

INTERNAL BULLETIN

CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF U.S. MARXIST-LENINISTS

REPORT OF THE SECOND MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF U.S. MARXIST-LENINISTS, HELD JULY 6-10  
(July 16, 1974)

The National Committee of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists held its second meeting from July 6 to 10 in Boston. The comrades held extensive discussions on the situation in the working class, the situation in the Marxist-Leninist movement and the situation in our organization. The National Committee took several important decisions. The most important were to:

1. Call upon the comrades and supporters of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists to go deep into the working class, conduct detailed social investigation into the economic conditions of the working class and into its struggles, and to participate vigorously in all of its struggles.
2. Call upon all the comrades and supporters of the COUSML to wage the struggle against opportunism in the Marxist-Leninist movement as a whole, focusing on the anti-Marxist-Leninist line of the so-called "Communist" League, and to work hard to unite the Marxist-Leninists. The National Committee holds that there should be an all-U.S. Congress of Marxist-Leninists in the not too distant future to organize the Party and calls upon all the comrades and supporters to propagate this idea, work hard to clear the ground ideologically, and unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninists to prepare for such a Congress.
3. Deepen the theoretical work of the COUSML on several fronts and to reorganize the national newspaper.
4. Move the national headquarters of the COUSML to Chicago, in the heart of the workers' movement, and to place main emphasis on the Midwest.
5. Call upon the comrades to continue to "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism".
6. Clarify certain organizational and ideological matters pertaining to the struggle inside our own organization.

These decisions are communicated to the comrades in the documents included below.

National Committee  
COUSML  
Tim Hall, Chairman

CALL TO THE COMRADES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The National Committee calls the attention of the comrades to four major areas: 1. The situation in the working class and the problems facing our work, 2. Our general orientation, 3. Our general plan, and 4. Immediate practical steps.

First: The situation in the working class and the problems facing our work

Economic crisis is developing. Workers are in motion--strikes and organizing drives are increasing. Anti-labor laws are in the offing. Marxist-Leninists, progressives and other circles are dealing with the workers' movement. Different trends are apparent--e.g., anarcho-syndicalist, reformist, etc. In this situation we must solve certain problems.

Most important is to develop, over a period of time, the general and tactical line for the workers' movement in order to lead its struggles against the class enemy. In order to do this we must overcome: 1. isolation from the working masses, 2. lack of a practical center and practical program--a practical center which maintains close contact with the comrades and leads the practical program.

Second: Our general orientation

It is important to clarify our orientation. 1. Our orientation is towards developing the general and tactical line for the workers' movement. 2. This cannot be done logically (just reading books, "figuring things out") but can only be done by becoming involved in the motion (practical movement) of the working class. 3. We must not give up the historical mission of the working class in this process. 4. Pay attention to the quote from Engels: "The condition of the working class is the starting point of all social movements." This is important in order to grasp that the working class is an inherently revolutionary class, i.e., the working class faces the capitalist class on a daily basis and this fact gives rise to the struggles of the working class to overthrow the capitalist class.

Third: Our general plan

Under our general plan are the following points:

1. Unite the Marxist-Leninists by carrying out the national program on this front.
2. Build the local COUSML Branch in the working class.
3. Carry out extensive investigation into the economic conditions and social movements of the working class so as to appropriate the material in detail from which to formulate the national line.
4. Participate in carrying out political and economic agitation. We should be especially conscious of the economic struggles of the workers in the deepening economic crisis.
5. Unite nationally around a practical center responsible for: a. an agitational newspaper, b. collecting views and working out a national viewpoint in correspondence with and with the aid of the local areas, and c. over a period of time develop worked out programs for local work.

Fourth: Immediate practical steps

1. Go into the class and hold discussions and interviews with workers, e.g., organized, unorganized, trade union officials, veteran trade unionists and communists, etc. Through this method get a picture of the economic conditions (i.e., working and living conditions) and social movement among the workers.
2. Characterize the general features or basic features of the city or area, e.g., basic industries, type of industries, organized and unorganized workers, are there significant movements among the workers (e.g., immigrant workers vs. immigration department, working women getting organized, etc.), use of anti-labor laws, etc.

3. Investigate the history of the workers' and Marxist-Leninist movement in the local area.
4. Participate in economic struggles and organizing drives.
5. Gather information--statistics, articles from local papers, reports, interviews, etc., and send copies of them to the center in Chicago.

