

INTRODUCTION

Comrades:

The following pamphlet on party building is to date the most complete analysis of the PRRWO, on this the most burning and urgent task of our movement.

The pamphlet is composed of a collection of materials put forward by our organization: a brief analysis of the crisis of imperialism presented at the recent conference on the development and tasks of the revolutionary student-youth movement; our presentation at recently-held forums on party building, our theoretical presentation of the question; an internal document outlining the development of our line on party building from the viewpoint of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge; and articles from Palante, our political organ.

We attempt to show how our line on the question of party building developed from a perceptual to a rational understanding--thus reaching clarity on our tasks, struggling to correct errors and deviations, intensifying the struggle against opportunism, and purging our ranks of unstable and unreliable elements. Thus consolidating our advances as we lock arms with all genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements in the forward motion towards building our party.

In tracing the development of our line, we disclose our main philosophical deviation--empiricism. We believe a critical examination of this deviation is necessary and must be carried on by the genuine wing of our movement in order that we may combat a historically-established trend in our country--pragmatism, the philosophy of action, a deep-rooted problem stemming from the belittling of theory, leading to the ideological root of all opportunism, the worship of spontaneity.] SC

In fact, we believe that empiricism is the main deviation on the philosophical front in the genuine wing of our movement. We must intensify the struggle against this philosophical error, as we have been, through the serious study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to our concrete conditions--in the course of this, answering the burning questions we face in carrying out proletarian revolution in this country in the interests of the international proletariat.]

The PRRWO offers this analysis as a contribution and a basis for further unity-struggle-unity among Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements. We believe we make a theoretical presentation of the question and elaborate on the corresponding tasks. We attempt to raise our experience (by "our" we mean the experience of the whole communist movement) and draw its general lessons--thereby raising our practice to its theoretical plane and back to practice. ?

In tracing the development of the struggle to build our party, we disclose:

the periods that party building has gone through since the treacherous betrayal of the "CP"USA; what the key link to party building was in the last period (approximately 1957 - 1972); and what the key link is in this period, understanding that party building involves ideological (which is the fundamental question to party building), political and organizational tasks. We outline the advances and setbacks, make an analysis of the struggle between the two lines as we examine the ideological and social basis of errors, deviations and opportunist lines fought against in the forward motion towards building the U.S. Bolshevik party, the party of Lenin, the party of a new type--thus making a definite rupture with the traditions of the Second International and the revisionism which has plagued our movement.

The following questions therefore become crucial in our analysis:

- Revisionism in the U.S.,
- Position on the trade union question,
- Analysis of the communist movement,
- For the Leninist position on the advanced elements,
- Our urgent task - the fusing of the communist and workers movements,
- Two tactics of party building,
- What period we are in,
- Key link to party building,
- Present situation and our tasks.

Although we realize that some points are covered only at a perceptual level of understanding, we believe the main thrust of this pamphlet reflects the rational understanding reached through struggle by all genuine Marxist-Leninists. We firmly believe that the struggle to deepen our understanding by hammering out the political line and program of action of our party is the key link and essential task of all genuine Marxist-Leninists at this time; this in turn moving along the ideological and organizational tasks.

our tasks [We must clearly answer the burning questions we face: a class analysis; our policy on trade union work; strategy and tactics; the national question--upholding the right of self-determination of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South, scientifically resolving the Chicano national question, and establishing a clear program of action in the struggle of all oppressed nationalities, women and youth; as well as clearly answering the military question, thereby setting down the principles guiding our work.

