

3rd Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Party, USA

Fall 1988

Editorial

While the capitalists were debating whether to have Bush or Dukakis preside over the Reaganite offensive against the masses, there was another discussion taking place. This was a discussion about how to organize the working masses to fight back against the capitalist offensive.

The Party of the communist vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Party, has just held its 3rd Congress. A Congress is the highest forum of the Party. It is where the delegates, activists who have carried out the dedicated work of organizing a revolutionary trend among the American workers, gather to sum up the Party's work, to set the basic orientation for the next period, and to elect the Central Committee.

While in the presidential elections Bush and Dukakis addressed the concerns of the bourgeoisie, from a "flexible freeze" on benefits for the masses to how many nuclear weapons are needed for imperialist war, the 3rd Congress discussed the struggle at the work place against job combination and speedup, for safety and higher wages, the struggle against unemployment. It discussed the struggle against racism and imperialism, and combating the disintegration of the anti-apartheid movement as our comrades have done at the University of California at Berkeley.

While Bush and Dukakis sang hymns to the pledge of allegiance, waved the flag, and debated how much to promote racism and how much to emphasize the chauvinist crusade against the foreign workers, the 3rd Congress denounced U.S. imperialism and made plans to build up the international solidarity of the working class; it sent ardent solidarity to the revolutionaries all over the world — whether in Palestine or South Africa, Central America, or in Eastern Europe, anywhere workers are rising in struggle against exploitation and oppression. The Congress discussed in particular the state of development of the anti-revisionist movement and sent its fraternal greetings to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties or groups around the world.

While Bush and Dukakis could offer the working masses no hope for the future except more belt tightening, more taxes, more cuts in social benefits and more prisons, the 3rd Congress of our Party discussed bringing the revolutionary perspective of socialism to the masses, showing how the future will bring the prospect of the working class becoming the ruling class and building a society where the fruit of our labor goes to those who toil. The 3rd Congress condemned the fraud of "socialism" in the present revisionist societies in the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe. And it inaugurated a deeper investigation of the historic problems that led to the degeneration of the Soviet Union from socialism to what it is now, a state capitalist country steeped in exploitation of the workers and trampling on the oppressed nationalities.

While the presidential elections offered nothing but a choice between two

capitalist parties, and promoted the fraud that pulling a lever on a machine to choose between two millionaires is the highest form of democracy conceivable, the 3rd Congress discussed mobilizing the masses into becoming a real force to change history through taking part in building a party of the working class, a revolutionary party that can organize and lead the working class in struggle against the capitalists, a party true to the aspirations of the working class.

The Congress paid special attention to the problems of the present period of stagnation in the mass struggles. It reviewed the work of the Party in linking up with the flurries of struggle that take place even in such a period of ebb. These struggles do not lead to big breakthroughs at the present time, but

they provide the basis for keeping the Party implanted among the masses and for building up a pro-Party trend among the workers and activists. The Congress also reaffirmed that special attention has to be paid to organizational questions, collective methods of work, and Party-building in order to ensure a balance between the different fronts of work and the maintenance of revolutionary perspective in the face of the crush of petty details of minor struggles.

The Congress dealt with the problem of reformism and the trade union bureaucracy. It showed that besides the outright do-nothing reformists, who get discredited among the masses disgruntled with their condition, reformism also has a left-posturing wing, whether in the trade union bureaucracy or the mass movements. The verbal leftism of these reformists doesn't change the nature of their stand as capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Whether in the anti-apartheid movement or the struggle against concessions or the movement against U.S. imperialist intervention, without

opposing this left-posturing reformism, no struggle to build up a movement truly independent of the capitalists is possible.

Today the bourgeoisie is gloating about the victory of Reaganism in the election. But they are afraid that a gust of wind will upset their economic house of cards. Meanwhile the Congress showed the unity of the Party around the path of steadfast revolutionary work. Even today, in harsh conditions, there exists a small core of class conscious workers and activists who adhere to the path of Marxism-Leninism and socialist revolution. As the cracks multiply in the edifice of Reaganism, the working class will eventually separate itself off from the bourgeois parties and enter upon the path of revolutionary struggle in full force. It will rise up, tortured by capitalist deprivation, sick of incessant imperialist wars, and confident that it can run society itself. The Congress took upon itself the task of preparing the conditions for this day. □

Resolutions

The situation after Reagan

What should the working people expect with Bush moving into the White House while the Democrats continue to control Congress?

Although Reagan will no longer be president, it is clear that the capitalist class has decided to continue on the road of Reaganite reaction. This is a bipartisan policy of capitalist assault on the working masses and poor. It is setting the stage for a new upsurge of mass struggle, for a profound battle between the working class and all the oppressed masses against the capitalist exploiters.

The last eight years of Reaganism have spelled disaster for the masses.

All the talk of "making America great again" is at the expense of the working masses at home and abroad.

Flag-waving patriotism and chauvinist harangues against foreign workers have fueled a gargantuan war budget and an imperialist drive against working people in countries spread around the globe.

At home, the capitalists have striven to deny all rights to immigrants, for "English only" chauvinism, for segregation and racist terror, for "anti-abortion" assaults on the rights of working women. The capitalists are trying to split up the workers as they drive the whole working class toward poverty and hunger through concessions and takebacks, cuts in social spending and rising taxes.