## THE SITUATION IN THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT AND OUR TASKS

The two main characteristics of the situation in the Marxist-Leninist movement reflect the sharpening class struggle in the U.S. today. They are: 1. great disorder, breaking up of old alliances and tremendous debate and discussion, and 2. a powerful movement to split with all forms of revisionism, adopt the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and build the Communist Party.

Following is a description of the situation in the Marxist-Leninist movement:

### 1. Great disorder:

a. The former alliance of the RU-Guardian-OL- Black Workers Congress-Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, based on the line "the movement is everything, the end is nothing" (the mass movement is everything, the Party is nothing), has broken up. The BWC has split from the RU and criticized it on the basis of: a. opposition to Party-building as the principal task, b. opposition to recognizing the Afro-American question as a national question (RU has the line of cultural autonomy). PRRWO is close to BWC. This reflects the fact that the masses of revolutionary cadres in these organizations are looking for Marxism-Leninism and want to build a Party.

b. In this situation, the "C"L has come forward as the "great" Party-builder and called a Congress to form a party in September. BWC has been sitting with the "C"L, as have the three Puerto Rican organizations, including also El Comité and Résistencia.

c. RU has responded by attacking the BWC and its own Black cadres as "Bundist". It has opportunistically switched its stand to say that a Party must now be hurriedly built, on a platform it will release. It is contacting many small organizations. It has also issued two lengthy articles against the "C"L, the most wide-ranging criticism of "C"L yet published, which is largely correct but cannot be said to be thorough.

d. Several Black leaders in RU and other Black cadres have left it and formed a separate organization. Basis: RU's denial of the Afro-American national question. As a result, RU declares it is worried about "C"L.

e. The Guardian is very worried about "C"L, is ineffectually writing articles against it.

f. "C"L has concluded its polemics, it says, against COUSML and has declared itself "leaders of the world revolution" and will have no more debates. Implies many groups joining it. Develops all its reactionary lines on international politics to the full.

g. In its national and local Continuations Committees, "C"L is having trouble. In the Bay Area, "C"L has expelled Charles Loren and The New Voice from the Continuations Committee for opposing "C"L's theory that the entire U.S. working class is bribed. "C"L used the excuse that Loren violated point #1 of the "principles of unity", "adherence to Marxism-Leninism". The New Voice says that only a small stratum of the labor aristocracy is bribed by imperialism and that "C"L's theory is opposed to the economic struggles of the workers and is opposed to revolution. In Detroit, when the "C"L tried to impose a fourth point of unity onto the local continuations committee without discussion, the ordinary activists rebelled. Though they constituted the majority of the local committee, the national committee disbanded them. Both Loren and the Detroit majority are continuing to wage struggles against the attacks of the "Communist" League. Most recently, the Black Workers Congress has been expelled from the National Continuations Committee.

h. The October League, while attacking the "C"L, is also staying away from the RU. It is trying to consolidate its influence in the South, where it is about to take over the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a southwide strike-support and anti-repression liberal group, from which the revisionists have just been expelled.

### 2. Convergence of views:

a. The line which we advocated and did propaganda for in our struggle to hold a North American Conference is being taken up--building the Communist Party as the principal task. Every organization must now take this stand. The "C"L has copied and bastardized all the forms we popularized.

b. Recognition of the Afro-American question as a national question (nation in the

Black Belt with the right to self-determination, i.e., to secession)--BWC, Black ex-RU cadres. RU is isolated on this.

c. Recognition that Black people can only be free with a proletarian revolution (against "C"L)--BWC.

d. Common opposition to "C"L's hegemonistic activities (New Voice, Detroit, etc.), their reactionary line internationally (Guardian, OL, RU, etc.), their metaphysics (Detroit), their opposition to the workers' movement (The New Voice), etc.

This is an excellent situation. To take advantage of it and march forward to build the Party, the comrades of the COUSML must:

1. Develop our work in the workers' movement.

2. Push forward the struggle against the anti-Marxist-Leninist line of Nelson Perry and the "Communist" League by denouncing it and organizing struggles against it nationally and locally.

3. Make extensive contacts and hold intensive consultations with the Marxist-Leninist activists inside and outside the national organizations, both locally and nationally.

4. We should advocate that neither the RU nor the "C"L nor anyone else should hold any Congress to form a Party, that the interests of the working class as a whole dictate that there is a higher duty to it than to any particular group and that duty is: to clear the ground ideologically and politically, no matter how long it takes, to form the Communist Party of the working class. We should begin propoganda right now that instead of these small-group "congresses" there should be held (this is not a call for any date) an all-U.S. Congress of Marxist-Leninists in the not too distant future, and that ideological preparations, as well as organizational consultations, should begin right now.