Political line is not mere "formulation" as some comrades mistakenly believe and as the opportunist wing of our movement has tried to interpret. But in fact the political line is hammered out in a fierce struggle against falsehood, by summing up our practice, analyzing it from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism to our concrete conditions as we move to solve problems--the theory guiding our work to change the world we live in. It is as Lenin pointed out:

"By following the path of Marxian theory we shall draw closer and closer to objective truth (without ever exhausting it); but by following any other path we shall arrive at nothing but confusion and lies."
(Materialism and Empirio-Criticism)

The political line is derived from the world outlook of the proletariat--dialectical and historical materialism--and it is the synthesized, systematic views dealing with the essence of the problems faced by our movement in answering the burning questions and urgent tasks before us. It therefore

clearly places the role of consciousness at the head of the movement. Our tactics of party building flow therefore from the broader question, the fusion of the communist and workers movements, as we unite Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced to communism by fighting for the Marxist-Leninist line against all confusion and lies.

Thus our disagreement that political line is mere formulation. We also stand opposed to the small circle spirit variation of political line--that is, that each small, or large grouping for that matter can only on the basis of their direct experience hammer out their line and then seek to struggle to achieve unity with other organizations. This is an undialectical approach which lags behind the party building motion. The line is developed by the direct and indirect experience of the movement. In fact, we must base our line on the universal principles and the summed-up experience of the labor movement the world over as laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao Tse-Tung.

Unity based on line reached through struggle will lay the basis for furthering joint theoretical work to clearly define our tasks--thus moving decisively, taking our revolutionary practice to a higher level. This is vital in order to take a qualitative leap forward in changing the objective and subjective situation we face--from not having our party, to building it on firm ideological, political and organizational principles.

Crucial to the task of uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced to communism is the struggle to further draw the line of demarcation with the sham wing of our movement. The recent Menshevik call to party building issued by the October League is the clearest example at this time of what constitutes the main danger in the communist movement--right opportunism--and shows how the October League has taken the RU's and CL's sham attempts a step forward in bankruptcy.

In fact it has been on party building, the burning question of our day, that the opportunism of the sham wing has most clearly revealed itself. They have tried to cover up their opportunism with a lot of "agreements," paying lip service to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and armed struggle, because they want to keep the struggle on general declarations as they lay the basis for revisionist lines and theoretical justifications for them.

Take the OL's disgraceful attempt at building the party from the bottom upward. They have stated that they will build their party now, struggle over the line for a year and then call the "party congress." Any striker, any "militant trade unionist," any unstable element, the police--whom they say is part of the working class--can join their party. The October League wants to render Martov and Axelrod more profound. A quote from Lenin will illustrate the October League's opportunist line.

"As a matter of fact, comrade Axelrod and comrade Martov are now only deepening, developing and extending their initial error with regard to paragraph I (of the rules-editor). As a matter of fact, the entire position of the opportunists in organizational questions already began to be revealed in the controversy over paragraph I; their advocacy of a diffuse, not strongly welded Party organization; their hostility to the idea (the 'bureaucratic' idea) of building the party from the top downward, starting from the

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Hardly.
Not only
from the
bottom up.

Party Congress and the bodies set up by it; their tendency to proceed from the bottom upwards, allowing every professor, every high school student and 'every striker' to declare himself a member of the Party; their hostility to the 'formalism' which demands that a party member should belong to one of the organizations recognized by the Party; their leaning towards the mentality of the bourgeois intellectual who is only prepared to 'accept organizational relations platonically;' their penchant for opportunist profundity and for anarchistic phrases; their tendency towards autonomism as against centralism..."

(One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Collected Works, Vol. 7, p. 206, our emphasis)

In the Call, Vol. 4, #2, November 1975, the October League makes the following statement:

"We propose that the new Party be established around a temporary body which can survey the organizational forces represented in the party, establish democratic centralism and prepare us for our first Party Congress, to be held within a year of our founding."

OL retreats
this in
Mar '76
issue of
Call.

The leaders of the October League blatantly express their opportunist line, their hostility towards centralism, spouting anarchist phrases which in essence amount to the freedom of factions which will exist in a situation where the various "organizational forces" will be surveyed by a temporary leading body, who will "prepare" them for the first "Party" Congress.