Above all, Reaganism has deepened the class polarization throughout the society.

While the rich have filled their vaults, poverty and homelessness have spread wider and wider. While the big bosses have raked in unprecedented profits, wages have been driven down, layoffs have mounted, and those still working have faced a hellhole of speedup, job combination, harassment and unsafe conditions. While the corporations have gotten huge tax breaks and fat military contracts, and the banks have hauled in big interest payments from budget deficits, the social programs for the masses have been slashed to the bone.

The growing schism between classes is piling up the inflammatory material for a social explosion. And such an explosion, such a struggle of class against class, is the motor

for change. Although for the moment the mass rebellion has been held in check by a number of factors, the anger of the masses grows and the gap keeps widening between the workers and poor on one side and the capitalist exploiters on the other.

It cannot be predicted when the mass upsurge will break out. But break out it will. And this is the force that can turn the tables on the capitalists.

The social factors making for class battles are not going away.

Bush will continue the offensive against the masses, because it is based on the consensus of monopoly capital.

Reaganite reaction is not just the product of the right-wing fringe, of "moral majority" lunatics. No, it has meant high profits. It has got the backing of the capitalists as a class. It has become the new mainstream politics of the bourgeoisie. That is why it is supported not only by the Republicans but also the Democrats, not only by the White House but also the Congress. It is a bipartisan offensive of the capitalist class against the working class and the oppressed.

Of course the capitalists are not blind to the discontent growing among the masses. That is why the elections saw Bush posturing about a "kinder, gentler America" while Dukakis wrung his hands about "compassion." But this is kindness on the cheap, compassion by the penny. It is an attempt to diffuse the mass discontent by talking about social needs, but without spending money or cutting profits. It is an attempt to appeal to the masses even while the offensive against them persists.

The capitalists are set on staying the course. This was shown, back before the elections, in the Iran-contra scandal. This

was the first crack in Reaganism, exposing the depths of its corruption and filth. But the Democrats helped to paper over the crisis quickly. A few "loose cannons" were removed, but unity was restored behind mainstream officials who could be trusted to stick to the policy of the big monopolies. The presidential elections — where Dukakis along with Bush promised to maintain the basic policies of the Reagan regime — only verified the capitalists' determination to stick with Reaganite reaction.

But Reaganism is a crisis waiting to happen.

Despite the capitalists' joy over the high profits, over Reagan's "unprecedented recovery," the signs of economic crisis are showing up throughout the system. Plant closings, farm foreclosures, and business failures mount. Five hundred savings and loans institutions have already gone bankrupt. Meanwhile a collapse of the international banking system is threatened by the prospect of major defaults on foreign loans. Last year's stock market crash on Wall Street was simply a warning that Reaganite "prosperity" is only a house of cards waiting to tumble down.

The Reaganite policy that the capitalists have united behind has temporarily held off economic depression. At the expense of the masses. By intensifying all the contradictions of capitalism. By preparing the way for even more devastating crisis tomorrow.

The capitalists are headed for crisis. The working class, and with them all of the oppressed and downtrodden, must get organized for the class struggle against the capitalists. □

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Tasks of the class struggle

The 3rd Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Party calls on all militant workers, all anti-racist fighters, all opponents of U.S. imperialism to join with the Party in the work of organizing and strengthening the class struggle and the mass movements.

Discontent among the working people is widespread. There is a smoldering resentment among the masses. As of yet it has not burst into an open struggle. Nonetheless, although still generally weak and localized, we have seen repeated flare-ups of resistance and protest.

Over the last period we have seen a stiffening of the workers' opposition to takeback contracts and other concessions. There has also been stirrings of a protest movement against plant shutdowns and layoffs in the auto industry and elsewhere. The homeless have also taken initial steps to organize and struggle.

We have seen a wave of protests on college campuses against racist bigotry and discrimination. The bitterness of the oppressed nationalities against racist violence and police abuse erupted this past summer in Perth Amboy, New Jersey and again in Shreveport, Louisiana in September.

We have also seen continuing actions against apartheid in South Africa and against U.S. intervention in Central Ameri-

ca. A series of angry protests broke out against Oliver North and other contragate criminals and against the dispatch of more U.S. troops to Honduras last spring.

In general the mass struggles are not sustained. They burst out only to subside again. Thus the overall class struggle remains low.

The class struggle by nature has its periods of ebbs and flow. However, in the present ebb much more could be accomplished in terms of organizing and mobilizing the masses in preparation for the next upsurge if not for the sabotage of the reformist leaders.

The trade union chieftains have joined hands with the corporations to squeeze more out of the workers in the name of competing for jobs against the foreign workers. At every turn the black politicians and other reformist misleaders barter away the struggle of the impoverished black and other oppressed masses in favor of token gestures and cushy positions for a few. To make sure not to embarrass the imperialist politicians of the Democratic Party, the social-democratic and pacifist leaders of the anti-intervention movement have even called off actions.

