



**“The history of all hitherto existing society
is the history of class struggles”**

Marx

Introducing “Class Struggle” Outspoken Voice for Communism

The October League is proud to publish the first issue of *Class Struggle* which is devoted to the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions here in the U.S.

Class Struggle is a theoretical journal whose purpose is to contribute to the ideological clarity necessary for the building of a new communist party in this country. It is meant to be an outspoken voice for communism and a voice opposed to all trends of thought which support monopoly capitalism or revisionism, capitalism's main ideological prop within the working class movement.

What is revisionism? Revisionism rewrites the basic tenets of Marxism, robbing them of their scientific and revolutionary content. It is an opportunist counter-current which “revises” the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung in favor of concealed or open advocacy of imperialism.

The modern revisionists of the so-called Communist Party USA and their counterparts in the Soviet Union have turned Marxism on its head. Following in the footsteps of their forerunners like La Salle, Bernstein, Kautsky, Browder and the rest, the modern revisionists have replaced the communist theory of proletarian internationalism with the worst forms of chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism. They have become the chief apologists for the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, who today are locked in a battle to recarve the entire world among themselves.

They have placed themselves at odds with the working class and the vast millions who make up the Third World—the oppressed nations, countries, and

peoples who today are in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle.

They have replaced Lenin's teachings on the State and Revolution with a line of gradualism and reformism. They preach "socialism through the ballot box" as *the* road here in the U.S. and have abandoned the task of preparing the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Their crimes are written in the blood of the Chilean people and countless others who have followed this "road" in other countries.

They have transformed more than a hundred formerly great communist parties into bourgeois, reformist organizations, and surrendered the leadership of the working class to the labor aristocrats and liberals.

They have substituted the theory of spontaneity for scientific socialism, giving up the independent role of communism and the party in order to tail behind the spontaneous struggle,

It was Lenin who said, "**The role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory.**" Such a party doesn't exist in the U.S. today and the task of building this party is the central task of all Marxist-Leninists. However, the new communist party must be built upon firm foundations, the most important of which is a clean break with the revisionists. Arming themselves with Marxism in the face of opportunism and revisionism, Lenin and the Bolsheviks broke with the Second International and built their heroic party. The Chinese and Albanian parties have paved the way for us, by leading the break with the modern revisionists in the early 60's.

In order to arm ourselves for the difficult struggle of building the party, the October League realizes that many forms are necessary for the development of our theoretical work. In recent years the various anti-revisionist groups and organizations have published newspapers and pamphlets in an effort to 1) break from the hold of modern revisionism 2) establish their organizational independence and dig their roots among the masses 3) sum up their mass work and practical experience and 4) contribute to the struggle to build a new party.

The O.L. has published its organ, *The Call*, since 1972. In recent months it has carried polemics with various opportunist trends such as the Revolutionary Union and the Communist League (now calling itself the Communist Labor Party). These polemics have helped to expose these two consolidated opportunist trends within our ranks. *The Call*, while growing rapidly as a voice for communist thought in the U.S. has proven to be inadequate for more in-depth and lengthier articles, theoretical writings, and analysis of world conditions. *Class Struggle* is designed to take up this task.

Class Struggle as the name implies, is an organ of the class struggle. The ex-

istence of classes and class struggle in society is a social law and exists independent of man's will. Within the ranks of the communist movement, class struggle also takes place, between Marxism and revisionism; between the capitalist road and the socialist road. Without such a struggle, and without the constant strengthening of the proletarian forces, the movement will die.

Ideological struggle is aimed at preparing the working class and its allies for the overthrow of imperialism and the building of socialism. Mao Tsetung pointed out that: "**To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do the work in the ideological sphere.**" This preparation is most importantly aimed at the vanguard of the working class, the leading class-conscious section organized into its own political party.

Class Struggle hopes to be able to contribute to laying the ideological foundations for such a party to come into being in the next period. It will direct itself at the burning questions facing our movement. It will attempt to learn from the experiences of our class, the international working class, and sum up the lessons from the class struggle in other countries as well as our own.

The building of a party requires consolidation of Marxist-Leninist unity around key questions of principle, and it is these questions which *Class Struggle* will address itself to:

The consolidation of the break with revisionism by taking the dictatorship of the proletariat as our aim, armed overthrow of the state as a prerequisite, and democratic centralism as the basis for party unity.

Building working class leadership for the party and developing the revolutionary alliance and merger of the working class and the national movements who together compose the core of the united front against imperialism.

Upholding the Right to Self-Determination for all nations oppressed by imperialism.

Waging political struggle against every form of opportunism, and refusing compromise on questions of principle.

Reliance on illegal and secret forms of organization, while making tactical use of legal methods. Basing work on revolutionary mass struggle and not electoralism.

analysis of monopoly capital?
class analysis?
analysis of national question?

Correctly linking the battle for reforms with the final aims of revolution. This means developing a minimum and maximum program and participating in all the democratic and reform movements including the trade union struggle, the women's movement, the anti-fascist front etc., but recognition that the purpose of work in all of these movements is to build the forces for revolution.

Opposition to the two imperialist superpowers, the main enemy of the people of the whole world.

For us here in the U.S., the center of world imperialism since the end of World War II, the national question has always been and continues to be central to our work of uniting the working class with the oppressed nations and countries of the world. *Class Struggle* will devote much of its space to the discussion of the Marxist-Leninist line on the national question, especially regarding the oppressed nations and minorities within the borders of the U.S. In this issue we are publishing a letter by Harry Haywood, written as part of his break with the Provisional Organizing Committee (POC) in 1958. The POC was one of the first attempts at building a new communist party in the U.S. While in appearance breaking with the line of the CPUSA, the POC soon became dominated by a clique of ultra-"left" sectarians. Their stand on the national question and in particular, the Afro-American question, as Heywood writes, "...played right into the hands of the leadership (of the CPUSA)..."

