18. "Ibid", p. 41.
19. "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", p. 18.
20. Foundations of Leninism, Stalin, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, pp. 26-27.
21. Collected Works of Stalin, Vol. 5, p. 166, "Concerning the Question of Strategy and Tactics".
22. "The Proletariat", Vol. 3, #1, 1973.
23. "Ibid".
24. "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", Peking, p. 4.
25. "The Proletariat", Vol. #3, No. 1, 1973.