This past year the Jesse Jackson campaign rallied together a large number of the reformist forces. This campaign was used to

headtrack the mass struggle, to turn the sides of the workers and activists with illusions that great things were to be expected out of the '88 elections. In the end this campaign exposed itself for what it always was — a campaign to rope in the discontented behind the capitalist politics-as-usual of Dukakis and the Democratic Party.

When the mass struggle threatens to or becomes sharp, we have often seen the emergence of a more militant and radical-sounding reformism. This happens in the fight against concessions and plant closings, where a section of trade union leaders can sound militant and uncompromising only to leave the struggle in the hands of the union bureaucracy. We have also seen it in the anti-intervention and other movements, where part of the reformist leaders will strike a militant pose only to ensure that the fight doesn't break out of the bounds of the imperialist pacifism of the Democratic Party. These trends serve to keep the struggle from breaking out of the reformist confines and as a buffer to keep the workers and activists from revolutionary politics.

This situation places important tasks before the Marxist-Leninist Party and the revolutionary workers and activists. The time cry out for organizing the class struggle.

We must link up with the discontent and

growing anger of the workers and oppressed. We must give it a clear voice and strive to steer it in a revolutionary direction. We need to make good use of every flare-up of protest and resistance to spread the revolutionary standpoint and to build organization.

We need to encourage every step towards political independence, not just in name, not in a rainbow that begins and ends inside the Democratic Party, but based on a real fight of the workers and exploited against the exploiters and the Democratic and Republican Parties of monopoly capitalism.

We need to seek ways to overcome the limits imposed by the reformist leaders. Means must be found to bring the stirrings and protests among the workers out of the confines of the trade union bureaucracies. The anti-racist and anti-imperialist actions need to sweep aside the sabotage of the reformist misleaders.

We need to lift the mass struggle out of the capitalist framework. Consciousness of the need for revolutionary change, of the need for the overthrow of the exploiting minority by the exploited majority, is an essential part of developing the mass struggle. It helps break the struggle from the reformist grip and bring it out from the shadow of capitalist politics-as-usual. □

Tasks of party building

The experience of the last period shows the importance of the working class political party for the orientation and guidance of the class struggle. In this difficult period of ebb, it has been the Marxist-Leninist Party which has upheld the path of working class independence and class struggle. The 3rd Congress calls on all revolutionary-minded workers and militant activists, all those who wish to strike a real blow for the emancipation of the proletariat, all those who not only wage the current struggles but who wish to direct them to accomplishing the historic mission of the working class, to join together with us to build up revolutionary organization and first and foremost the Marxist-Leninist Party itself.

The proletariat needs its own political party not just for electioneering under the system of bourgeois rule. Political independence from the bourgeoisie and its Democratic and Republican parties cannot be reduced to just running some candidates in the elections, but above all resides in the conducting of the revolutionary class struggle in all its manifestations. A Leninist party is intimately linked to the strengthening and uniting of the various streams of mass protest and struggle.

The very importance of Party-building gives rise to the severity of the struggle over liquidationism.

In the present time of ebb in the mass struggles, the work to maintain the Party and to imbue the conscious workers and revolutionary activists with party spirit is difficult but decisive. The low level of the mass movements puts a straitjacket on the emergence and training of large numbers of new revolutionary-minded activists from live political experience. Meanwhile the bourgeoisie uses all its spokesmen to advocate that the workers, the oppressed nationalities and others should fall behind one or the other capitalist party.

The reformists — some of whom, such as the revisionists and trotskies, claim to be communists — provide a left-sounding echo of the bourgeoisie. We are in a period of fashionable liquidationism or mockery of Party spirit. Party-building, as well as revolutionary spirit in general, is denounced as dangerous "leftism," "sectarianism," "outdated," etc. (Meanwhile various anarchistic or semi-anarchistic groups denounce party-building as "conservative," "confining" or "authoritarian.") Instead the reformists rely in one way or another on the bourgeoisie, from seeking cushy positions in the labor bureaucracy to living off the largesse of the bourgeois foundations and liberals.

But the working class and progressive activists have immense revolutionary potential, and they have given rise to a core whose dedicated and painstaking work has main-

tained the revolutionary organization.

Over the years of the ebbst the MLP has been maintained by the steadfast efforts of class conscious workers and revolutionary activists in and around it. This work brings to the fore various tasks.

It is necessary to devote special attention to maintaining links with the masses.

During the period of ebb, there is a spontaneous tendency for the connection between revolutionary organization and its base among the working masses to be broken off. But over these years the Party has shown that it is possible to maintain this connection. This requires linking up with the various flurries of struggle that occur even at present. This is crucial to maintain the links of the Party with the masses, and it is crucial to preserving the Party's character as a party of struggle.

In this work, special attention has to be paid to building the Party at the factories and work places. The struggle against the capitalist-offensive gives rise to a number of actions and outbreaks of discontent. But communist work at the work places does not at all mean concentrating all the attention of the workers on economic questions. It is necessary to strive to bring the workers into all the political movements and questions of the day.

Attention must be paid to building up the pro-Party trend.

Besides the Party, the working class and the mass struggles give rise to a whole network of diverse organizations. But in the work in the various struggles and among these organizations, it is necessary not to lose sight of the task of building up the revolutionary trend itself among the workers. It is necessary to develop the pro-Party trend of workers that don't just support this or that particular struggle, but that support the socialist revolution and who assist the building up of Party organization. The building up of this trend is decisive for the development of stable links among the masses, and it provides an immense strengthening of the mass struggles.