5. Sometime this fall, when our investigations into the present state of the workers' movement and its history, the Marxist-Leninist and left-wing movement and its history, have borne their initial fruit, we will call an educational conference on these questions. This will go against the rush that the RU and the "C"L are pushing now to consolidate organizationally before the ideological work is done, and provide further opportunity to unite the Marxist-Leninists.

#### STUDY PROGRAM

The National Committee again stresses the importance of Chairman Mao's directive to "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism". It recommends that the comrades not only study to learn the conclusions of the great Marxists, but also their stand, viewpoint and method. It calls upon the comrades to study, in addition to the already assigned works by Lenin and Lozovsky, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" and "Oppose Book Worship" by Chairman Mao and the History of the CPSU(B) (Short Course) by Comrades Stalin and others.

## ON THE STRUGGLE IN OUR ORGANIZATION

The National Committee holds that the most important thing is to look at this problem in the light of the interests of the whole proletariat and the entire Marxist-Leninist movement. In the struggle against revisionism and anarcho-syndicalism and to build a Communist Party, there is a struggle between those who are upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, building the Party and leading the workers' movement forward towards the proletarian revolution, versus those who are opposing this process. This is a struggle between two lines in the Marxist-Leninist movement, reflecting in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists the fundamental contradiction between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the two roads, proletarian socialist revolution and bourgeois counter-revolution. Today the "left" opportunist leaders of the "Communist" League, headed by Nelson Perry, have sprung out as the main opponents of building the proletarian party and organizing the proletarian revolution (outside of the revisionist "C"USA) within the ranks of those professing to be Marxist-Leninists. "C"L's counter-revolutionary line is "left" only in form, while Right in essence. Practicing anarcho-syndicalism and trotskyism, they disarm the revolutionary activists in the face of revisionism and the bourgeoisie by describing Marxism-Leninism and revisionism as having the same features. (For example, "C"L opposes the Marxist-Leninists leading the economic struggles of the workers. Their excuse is their claim that the entire class is "bribed" by imperialism. Hence they oppose the Marxist-Leninists leading these struggles, describing this as "revisionist". In this way, they leave the field of the economic struggles open to the revisionists, who also participate in them, but for entirely different ends than do the Marxist-Leninists, that is, to parasitize off and liquidate them, in order to prevent the workers from developing their struggles towards the proletarian revolution.) Hence the "Communist" League leaders serve the bourgeoisie and are the main headquarters of reaction, outside of the revisionist "C"USA, among those professing to be Marxist-Leninists today. It is in the interests of the whole proletariat and entire Marxist-Leninist movement that sham Marxism-Leninism be separated from genuine Marxism-Leninism and be thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the masses.

The Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists is not yet the Party of the proletariat. It is a part of the whole Marxist-Leninist movement. The anarcho-syndicalist line of Nelson Perry has its influence inside our organization. But the main source of this influence is outside our organization. It is against this influence that we have waged our internal struggle. But to serve the class struggle of the proletariat and wage the two-line struggle in the Marxist-Leninist movement we must take into account the interests of the whole class and whole movement and not engage in introspection. We must direct our main fire at present against the anti-Marxist-Leninist line of the "Communist" League.

This is why the National Committee calls upon the comrades to plunge into the struggles of the working class and to wage the necessary struggles in the left-wing circles as our main tasks. Our organization and its genuine founding organizations have always taken the interests of the whole into account and worked to unite the Marxist-Leninists. (This is an important feature of our history, which illustrates that we alone, unlike the other national organizations, have always worked to unite the Marxist-Leninists into one Party. Another important feature is that we have always conducted revolutionary propaganda.) The Association of Communist Workers and the Lexington Communist Collective (Marxist-Leninist) from their inception always strove to learn from and unite with other Marxist-Leninist groups, including larger, national organizations. The American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist), after its founding in 1969, initiated contacts with the California "Communist" League (predecessor of the "Communist" League), the Bay Area Revolutionary Union (predecessor of the Revolutionary Union), the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (predecessor of the Black Workers Congress) and the Young Lords Party (predecessor of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization). The ACWM(M-L) initiated friendly discussions with the national leadership or leading comrades of all these organizations, with the exception of the Young Lords, whom we strongly supported on a local basis in New York. Each of the first three organizations told us that they were not interested in uniting the Marxist-Leninists on a national scale, in taking up the task of building a national Marxist-Leninist center. In the case of the "C"L and the BARU, they advocated pre-Party local

collectives, while the League expressed interest in working mainly in Detroit. Also, in the summer of 1969, Mike Klonsky, now leader of the October League (Marxist-Leninist), Noel Ignatin a veteran of the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party and now a leader of the Sojourner Truth Collective in Chicago, and Les Coleman, then an SDS leader, approached the ACWM(M-L) and held discussions with Comrade Tim Hall and another comrade in Cleveland. The ACWM(M-L) comrades held that the ACWM(M-L) would gladly unite with them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in order to build the Party and organize the proletarian revolution. Klonsky, Ignatin and Coleman then declared that another prerequisite to unity was that the ACWM(M-L) must recognize the existence of a Black nation in the Black Belt of the South and its right to self-determination (right to secession). When the ACWM(M-L) comrades said that they had not yet been able to study that question thoroughly but would unite and take it up at the same time, the others refused to unite without this prerequisite. The ACWM(M-L) also held friendly discussions with the BARU at the Vancouver Conference in January 1970, which both attended. Thereafter, there was correspondence between the ACWM(M-L) and leading comrades in the BARU until the BARU stopped after attacking the anti-hard-hat struggle as adventurist (but the correspondence did not end on an antagonistic basis; the BARU expressed the desire to continue contacts). The ACWM(M-L) was preoccupied with its own difficulties until in November 1972, when, together with five other organizations, it issued the Call for a Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists to advance the process of uniting all the Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. to build the Party. Representatives of the October League (Marxist-Leninist) attended the Toronto meeting which issued the Call but fled in the middle of the meeting, giving no explanation, and later denounced the Call along with the ACWM(M-L) and the CPC(M-L), alleging that we and our fraternal comrades were "CIA agents". The Revolutionary Union consistently refused to complete the arrangements for discussions with it which the ACWM(M-L) representative persistently tried to set up in Chicago. The representatives of the Guardian refused to allow the ACWM(M-L) and other members of the Preparatory Committee to speak at the Guardian Forum on Party-Building and cut off the microphone on our comrades when they persisted in speaking from the floor and explaining the Call and the necessity of building the Party. As for the even-more nefarious activities of the "Communist" League, they are detailed in the pamphlet series being prepared by the COUSML. Today the National Committee of the COUSML has initiated contacts with the other organizations and is organizing for the convening of an all-U.S. Congress of Marxist-Leninists to build the Communist Party. Hence, it is not the COUSML nor anyone in it which has been the main obstacle in the Marxist-Leninist movement to building the Party and organizing the proletariat for revolution.

At the same time, the influence of anarcho-syndicalism, principally spread by Nelson Perry and taking the form of "left" phrases covering Rightist capitulation and wrecking, has done considerable damage to the COUSML. While the COUSML was never converted from a Marxist-Leninist organization into an anarcho-syndicalist organization, nevertheless serious wrong ideas and practices were propagated and carried out by it on many occasions (and the same is true of its genuine founding organizations) and serious wrecking of the organizations took place internally. It is necessary to criticize the overall features of this anarcho-syndicalist influence, indicate the steps that must be taken to combat it and refute in detail certain wrong views propagated by it, to clear the decks for performing our main tasks militantly and well.

Ideologically the influence of anarcho-syndicalism promoted idealist apriorism, politically it promoted anarcho-syndicalism in the workers' movement and other mass movements, and organizationally it promoted anarchy and fascism.

1. Idealist apriorism: the view was promoted (and programs were widely organized on the basis of it) that investigation in general was wrong (it was "mocked" as "the method of thorough-going investigation and analysis"), facts were declared to be "eclectic", and under the guise of advocating that investigation be carried out "in light of the political line", the practice of imposing subjective ideas onto the masses and not listening to them was promoted. Further, the influence of anarcho-syndicalism led to forbidding the serious study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, limiting it to a few quotes for a few com-

rades, requiring the cadres to take the dogma of a single "genius" on "faith". Hence there was promoted the ideology that heroes, not the masses, are the makers of history.

2. Anarcho-syndicalism: opposition to the economic struggles of the workers. Advocacy that the struggle at the point of production is a revolutionary political struggle which "raises the question of the seizure of state power" (speech by the "genius" after the National Secretariat meeting in November 1973 and often expressed by him, including in the article on the Bernal struggle in *Workers Advocate*, v.4, no.4, May 1973), and hence is a struggle for political power. This amounts to the anarcho-syndicalist line of the seizure of power by means of the economic struggles, the line of "workers' control". And toward reforms and all partial demands, reform was counterposed to revolution in a manner virtually identical to the "left" phrasemongering of Daniel DeLeon, who often spoke of "Reform vs. Revolution" and once said that concessions are "banana peels under the feet of the proletariat." The influence of anarcho-syndicalism led to refusal to lead the economic struggles, and any struggles for partial demands, hence to passivity and isolation from the stormy class struggles. This was justified under the slogan: "like a kitten outside".

3. Anarchism and fascism: disrupting genuine democratic centralism, the main representative of the anarcho-syndicalist influence in the organization carried out wide-scale wrecking and liquidation of the organization's internal apparatus, local and national. This allowed the "charismatic" leader to get away with many things. At the same time, he organized vicious attacks on comrades, justifying this by the theories "form decides everything", "implementation is always decisive", and "class struggle" and "dictatorship of the proletariat" against the "liberal bourgeoisie" in the Party. Struggle in the organization was carried on entirely detached from the application of the general line and specific policies in the world, and instead degenerated into vicious fascist fights over bureaucratic details. This was described as "like a tiger inside".

Hence, "like a tiger inside, like a kitten outside", refusing to investigate and study, refusing to wage the economic struggles, and liquidating the Marxist-Leninist organization--this was the character and the result of the anarcho-syndicalist influence in the COUSML.

To overcome this influence the National Committee has taken a number of steps, which are embodied in the above-presented decisions. The National Committee calls upon the comrades and supporters to direct their attention into the workers' movement and to the two-line struggle in the Marxist-Leninist movement as a whole against revisionism and anarcho-syndicalism, criticize them vigorously and unite the Marxist-Leninists. At the same time, the National Committee has taken steps to discipline the individual responsible for the reactionary internal activities and has produced a brief document repudiating the most prominent ideas represented chiefly by him. This document is appended below. It is an internal document, but its contents can be made public verbally and should be when the question arises among the masses over the difference between our present views and our past views on these questions. This way we exercise our responsibility to the masses in the context of criticizing the main representative of these ideas, Nelson Perry, outside our organization, and do not exaggerate the significance or degree of development of these ideas in our organization. In addition the National Committee has adopted a set of interim guidelines on organization, for use in formalizing the internal organization until a formal conference takes up the question at some time in the future. These are also appended below.

In place of the anarcho-syndicalist slogan "like a tiger inside, like a kitten outside", let us follow the revolutionary slogan of Lu Hsun, quoted by Chairman Mao:

"Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers,  
Head-bowed, like a willing oxen I serve the children."



## REPUDIATION OF THE CENTRAL ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST IDEAS

1. On the Marxist-Leninist movement: It was promoted (especially in the two articles in the series "Repudiate Sham Marxism-Leninism" and in the article "How the Social-Fascists Liquidate the Basic Two-fold Struggles of the Working Class") that the COUSML is the only Marxist-Leninist organization. This is not the case. While the "Communist" League is under thoroughly and irretrievably reactionary leadership, in the case of the other organizations such a conclusion is a priori and is not yet settled. We (this refers to the experience of both the COUSML and its genuine founding organizations) have always opposed opportunist ideas and practices of other Marxist-Leninist organizations. There is nothing wrong with such polemics. (The ACWM(M-L) wrote one such polemical article against the BARU after discussions at the Vancouver Conference in January 1970 on the desirability of a single national Communist political newspaper, which the BARU then opposed. The article appeared in Workers' Advocate, Vol. 2, No. 1, January, 1970, entitled "Report on North American Anti-Imperialist Conference"). But not to draw a distinction between organizations and instead tar them all with the same brush is to throw them all into the camp of the "C"L and the revisionist party. Hence, arising from a priorism is a sectarian political line, whose result was not to wage the actual struggle to separate the revisionists and anarcho-syndicalists from the genuine Marxist-Leninists and unite with the latter to defeat the former.