Democratic centralism is established by the party congress and the bodies set up by it. No amount of phrasemongering in the world, about how they oppose the RU's and CL's hegemonic attempts can cover up OL's bankrupt attempt at party building--or prove it any different, in fact, from RU's or CL's in terms of their ideological and social basis.

The working class needs its party, because it is the most highly organized, advanced detachment--and not some glorified version of SDS. Stalin says:

"The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their selfless devotion to the cause of the proletariat." (Foundations of Leninism)

The proletariat needs its party built on firm Marxist-Leninist ideological and political principles and not on some promise that this will be accomplished a year later, after the so-called founding of the "Party," after compromises over principles. The proletariat must be guided in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, the struggle to smash the bourgeois state and seize state power. The party, therefore is, as Stalin says, an instrument for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

✓ [Yes, the OL, like the RU and CL before it, is attempting another get-rich-quick scheme; they eliminate the necessary struggle over line prior to the congress so that the party is an embodiment of unity of will and action, a Bolshevik Party, incompatible with the existence of factions. Rather than calling for a Party which becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements, the opportunist leadership of the OL lays the basis for opportunists to come into their "Party."

"In one way or another, all these petty-bourgeois groups penetrate into the Party and introduce into it the spirit of demoralisation and uncertainty. It is they, principally, that constitute a source of factionalism and disintegration, the source of disorganisation and disruption of the Party from within. To fight imperialism with such 'allies' in one's rear means to put oneself in the position of being caught between two fires, from the front and from the rear. Therefore, ruthless struggle against such elements, their expulsion from the Party, is a pre-requisite for the successful struggle against imperialism." (ibid.)

So it has been proven in the situation in our country's history--the petty bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy were the social basis for the disintegration of the "CP"USA, the forebearers of the petty-bourgeois groupings who penetrated the party building motion and smuck into the growing anti-revisionist movement. It was they who introduced the spirit of hesitancy and opportunism. It was they who created the basis for a split, pretending at unity, while trying to manuever themselves into positions of power, pushing their hegemonist schemes.

"On the other hand, there are firm grounds for unity among the majority of the young Marxist-Leninist groups and organizations and now there is a plan which can lead to this unity." (The Call, Vol. 4, #3, Dec. 1975) *not w OL.*

No plan to build a Party from below can lead to unity of Marxist-Leninists or win the advanced to communism. In fact, we are opposed to the rotten theory of "overcoming" opportunist elements within the confines of a single Party. This dangerous theory, as Stalin explains:

"...threatens to condemn the Party to paralysis and chronic infirmity, threatens to make the Party a prey to opportunism, threatens to leave the proletariat without a revolutionary party, threatens to deprive the proletariat of its main weapon in the fight against imperialism." (Foundations of Leninism)

We make a call to all genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements to make a thorough break with the line represented by the October League, which at this point constitutes the main danger in the communist movement. We must especially intensify our struggle to win over honest comrades who have a deep class sentiment for the building of our Party and at times fall captive to political swindlers like the October League.

That is why, brothers and sisters, we must fight with all our might for the Leninist principles of party building. Class sentiment alone will not suffice. We must place party building on a firm base by studying conscientiously and seriously such works as What Is To Be Done, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Foundations of Leninism, Letter to a Comrade by Lenin, On Practice and On Contradiction by Chairman Mao, Dialectical and Historical Materialism by Stalin, Strategy and Tactics of the Bolsheviks by Stalin, and other such important works which will guide the summation of our work, analysis of our concrete conditions, the hammering out of our Party's line and program of action--and on to our Party Congress. *no mention of our conditions, practice, etc.*

The first Party Congress of the U.S. Communist Party--communist in the true sense of the word, to fight for the objective of communists, the abolition of classes, will be a celebration for the international proletariat. In the interests of moving our revolution forward, let's move comrades: THE PARTY SPIRIT PREVAILS.

**MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE AND WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM
IN RUTHLESS STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM!**



WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE!