

Party Building Statement

I) PARTY BUILDING UNITIES

- A) No organization is recognized as the Party of the US working class, nor is any "objectively the party" or the "center".
- B) Party Building is the central task of US Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces.
- 1) Party building will remain the central task until sometime after the founding of the party
 - 2) Without completion of the central task, other strategic & tactical tasks will not move forward qualitatively.
 - 3) While party building is central there are other strategic and tactical tasks that correspond to this period- these must be carried out simultaneously (there is a need to elaborate them to prevent their liquidation.)
 - a) A vanguard party cannot be forged apart from mass struggle. Our theory and political line must be put into practice, tested, summed-up, reapplied and condensed into programmatic views.
 - b) The party is forged in the course of proving that it is capable of leading the ideological and political struggle for the application of M-L to the concrete conditions of the US, capable of leading the revolutionary movement and leading the struggle against opportunist lines and trends.
 - 4) We are building a party rather than reconstructing the party, because there are few remnants of the former party (CPUSA) that party ceased to be a revolutionary party more than 2 1/2 decades ago.
 - 5) Party building is a process of the development of the subjective factor (ie- the political and ideological level training and leadership of the revolutionary forces). No objective factors (ie. the relative state of the spontaneous mass movement, lack of fusion between this movement and the communist movement, etc) should prevent us from developing the party now.
- C) Our period of the revolution; There are certain characteristics of a pre-party period.
- 1) The party will go through several periods before gaining power.
 - 2) Theory is primary over practice in this period.
 - a) The revolutionary movement must struggle to build its outlook, stand and viewpoint on the basis of Marxism-Leninism
 - b) Theory will be primary over practice until such time as there is a guiding program based on the application of M-L.
 - 3) Propaganda is primary over agitation.
 - a) A special emphasis on propaganda corresponds to the need to build the party, to unite the ML forces, and win the vanguard to the side of the party.
 - b) Agitation & propaganda are inseparably linked. The leading role of propaganda in this period does not allow us to liquidate agitation.
 - 4) The development of a leading line and program is a fundamental task to the development of the party.
 - a) In a period of relative peace, a party program is necessary at the outset of the party's founding. It is incorrect for a group to rename itself the party without having transformed itself qualitatively through the party building struggle.
 - b) The correct line defines itself by drawing lines of demarcation with the opportunist lines and by further

developing its unity on a higher level.

c) No single line of demarcation with the opportunists divides sham forces from genuine, (ie. opposition to the "theory of the three worlds), though the communist movement (CM) will often focus its attention on a particular burning issue. That issue can often play a special role in the development of lines of demarcation. A political trend in the movement is defined by unity on several fundamental political lines.

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- D) The construction of a party must have a completely planned & conscious character;
- 1) The party is primarily constructed by Marxist-Leninists, through the forging of conscious unity and secondarily through the efforts and contributions of other advanced forces towards unity. The leadership (of existing groups) play key roles in party building, but it is wrong of other cadre, sympathizers, and contacts did not also view party building as their central task- or if they were not allowed to participate in the task.
 - 2) Party building cannot move forward without a plan: the plan must reflect the tasks, steps and method that must be taken.
- C) Communist norms of organization must be upheld in a preparatory period.
- 1) Upholding democratic centralism, clandestinity etc and other communist norms must be the objective of every ML circle from the outset of its existence. While developing itself as a future unit of the party, they must focus on overcoming small circle spirit and laying the conditions for the founding of the party.
 - 2) Communist norms must exist between fraternal organizations engaged in party building; open and above board struggle, use of criticism-self-criticism, systematic communications, struggling from the perspective of unity, maintaining confidentiality of information useful to the state or the opportunists. The interests of the whole CM and revolutionary movement should be placed above that of the individual group.
 - 3) The party spirit should be engendered and the circle should focus on reaching out to the whole communist movement on a national level.

I I) CONDITIONS IN THE US COMMUNIST MOVEMENT:

- A) Conditions internationally affecting the US M-L movement
- ✓ [1) We are experiencing the greatest crisis in the International CM since the early 60's. This is the result of the revisionist takeover in China and the subsequent expounding of a full blown opportunist line on the international situation- the "theory of the three worlds".
 - a) The issue has split the USCM; in some cases aiding the task of exposing opportunist trends, in other cases the "three worlds theory (TWT) has disoriented or won over honest forces.
 - b) Objectively, the communist movement sees the opportunists stronger than before and the M-L forces still disorganized.
 - c) Opposition to the (TWT) and Chinese revisionism has become a bandwagon for other opportunists- giving them a platform and the ability to make temporary gains.
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- B) The US Communist movement is "temporarily" experiencing some disorientation and trying to recuperate from having

II.B) cont'...unanilytically tailed the line of the Communist Party China.