2. On the workers' movement: Pitting against each other the economic and political struggles, waging the economic struggles and building the Party, reform and revolution, in order to liquidate first the one and then both. In the "Repudiate Sham Marxism-Leninism" articles the just struggles of the workers for "day-to-day demands" were lumped in with the opportunist practices of the October League (Marxist-Leninist) of "raising consciousness step-by-step" "in accordance with existing conditions" (that is, bowing to the spontaneity of the labor movement) and both were condemned. In the article "What is the Stage of Proletarian Revolution in the U.S.?", the question of leading the economic struggles, which for Marxist-Leninists is a question of general line, was pitted against building the Party, another question of general line, and it was claimed that to lead the economic struggles would be to liquidate building the Party (you "can't" lead the economic struggles because you are "building" the Marxist-Leninist Center). At best, it is as if one would "build" the Party until the day of the dictatorship of the proletariat and then wage the economic struggles. But this Party-"building" would never bring about the proletarian revolution because such a Party would be a mere propaganda sect. It was further held that to fight for reforms, for "redressing social grievances" (Marx, quoted in "Repudiate Sham Marxism-Leninism, Part II"), is to oppose revolution. This is to concoct an antagonistic contradiction between the part (reform) and the whole (revolution). Such is the conception of someone who believes that today, after the American proletariat has had 120 years of Marxism and is the largest proletariat in the world, "the whole historical movement" can be "concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie". (Marx, quoted in "How the Social-Fascists Liquidate the Basic Two-fold Struggles of the Working Class.") Further, in the Bernal article in Workers' Advocate and in certain speeches it was advocated that the principal struggle at the point of production is not economic but political, that the struggle against the fascist rules and regulations "raises the question of the seizure of state power" and is in fact a struggle for the seizure of political power. This is to mix up the role of the economic base and the superstructure in the manner of traditional syndicalism, declaring that seizing the economic base (factories) will transform the superstructure (state machine, etc.) and not the other way around.

3. On the Party and the mass movements in general: It was held that the Party is not a detachment of the proletarian class, as Comrade Stalin pointed out, but instead stands outside it. Its task is not to lead and develop the mass movements towards the goal of revolution (there is "no need" to do so, declares "Repudiate Sham Marxism-Leninism: Part I"). Instead, the Party is supposed to be a small anarchist band waging "leading struggles" to "inspire" the workers to take up their aspirations (whose origin is never explained) and make revolution. Even the character of the anti-hard-hat struggle was distorted by calling

it a struggle for political power by a small band, when in fact it was a struggle launched by the Marxist-Leninists to smash a fascist mass movement, a struggle for democratic rights, for which sections of the masses were mobilized, and in the course of which the Marxist-Leninists did clear-cut propaganda for proletarian revolution and did also inspire the masses with their fighting spirit.

4. On political economy: It is correct, in certain general (propaganda) articles, and in many other circumstances, to declare that the only solution to the problems (meaning the basic problems) of the proletariat is proletarian revolution. But it has been declared that the capitalists can raise the degree of exploitation of the proletariat at will, by many means, including by creating entire economic crises at will, while the proletariat is "bound hand and foot" by the capitalist relations of production and can only solve its problems by proletarian revolution. Without clarification, such insoluble-without-revolution problems not only include the existence of exploitation but also its degree. While the general tendency of capitalist production is always for the wages of the workers to be driven down towards their absolute physical minimum and the working day to be lengthened towards its absolute physical maximum, the workers are not "broken wretches past salvation" (Marx, Wages, Price and Profit) and they wage most vigorous struggles against this increase in exploitation and in fact limit it. It is only the anarchists like Proudhon and other reactionaries who deny this. Further, it is stated in "Repudiate Sham Marxism-Leninism, Part II" that "The RU and OL (M-L) refuse to see that the existence of bourgeois ideology, politics and organization amongst the workers is solely a result of the social relations of production and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the U.S., which bind the working class hand and foot to the capitalist class. The Marxist-Leninists consider this aspect, the existence of bourgeois ideology, politics and organization in the working class, as completely secondary and relative to the principal aspect of the modern proletariat, namely, its aspirations, history and mission of OVERTHROWING THE CAPITALIST CLASS AND ALL SOCIAL RELATIONS OF EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION." This negates the real cause of the revolutionary character of the working class (and the real source of its aspirations) which lies in the economic conditions of the class, in the contradiction between its participation in the highly socialized forces of production (modern industry) and the capitalist relations of production which dictate that the fruits of socialized production are privately appropriated by a handful of capitalists. It is this material contradiction which gives rise to the efforts of the capitalists to promote "bourgeois ideology, politics, and organization" in the working class to try to bind it "hand and foot" to the capitalist system. It is also this material contradiction which develops the tremendous strength of the working class, brings it face to face with the capitalist class on a daily basis, necessitates its constant struggle against the capitalists, and thus gives the working class its revolutionary character, including its revolutionary aspirations. To negate this is again to lapse into subjective idealism, to declare that the proletariat is revolutionary, just as the capitalists are reactionary, because it "wishes" to be so, because it has "aspirations" which have no connection with material reality.