Throughout our party-building efforts, we have had to wage a determined struggle against the line of the petty-bourgeois opportunists such as the Revolutionary Union and others. These groups have put forward the same type of chauvinism as the CPUSA, refusing to support in practice the Right of Self-Determination for the Afro-American and other oppressed nations. It was this "semi-Trotskyist" position criticized here by Harry Haywood, which caused the death of the POC and the Progressive Labor Party (PL). Today, the RU, CL and others are trying to drag the communist movement into the same swamp. They have abandoned the struggle for national rights of the oppressed peoples of the Third World and the oppressed people here in the U.S. under the solitary slogan, "Fight for socialism."⁴

[This shows that once exposed, revisionism thinks nothing of donning a "leftist" form to peddle the same trash. *Class Struggle* will take on a two-fisted

battle against right and "left" opportunism and stand firmly for the Right of Self-Determination for all oppressed nations. The Marxist-Leninist view of this question is summed up in the article, "Self-Determination is our Revolutionary Policy."

Also in this issue, the fight against modern revisionism is intensified. The review of "Angela Davis—an Autobiography," exposes the complete bankruptcy of the CPUSA on the national question as well as Davis' own idealism and petty-bourgeois world outlook. Another article examines the writings of James Boggs and shows how these "new left" theories have actually merged with revisionism on the national question, the question of party organization, and how to evaluate the basic antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class.

The last few years has seen the development of an overwhelming movement on the part of Third World countries, breaking the chains of imperialist hegemony with mounting strength and unity. This historic trend is summed up in the article, "The Rise of the Third World and the Decline of Hegemonism," reprinted from the Chinese journal, Peking Review.

The fight against revisionism is being taken up on a world-wide scale. In this issue we are carrying an interview with Kurt Lundgren, a leading member of the Swedish Communist Party (SKP), discussing the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, and the danger to world peace posed by the two superpowers.

Class Struggle also presents an article entitled, "The Woman Question and Party Building," examining the role of women in the working class struggle. Drawing on the historic contributions of Marxist-Leninists to the study of the woman question, this article shows the link between imperialism and the subjugation of women, outlining minimum and maximum demands for the women's struggle. On the question of party organization, the article affirms the need to build a party which unites men and women comrades in struggle, and provides for the special training and development of women.

Looking back to a page from history, the article "The Story of the Pullman Strike," brings a struggle of the U.S. working class in the last century into the light of today. This strike illustrated the centrality of the national question to the labor movement and the need for revolutionary leadership. More than anything else, it showed that labor and capital have nothing in common, and that the trade unions must become arms of the struggle for the total emancipation of the working class.

The publication of *Class Struggle* is a blow against the theory of spontaneity and all views which downplay the need for Marxist-Leninist theoretical work. At every step of the way, our movement must struggle for the theoretical breakthroughs which will qualitatively advance our work.

But fighting spontaneity doesn't mean removing theoretical work to the realm of "geniuses" and "philosophers." Marxism-Leninism is in essence an ideology which belongs to the working class, and grows and develops only through the close bond between theory and practice.

Nor is our movement in need of any "new" theories which comfortably accommodate revisionism, Trotskyism, and other forms of opportunism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is our guide, and our task is to build a new party upon this ideological basis.

Mao Tsetung pointed out that Marxism must be a material weapon in the hands of the working class. He said:

"The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases, but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution. It is not just a matter of understanding the general laws derived by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from their extensive study of real life and revolutionary experience, but of studying their standpoint and method in examining and solving problems."

It is in this spirit that we present the first issue of *Class Struggle* and invite the discussion, debate, and criticism by all who read it.

The Editors
March, 1975

6 seems to understate or omit need for basic things like class analysis, analysis of national question, etc.

"Left" in Form, Right in Essence

Letter from Harry Haywood to the P.O.C.

Harry Haywood is a veteran Black Marxist-Leninist, now living in Detroit. He has spent several decades as a leading member of the Communist Party USA and as a fighter against modern revisionism.

In 1928 and 1930, Haywood helped draft the Resolutions of the Communist International as well as the position of the CP on the Afro-American national question. His thoughts on this question were summed up in his famous book, "Negro Liberation."

Haywood broke from the CPUSA in the late 50's after the party had thoroughly abandoned the revolutionary struggle for socialism and Black liberation. Along with other anti-revisionists, he helped form the Provisional Organizing Committee (POC). The POC, like many of the new communist organizations of today set as its main task, the building of a new Marxist-Leninist party.

The POC failed in this first attempt at a new, anti-revisionist party. Haywood's letter upon leaving the POC shows some of the reasons why it failed and serves as a lesson to those who might try to follow in the ultra-"left" footsteps of these sectarians.

Haywood's autobiography is soon to be published—ed.

Dec. 9, 1958

On October 25, I wrote a statement formally disassociating myself from the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Party, its organ, *The Vanguard*, and the August 16-17 Conference which resulted in a split-off of an important section of the Left forces from the Party.

As I said in that statement, "The guiding political line of the POC has crystallized into a left-sectarian, dogmatist position which represents a fundamental revision from the Left of Marxist-Leninist political and organizational principles."

While the National Executive Committee (of the CPUSA) claims that it is carrying out a struggle on two fronts—against Right Revisionism and Left Dog-