It is essential to pay attention to Party organizational work.

The drag of the present period, and the individualist atmosphere promoted by the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie, necessitate paying close attention to maintaining collective Party methods. As well, the limited nature of the present-day mass struggles results in pressure towards narrowness and one-sidedness. There is also the pressure of large amounts of work to be done by few hands. It is necessary to maintain revolutionary perspective and a proper balance in the work and not simply get

bogged down in details of practical work.

It is necessary to carry forward theoretical work.

The proletarian revolutionary movement is based on the consciousness of the masses, and theory has always been vital to the spread of communism. Today there are many burning theoretical issues. There are the controversial questions of theory and tactics in the world movement. There is the summation of the experience of the struggles in the U.S. and the world movement. There is the repudiation of traditional fashionable views that have turned out to be snares and illusions. There is the study of the roots of revisionism in the communist movement, and of such questions as the reasons for the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. And this theoretical work of the Party must be carried out in connection with the permanent tasks of imbuing the masses with revolutionary theory.

A special role falls on the workers' press, of which the Party press, from leaflets to the national journal *The Workers' Advocate*, is the model and guide.

This press gives the working class its voice and fights the capitalist lies. It provides a focus and a platform for political and economic agitation and also for theoretical discussion. The work of supporting it and building it, of carrying it forward despite the numerous obstacles put in its way by the ruling bourgeoisie, helps organize the workers and inspire Party spirit. It provides a powerful and easily understandable link between the Party and the masses.

Next year marks the 20th anniversary of the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist), the predecessor of our Party.

It was brought into being on May 12, 1969 by a group of activists from the upsurge of the 1960's. From their experience in the struggle against the war in Viet Nam, in the fight against racism, in the workers' movement, in the women's movement, etc. they became convinced of the need to use Marxist-Leninism to orient the struggle.

They saw that the "Communist" Party of the USA had become revisionists who trailed the bourgeoisie. Rebuilding a truly communist party had necessarily to be an anti-revisionist struggle. They also saw that the other existing groupings were unsatisfactory, and called for the revolutionary anti-revisionists to unite into a single Marxist-Leninist party for the whole country.

In the years that followed, the ACWM(ML) and its successor, the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists, lived through many difficulties. There were grave setbacks as well as victories. But

these organizations never gave up their stand for revolutionary Marxist-Leninism, their participation in the mass struggle, their efforts to create a truly communist party, their efforts to unite the working class for the socialist revolution, and their uncompromising opposition to revisionism. It is their work that gave rise to the founding of the Marxist-Leninist Party on January 1, 1980.

Let us continue this work as the way to prepare for and hasten the inevitable waking of a new spirit of struggle among the working masses! □

Other materials from the 3rd Congress will be published in future issues of *The Workers' Advocate Supplement*.

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Socialism - liberation of the working class

The decade of the 1980's has been one of increased wealth for the rich and increasing cutbacks and difficulties for the masses. Meanwhile the economy totters on the edge of a new and devastating crisis.

The capitalists have only one word to say in response: the workers must sacrifice.

Why do things get harder as wealth increases? Why does the economy totter while abundant factories, farms, and workers to run them exist? Why can the capitalists think of nothing better to do with the huge resources of modern technology than divert them into one war after another and the perfection of ever more devastating means of mass slaughter?

It is because society is divided into parts, into exploiters and exploited, one of which lives at the expense of the other. The capitalists, the wealthy, not only make fantastically more money than the working majority. But more, their money is made off the labor of the working masses. The deprivation of the masses is needed for the wealth of the rich. The concessions of the workers, the backbreaking speedups, the wage cuts, and the layoffs are needed to line the pockets of the privileged.

As long as society is split into the privileged who rule and the poor who work, nothing fundamental can be solved. Just so long will every event have two sides, with the misery of many the prerequisite for the wealth of the few. Just so long will every promise of "compassion" be nothing more than a sly slave owner's trick. Just so long will dog-eat-dog competition and frenzied anarchy make a mockery of rational planning.

But out of the economic development under capitalism itself, the material basis for a new society has arisen. Large-scale production has become the predominant means of production. This inevitably raises the question of why a small handful of wealthy parasites, trading one firm versus another in "leveraged buyouts," should control huge enterprises which are sometimes larger and more powerful than the governments of many countries. Since most production is the product of the cooperation of thousands and tens of thousands of workers, why shouldn't the fruits of this production also be in the hands of the workers as a whole?

This is no utopian dream. Humanity has

reached the stage where the exploitation of person by person can be eliminated. The rule of a handful of exploiters over society is outdated. The economic basis exists for the working class to become the ruling class, and then to go on to abolish the division of society into classes altogether. The goal of a communist society, a society without classes and class oppression, without a ruling class, without an oppressive state apparatus, has become the goal of revolutionary workers around the world.