5. On organizational discipline: to claim that there is a "liberal bourgeoisie" in the technical staff of Workers' Daily (no notice of his expulsion has yet appeared) is only to justify fascistic attacks on revolutionary comrades, since if there really was such a creature in the technical staff, why not throw him out and get on with the work? This is a concrete example of the use of the theory of "class struggle" and "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the Party. Representatives of the bourgeoisie do worm their way into the Party and once they are exposed it is a question of waging political, class struggle to get rid of them. But the usual struggle in the organization is ideological, reflecting the class struggle outside. To declare the existence of "class struggle", and especially of "fascism", "in every cell of society", is to call for comrade to fight comrade, masses to fight masses, while the real bourgeoisie goes scot free. Since, under this edict, ideological struggle is not waged and comrades educated and led forward, comrades do not change and are made to appear as metaphysical entities, immutable and fixed, and therefore bad. Hence, there is the self-fulfilling prophecy: sabotage the conditions for correct

criticism and self-criticism and then attack as bourgeois anyone who does not do one's bidding. Furthermore, the influence of anarcho-syndicalism could only be propagated in the organization by going outside the organization's formal bodies, opposing collective leadership, opposing genuine centralism and promoting loyalty to a "charismatic" leader. This person, although he constantly gave the slogans: "Build the Party" and "Put Party Concept in Command", in practice promoted anarchy and not democratic centralism.

6. On the national liberation movement: active support for the national liberation movement was sabotaged by counterposing proletarian revolution in the U.S. against supporting the national liberation struggles. Just as certain characters used their visits to Viet Nam in the 60's to declare that supporting the national liberation struggles meant giving up building the Party and organizing for the proletarian revolution in the U.S., so under the anarcho-syndicalist influence verbal declarations for building the Party and organizing for proletarian revolution were set against waging actual struggles, i.e., holding demonstrations, carrying out propaganda, etc., in favor of particular national liberation struggles. This muddle had a serious effect in undermining the proletarian internationalist work of giving vigorous support to the national liberation movement, as well as hindering the mobilization of the American masses in preparation for the U.S. proletarian revolution.

ORGANIZATIONAL GUIDELINES

Introduction

Comrade Lenin said: "In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class."

The Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists was founded as a concrete manifestation of the unity of the Marxist-Leninists. Its general program is the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat and ultimately the abolition of class society and the establishment of communism. It is distinguished from other national Marxist-Leninist organizations by, among other things, its history of unswerving devotion to its immediate goal of uniting all genuine American Marxist-Leninists into a single Communist Party of the proletariat, based on the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

In order to develop genuine unity of will and unity of action, in order to be able to carry out the tasks demanded by the interests of the proletariat, it is necessary to develop strong and united organization, built according to the principle of democratic centralism and based upon the Marxist-Leninist political line.

The influence of anarcho-syndicalism has had a corrosive effect upon the organizational unity and discipline of the COUSML. Throughout the organization genuine centralism was obstructed. Many comrades have been confused as to the principles of democratic centralism and their significance, and have been kept in a state of mystery as to the internal workings of the organization. As a result, in many places genuine inner-organizational life has been eroded, the line of demarcation between the internal apparatus and external affairs has been blurred, and in some places local formal organization has been liquidated. It was chiefly by perpetrating and utilizing this state of affairs that the representative of the anarcho-syndicalist influence inside our organization was able to carry out his wrecking activities.

To reverse this trend and continue the process of strengthening the organization, the National Committee has issued these guidelines. These guidelines are not a complete set of Party Rules. They do explain the basic principles of our organizational work at this time. It is hoped that by doing some hard thinking on the basis of the principles set forth in these guidelines, and consulting with higher bodies when the need arises, comrades will be able to correct our organizational weaknesses and develop our strength. The development of inner-organizational relations along the correct lines and observance of discipline at all levels is a safeguard against the wrecking activities and anarchist organizational practices of the representative of the anarcho-syndicalist influence inside our organization, as well as a safeguard against organizational weaknesses of all kinds, and is necessary for the COUSML to fulfill its duties to the proletariat.

I. Organizational Principle

The organizational principle of the COUSML is democratic centralism.

The whole organization must observe unified discipline: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire organization is subordinate to the National Committee.