- 1) Much of the foundations of our beliefs have to be reexamined given the revisionist deviations of the CPC that have come to light (eg. factionalism within the CPC, a party with more than one line, errors in the international practice of China, liberalism towards bourgeois elements in the party, ect.)
- 2) The tendency exist among some comrades to commit the same tailism towards the line of the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA).
 - a) accept the PLA's international line without either through study or investigation.
 - b) Tendency on the part of some tailist to blindly accept the attacks on Mao without any analysis of their own.
- 3) Dispite the temporary disorientation of the US CM, from the long term point of view these struggle will Bolshevize the vanguard and create the conditions for full discussion and indepth analysis of M-L and its application to the objective reality; the struggle will test the foundations of our beliefs.

✓ C) Marxist-Leninist forces are extremely disorganized.

- 1) The Communist movement is splintered; organizationally and politically disunited.
 - a) few foundations for unity have been consciously articulated, though there exist possibilities for building unity.
 - b) no leading group is recognized though there is positive motion on the part of several organizations.
 - c) communications between groups is characterized by spontaneity- it lacks a systematic and timely nature. The communications do not appear to be well focused on achieving ideological, political and organizational unity.
- 2) M-L leadership has not focused work on resolving disunity

D) Small circle spirit still characterizes the movement as a whole

- 1) The lack of the urgently needed organization to organization contact is a symptom of small circle spirit.
- 2) Failure to grasp party building tasks as central
- ✓ 3) Failure to break out of local view of M-L work and give it national scope.
- 4) Failure to take up analysis of the state of the whole CM, to travel and do objective analysis of conditions; and to confront the major obstacle by placing themselves in the center of the struggle to give leadership to the CM.
- 5) Failure to engage in common practice with other M-L on a local, regional or national level.
- 6) Failure to distribute their views, materials, sum-ups, etc* and more typically, failure to take a communist view towards the published works of other struggling revolutionaries by seriously studying, and answering them. (also a fear of using the materials written by others).

*Most groups have 10 "internal documents" for every one they publish. This is due partly to their confused position on security & partly because they underestimate the usefulness of even the most modest or incomplete efforts. We must break with this fear of being attacked and come out in the open!

- 7) Failure to systematically and openly take up the struggle with the line of COUSML and the MLOC (CPUSA-ML) and others who oppose the TWT. These organizations are presently

II.D) cont...

better able to reach the anti-revisionist forces. We must either unite with them nationally or expose them nationally. Fear of struggling directly with these national formations can be traced to small circle spirit. (there is also the need to polemicize with the major trends that presently have great influence in the movement.)

We can not be content to merely deal with the opportunists on a local level alone.

8) Failure to establish contact with the international communist movement, seek their guidance, their assistance and experience directly from them.

E) Right opportunism is the main danger

1) Right opportunism is rampant on the international level and the influences of those international trends are continually imposed on the US CM.

2) Determination of the main danger is important to an overall orientation and rectification of errors.

3) Though there are problems of sectarianism, dogmatism, 'left phrasemongering, bookworship, etc. these problems have been committed by both the rightists and the leftists.

a) To admit that these errors have characterized the CM as a whole (opportunist and genuine trends) is not to admit that " 'left' is the main danger".

b) The content of the line as well as the form must be the criterion for determining the main danger in the CM.



c) To say that there is a "dogmatic" and "anti-dogmatic" trend in the US CM is a meaningless lumping together of

'left' and right deviations

d) The movement as a whole is not good at speaking to the specific conditions and culture of the US working class, and instead mimics Russian or Chinese revolutionaries.

e) 'Left'-blocism (the failure to emerge among the masses) also seems to characterize the US CM.

4) The content, of the line of most of the deviations made by the opportunist trends as well as by honest forces, is revisionism and right errors. Some of these lines are; economism, trade unionism, eclecticism, belittlement of ideology and theoretical training, reformism, pragmatism, working in an unplanned manner and generally bowing to spontaneity. Most importantly within the party building process, right deviations- localism, small circle spirit ect- has predominated. (This laundry list of right errors will not be particularly useful unless an analysis follows which explains the form and the content of the lines and how they have arisen in our movement).

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