Communist society goes through several phases. The lower phase of communism is socialism, where classes still exist. The working class becomes the ruling class and step by step expropriates the bourgeoisie. It heals the wounds left by capitalism, expands production, and prepares for the abolition of all classes. This is a period of struggle, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, where the working class transforms itself in the process of ruling, the process of reconstructing society and the management of production, as well as in overcoming the resistance of the bourgeoisie. It leads to the higher phase of socialism, communism, the classless society.

Socialism is not just based on some new morality or the spread of a humanitarian idea. Not only does the advance of the economy make socialism possible, but it demands it. Huge problems such as pollution cannot be solved by capitalist competition between firms, but require cooperation over whole countries and continents.

Socialism is based on the achievements of modern science and engineering technique. It is based on the development of large-scale production. And it is based on the highest product of modern production — the modern working class itself.

The growth of productivity long ago reached the point where it is possible for everyone to have a cultured life. Only capitalism, to preserve itself, must preserve ignorance. As long as the exploiters rule, they must keep the mass of workers enslaved mentally as well as economically. The capitalists need to spread technological knowledge, but they seek to preserve the repulsive sludge of past centuries, including religious fanaticism and chauvinist fervor, including racial oppression and denigration of women. Meanwhile communism not only makes possible the spread of enlightenment and knowledge about the world among the

masses, but it requires it for its very existence.

Today public relations men of the exploiters have unleashed a big campaign against socialism. They blame the stagnation and ills of the capitalist economies on central planning and high wages. They present the existence of the state sector of the capitalist economies as "socialism," and then blame the failures of state capitalism on socialism. They point to the failure of revisionism, which they trumpet as the failure of "Marxism-Leninism." Meanwhile the revisionist state capitalists under Gorbachev and other revisionists in turn want to learn modern Western methods of exploitation just at the moment that this system totters in the face of a new crisis.

But socialism is not state capitalism, where the state owns many of the means of production but the state is still controlled by the rich. Nor is it the welfare state, where the capitalists try to keep the class contradictions from breaking out by handing over a few bucks to the starving. No, it is the rule of the working masses over society. It is the mobilization of the former hungry and laid-off masses into the real makers of history. It means that they themselves will remold society so as to eliminate exploitation and its offshoots: from racism and sexism to militarism and tyranny.

The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first time the working class took power in its own right, but it only lasted 71 days before it was drowned in blood by the French bourgeoisie.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was the first major experiment in building the rule of the working class. Working under difficult conditions, in a backward country, and faced with the intervention of one imperialist power after another, the Bolsheviks led the working class to set forward upon the path of reconstructing society.

The later degeneration of the Bolshevik Party into revisionism, and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, cannot wipe out the great accomplishments of this period any more than the fall of the Jacobins in the French bourgeois-democratic revolution of the end of the 18th century could stop the inevitable downfall of feudalism and absolute monarchy. The French Jacobins were the major revolutionary party of their time. Their fall led ultimately to the restoration of the French monarchy for decades before the

next major European revolutionary wave half a century later. Yet the feudal monarchies were doomed all the same. Today it is the turn of capitalism. It is outdated and obsolete. The immense setback to the revolutionary working class movement from the decay of the Soviet Union has only prolonged the crisis-ridden life of capitalism, but it cannot wipe out the communist movement.

The working class, when it is class conscious, must be revolutionary. To achieve its goal of emancipating humanity from exploitation, it needs not just militancy, but a revolutionary perspective. The conviction must spread that the working masses can and must run the economy themselves, and do it better than the capitalists. The conviction that a new society can be built, a society that will permanently eliminate the scourges of capitalism.

The Marxist-Leninist Party calls on all class conscious workers and revolutionary activists to join us in building the working class movement as a revolutionary movement. This means coming out as an independent force on every issue against the bourgeoisie, and its liberal and conservative wings. It also means work in favor of socialist revolution, study of the principles of socialism, and criticism of capitalist society as a whole. The reformist version of "socialism" as just welfare-ism or as the state sector under capitalism must be opposed. The revisionist corruption of socialism must be exposed. As part of this, our Party has embarked on a major study of the experience of the Soviet Union, both its revolutionary accomplishments and the reasons for its fall.

Meanwhile the capitalists are frantically seeking to balance one economic measure versus another. Should interest rates go up or down? Is the stock market too high or not high enough? Is the burgeoning budget deficit too big or is it spurring on the economy? Should the hundreds of bankrupt savings and loans companies be allowed to collapse or saved through the infusion of billions of dollars?

But a time will come when they will wake up and find that there is no stock market, no profit margins, no rate of return on hoarded dollars. Factories and farms will remain, but not stock certificates and positions as over-privileged overseers. The toilers will have risen up and reconstructed the world on a new and better basis. □

Against the anti-socialist crusade of Gorbachev

The state capitalist countries of Russia, China and Eastern Europe are led not by communists but by revisionist betrayers of Marxism. Today these countries are in acute crisis. In this situation Gorbachev in the Soviet Union is heading up a new offensive to exorcise the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Gorbachev's campaign and the crisis of revisionism are being used by world capitalism for a massive assault on the very idea of socialism.

They want to demoralize the working class and strip it of its revolutionary aspirations. They want to bury the idea that it is possible to build a society without exploiters and the profit motive.