In the internal life at each level there must be both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom. Each body of the organization must follow the principle of collective decision and individual responsibility. Participation of comrades in the life of the bodies of which they are members must be enhanced and safeguarded. Members have the right to criticism and the minority has the right to reserve its view. Suppression of

criticism and retaliation are impermissible. At the same time there must be unity of action. The policy and decisions of the organization must be upheld and the organization must be supported and defended, and not undermined or betrayed.

In the work of bodies at all levels of the organization, it is necessary to pay attention to major issues and not be totally submerged in daily routines and minor matters, in order to guard against revisionism.

## II. Central Organization

The National Committee is the leading political body of the COUSML. It establishes national policy, elects the Officers of the organization and elects the National Executive Committee. The National Committee establishes necessary compact bodies to carry out work under the direction of the National Executive Committee.

When the National Committee is not in session, the National Executive Committee exercises the functions and powers of the National Committee.

## III. Regional Secretariats

The National Committee has decided to establish Regional Secretariats in the various regions. The Regional Secretariat is headed by the Regional Secretary appointed by the National Committee and is made up of the local secretaries and acting local secretaries of the branches in the particular region.

## IV. Primary Organization

The primary organization of the COUSML is the branch. The branch is headed by the local secretary and is composed by the candidate-members in the local area. The responsibilities of the branch include: investigation of the conditions in the local area; implementation of national policy; organization of conscientious study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; discussing general political questions; having close ties with the masses and leading them in struggle against the class enemy; and the summation and direction of the work in the local area.

The local secretaries not only lead the branches but are the representatives of the central bodies in the branches. Therefore, local secretaries have particular responsibility to uphold and defend the organization. Therefore, there is no unlimited right of branches to elect or overthrow local secretaries; such activities can be carried out only under the guidance of higher bodies and are subject to the approval of the National Committee. The local secretaries are responsible for transmitting communications from the branches, candidate-members and close supporters to the National Committee and National Executive Committee, and from the National Committee and National Executive Committee to the branches, candidate-members and close supporters. This is an absolute responsibility; local secretaries have no right to impede this.

Under the discipline of the branches are the basic units. The basic unit carries out disciplined work in a definite material base. The basic units are important both as a means of carrying out work and for individuals to release their initiative and gain experience in revolutionary work. Each basic unit has its own secretary. The basic unit works under the discipline of the branch; therefore, there is no unlimited right of the basic unit to elect its secretary. Such activity must take place under the guidance of the branch. The basic unit is composed of candidate-members and close supporters. The candidate-members in a basic unit do not necessarily meet separately, as "a leading group with a leading line", and ordinarily do not. While the local branch is responsible to lead the basic unit, this should be carried out by the democratic method of education and persuasion. In the basic unit, the minority must submit to the majority.

In the case where there is no candidate-member in the basic unit, or where the basic unit elects a secretary who is not a candidate-member, special arrangements should be made to insure a close working relationship between the basic unit and the branch.

## V. Membership

Any revolutionary element who supports the COUSML, accepts its program, and carries out work in a basic unit is eligible for the status of close supporter.

Any revolutionary element who supports the COUSML, accepts its program and discipline, pays dues, and carries out work in a basic unit or other disciplined work authorized by the COUSML is eligible to apply for the status of candidate-member.

The duties of a candidate-member are:

- 1) A candidate-member must uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and criticize revisionism;
- 2) A candidate-member must uphold the organization at all times, and use differences to strengthen the organization and not to undermine it;
- 3) A candidate-member must work for the interests of the vast majority;
- 4) A candidate-member must have ties among the masses and must be able at uniting with the masses and leading them in struggle against the class enemy; and
- 5) A candidate-member must be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.

A nomination for candidate-membership must be examined conscientiously. In considering a nomination for candidate-membership a person's history and work must be considered as a whole. A person who meets the requirements for candidate-membership with minor shortcomings should be assigned the status of candidate-member and helped to correct those shortcomings. A person whose shortcomings are too great should not be assigned the status of candidate-member, but should be encouraged and helped to correct those shortcomings. Consistently liberal elements, waverers, persons making serious mistakes who fail to change, and inexperienced individuals should not be assigned the status of candidate-member.

The status of close supporter and candidate-member is assigned by majority vote of the branch concerned. The assignment of the status of close supporter and candidate-member, and the disciplinary measures of warning, removal from posts, suspension and expulsion are subject to the approval of the central bodies. In particular, all assignments of the status of close supporter or candidate-member are provisional until approval by the central bodies.