Let all revolutionary and class conscious workers stand up against this crusade. This is an essential battle for building up the self-confidence of the working class for the fight for socialism and the communist goal of a world without classes.

The capitalists and Gorbachev are all singing the praises of profit and markets. But what does the profit system hold for the workers? Just look at what has taken place during eight years of Reaganism. We have been treated to many a song about the glories of capitalism and we have seen what it has brought: fabulous riches to the Wall Street speculators on one end and the spread of homelessness and begging on the other. And the economy is on the edge of collapse, threatening ruin for tens of millions more.

The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists uphold the fight for workers' socialism.

The proletariat has been fighting for socialism for over a century. And it will keep this fight going until a world without exploitation is ushered in.

The 1917 Socialist Revolution in Russia was a milestone in this struggle. It set up workers' power and saw the launching of a powerful effort by the proletariat to wipe out capitalism and build a new society. Despite great difficulties the working class made major strides forward. Working class rule smashed up the old Russia of exploitation and backwardness and brought it into the modern age. But in the mid-30's the Soviet leadership abandoned the revolutionary path and socialism fell into a decline. A privileged bureaucracy stopped the forward march of the workers, and the Soviet Union degenerated into a state-capitalist society. The decay of the Soviet Union shows that it isn't Marxism-Leninism but abandoning it which brings disaster to the working class.

Under the leadership of Brezhnev, Soviet state capitalism was driven into a deep economic crisis. Soviet revisionism has therefore come forth with Gorbachev's platform to find a way out of this malaise.

His program of *perestroika* is merely a capitalist rationalization of the economy. It seeks to introduce more Western-style capitalist features with the enterprises acting more like private capitalist corporations. For the Soviet workers this translates into wage cuts, layoffs and speedup.

Meanwhile *glasnost* is promised as democratization. The revisionists want to soothe the workers that in exchange for economic hardship they will get more say-so in the society. But this is an empty promise. To the extent it means anything, it is a policy to move towards more of a Western-style bourgeois democratic setup. This would allow some means through which conflicts among the ruling class and the privileged strata can

be better handled. But for the masses, *glasnost* amounts to a lot of empty talk while in reality an increase of police power is threatened by the Gorbachev regime.

Gorbachev's reforms will only widen the gulf between the Soviet toilers and the rich and privileged.

For the Soviet masses, they mean a big attack on their living and working conditions, while they promise increased wealth for bureaucrats, managers, and private capitalists.

But *perestroika* is leading to worker resistance. Already strikes and demonstrations have broken out in places. For the international working class movement, this is an encouraging development. It is the working class which holds the potential of lifting the Soviet Union out of the morass of revisionist state capitalism.

Soviet workers should use the opportunity of the turmoil of the current changes, and of any weakening of the bureaucracy that may take place, to organize; but the workers cannot support Gorbachev. Nor should they side with the pro-Western dissidents who, with their own status as a privileged sector and with Western imperialist help, are being given a louder voice. The issue for the workers is to rebuild the class movement and prepare for a new socialist revolution.

A revolutionary proletarian party is vital to organize the class struggle against the state-capitalist regime and to steer clear from the demagoguery of the pro-Western liberal and reformist forces. The Soviet workers' future lies in returning to the socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin that was the original vision and practice of the Russian revolution.

On a world scale too, Gorbachev's revisionist crusade means increased pressure on the world revolutionary move-

ment. To ease the pressure against them, and with their eyes on new loans and investment from the Western imperialists, Gorbachev has organized Soviet diplomacy to help out imperialism in various hot spots around the world where revolution is brewing. Moscow has stepped up attempts to reach a conciliation with apartheid South Africa and Zionist Israel. It is backing up the treacherous Arias plan in Central America. In all these places, it urges the working people to pin their hopes on reformist pipe dreams and give up struggle.

Soviet revisionism's new attempts to collaborate with Western imperialism under Gorbachev do not mean that the Soviet Union has stopped being one of the two imperialist superpowers. Moscow remains a militarist bulwark. It uses its military machine to guard over what it considers its sphere of influence and it is also one of the world's largest merchants of death: Soviet weapons are used worldwide to rain death on the masses, from Afghanistan and Iraq to Ethiopia and Peru.

Soviet revisionism under Gorbachev has also launched a renewed theorizing against Marxist-Leninist ideas.

He has dropped the revolutionary phrasemongering of the Brezhnev years in favor of promoting open class collaboration, reformism and pacifism. Gorbachev promotes the incredible lie that all the world's problems, such as war, starvation, environmental pollution, racism, etc. can now be solved by class collaboration among the rich and poor.

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3rd Congress of the MLP, USA

Solidarity with those on the barricades of struggle worldwide!

As we come near the end of the decade of the 80's, Reagan and Bush say the world is in an unprecedented era of democracy, prosperity and peace. Meanwhile Gorbachev says that the rich and poor can work together to solve the problems of starvation and misery.

While that may be the self-satisfied view from the summits of power in Washington and Moscow, to the workers and poor at the bottom of society, there is a different picture.

When we look around the world we see that regimes of tyranny and torture remain a huge burden on the working people. And we see that it is the power of wealthy capitalists that stand behind fascism and death-squad reaction. We also see that the capitalist exploiters everywhere are responsible for poverty and suffering for billions of people.

But that is one side of the picture. We also see in every corner of the globe that the working people continue to stand up and fight. There are strikes, demonstrations, armed insurgencies and popular upheavals. The power of workers, peasants and youth in mass struggle is seen over and over again.

As the 20th century comes to a close, the class struggle remains very much in force. In country after country the working class shows that it is the powerful locomotive pushing history forward. Indeed, it is the working class, rallying around it all the exploited masses, that represents the hope of a new world for the downtrodden people of the globe.

The Marxist-Leninist Party sends its revolutionary salute to all the workers and oppressed on the barricades of struggle throughout the world.

CENTRAL AMERICA remains in

upheaval. The last decade has seen a titanic battle of the toilers against the exploiters who are backed up by the money and guns of U.S. imperialism.

In El Salvador and Guatemala, Washington and the local generals have thrown everything against the people. But the masses have stood defiant. Today a new upsurge is gaining momentum in El Salvador.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government has been trying its utmost to throw back the Nicaraguan revolution. It has unleashed a two-track policy of contra aggression and internal destabilization through diplomatic pressure such as the Arias "peace plan." The petty-bourgeois Sandinista government has tried to reach a compromise with imperialism by conceding more privileges and rights to the internal counterrevolution. In the face of a difficult situation, and a serious economic crisis, it is the workers of Nicaragua who remain the hope of pushing the revolution forward. The Marxist-Leninist Party of Nicaragua is waging a courageous struggle to organize the revolutionary movement of the workers and poor peasants.

In a year of uprising, the PALESTINIAN people of the West Bank and Gaza have shown their unyielding determination for freedom. In the face of savage military brutality by the Israeli military machine, the Palestinian people have stood up with their fists, placards, rocks and firebombs.

Meanwhile, in SOUTH AFRICA, another bulwark of racist oppression, the black people's fight for liberation simmers under the state of emergency. Neither prison and torture nor bullets and the whip can keep down the next wave of revolt which is building up among the oppressed masses.

In other parts of the globe, too, the forces

of tyranny and military rule are being battered by powerful blows of the people. From Chile to Bangladesh military dictatorships are being shaken. The toilers of Iran fight the Islamic dictatorship of the mullahs. In that struggle, the Communist Party of Iran is playing a crucial role in organizing the independent movement of the working class.

From the old centers of capitalism in Europe and North America to the urban centers of the oppressed countries, capitalists are trying to squeeze the workers harder.

The fight against concessions and capitalist austerity is growing.

While the capitalists crow about prosperity, billions of people in the oppressed countries have gone through a decade of depression. The imperialist bankers and the IMF have been pushing the toilers to the wall. In the face of this, the working class and poor have repeatedly risen up.

We salute the workers everywhere who stand up against the austerity drive, the drive for wage cuts and speedup. We salute those who are fighting the depression conditions from North Africa to the Philippines to Mexico.

The present time has also seen a worsening economic crisis in state capitalist EASTERN EUROPE. Giving the lie to the socialist label in these countries, the workers are being hit by wage cuts and overwork. Now the winds of perestroika from Moscow threaten to squeeze the workers even more. In the face of this workers are driven to revolt. Strikes have broken out from Poland to Yugoslavia to Russia.

In many a corner of the globe workers and toilers are in motion. There is yearning for radical change. Sometimes, the working people are able to bring down despotic

regimes, as in Haiti or the Philippines, but the fruits of struggle are seized from the masses by factions of exploiters. To forestall the schemes of the bourgeoisie, the workers need to build their own independent revolutionary movement. They have to fight for their own class demands. They have to put the stamp of proletarian goals and methods of struggle in every social upheaval. Through all the twists and turns of struggle, the workers have to uphold the socialist perspective. Because the goal of a world without exploitation is a great force for the mobilization of the downtrodden masses.

For these reasons the revolutionary movement requires proletarian parties based on Marxism-Leninism. We send our salutations to all those militant activists worldwide who are working to build up the working class vanguards.

The Marxist-Leninist Party condemns "our own" ruling class, the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, for being the No. 1 backer of world reaction. Republican and Democrat alike, they back up racist Israel and South Africa. They back up the death squads, contras, and military tyrants. They stand behind the IMF and austerity regimes. They work to undermine the workers' struggle in state capitalist Eastern Europe and channel it into a battering ram for Western-style capitalism.

The class conscious workers of the U.S. will do our part to support the struggles worldwide by building up the revolutionary movement here in the belly of the monster. And we will build up the solidarity of the U.S. workers with the oppressed of the world! □

Build up the world forces of Marxism-Leninism!

The working class is a powerful force on the world stage. The working class is the force with the greatest power to confront the world capitalist onslaught of exploitation and oppression.

Wherever the exploited and oppressed masses rise up the workers show their strength. Miners, auto workers, shipbuilders, textile workers and other proletarians are found on the frontlines of struggle.

This can be seen in the black revolt against apartheid; in the clashes against military tyranny from Chile to South Korea; in the mass upheaval against hunger and capitalist austerity from state capitalist Eastern Europe, to North Africa, to Latin America.

Moreover, the most advanced sections of these struggling workers are impelled towards revolutionary ideas. They frequently raise appeals and demands against capitalism and look towards the ideas of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

To make their struggle organized, conscious and systematic the workers need to organize their own revolutionary vanguard. They need their Marxist-Leninist communist party.

Unfortunately, the majority of the parties calling themselves communist are communist only in name. In reality they are revisionist parties that laud state monopoly capitalism in Gorbachev's Soviet Union, in China, Cuba or elsewhere. They have betrayed the working class, socialism and Marxism-Leninism. They are bourgeois reformist parties tied to the capitalist liberals, the bourgeois nationalists and the corrupt trade union bureaucracies.

Moreover, there is presently a deep crisis among a number of those parties that once fought against Soviet and Chinese revisionism. They call themselves Marxist-Leninist and anti-revisionist. But many of these organizations — the CP of Brazil, the CP (Reconstructed) of Portugal, the CP of Spain (ML), among others — are in the hands of opportunist leaderships. They adhere, despite certain secondary reservations among some, to the wrong orientations being put forward by the Party of Labor of Albania.

The opportunism of these leaderships un-

dermines the class independence of the workers. It strengthens illusions in the capitalist liberals and social-democrats in the guise of fighting the conservatives and reactionaries. It preaches petty-bourgeois nationalism that blunts class consciousness and leads to support of even reactionary nationalist rulers such as the strongman regime in Panama. (The Party of Labor of Albania takes this to the point of support for the militarist tyrants in Turkey and Ethiopia and the Islamic dictators in Iran.) This opportunism engages in petty bourgeois democratic scheming for a supposedly perfected democracy under the rule of the exploiters (through constitutional reform, electoral combinations behind the capitalist liberals and social-democrats, etc.). It slurs over the tasks of preparing the workers and exploited masses for revolution and socialism.

This opportunism must be confronted forcefully and openly. For over five years now, the leadership of the CP of Spain (ML) and others have demanded that the problems in the anti-revisionist movement must only be addressed quietly, behind closed doors, away from the eyes and ears of the rank-and-file communists and workers. This approach has proven worthless. Worse, it has proven to be a shield under which the opportunist corruption has grown deeper and for the leadership of the CP of Spain (ML) and others to themselves slide further into the opportunist marsh.

The urgent task of the day is an open struggle for the revival of international Marxism-Leninism. This is a hard and complex struggle that must be waged on a number of interconnected fronts.

The open discussion and polemic over the burning issues facing international Marxism-Leninism needs to be unfolded. The problems confronting the movement will not go away by closing our eyes to them. Only the open discussion allows the communists and revolutionary workers to make a conscious assessment of the issues at stake which are so critical to their struggle.

The criticism of Soviet and other currents of revisionism must be deepened. Revisionism exerts a heavy weight against the revolutionary movement. The history of revisionist betrayal (including the anti-Leninist

orientation set down at the 7th Congress of the Communist International over 50 years ago) has left mounds of ideological debris that still must be cleared from the Marxist-Leninist path.

The theoretical work must be pushed forward in order to root the movement in the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. The theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin is the only theory that is consistent with the working class struggle. Much work is needed to combat the bourgeois and revisionist distortions of Marxism. The Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on the basics of working class tactics, on the revolution, on the socialist transformation of society, etc., needs to be revived as the guide to the revolutionary movement.

Marxism-Leninism means nothing if it is not connected to a revolutionary stand in the class struggle. It must be linked with the mass upheaval against the capitalists, against the reactionaries, against the racists and militarists who exploit and trample on the workers and poor. It must be used to champion the independent interests of the proletariat and to liberate the working masses from the influence of the bourgeois liberals, social-democrats and other reformists. It must be used to bring the mass struggle out of the capitalist framework and to train the masses in the perspective of the socialist revolution.

International solidarity must be strengthened. The Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers of different lands must reach out to each other, build links, and develop mutual support. Proletarian internationalism is a powerful weapon on the side of the Marxist-Leninists and the working class. Their struggle is international. It is strengthened when they combine their efforts, launch joint campaigns, and closely collaborate.

In a number of countries around the world there are revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties or groups. Wherever they are struggling the left-wing Marxist-Leninist forces deserve the ardent solidarity of all communists and revolutionary workers.

As of yet the steps that have been taken by these forces towards the revival of international Marxism-Leninism are limited and uneven. Nonetheless, they show that the

struggle for revolutionary Marxism-Leninism is an objective trend in the world.

Their efforts are in the direction that confirms to the demands of the class struggle that is shaking one country after the next. They are in the direction that can bring the class conscious workers and revolutionaries engaged in struggle to Marxism-Leninism.

The MLP, USA is committed to working shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of all countries for the rejuvenation of the international movement and its consolidation on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party is the contingent in this country of international Marxism-Leninism. It is one column of the worldwide march of the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries, workers and oppressed towards revolution and socialism. □

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No! The path of human progress remains the path of class struggle and revolution. Only struggle can defend the interests of the masses, and only revolution can open up the prospect of a world without misery, tyranny and oppression.

The 3rd Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Party calls on all revolutionaries the world over to stand up against the Gorbachev revisionist campaign. We say that revolutionaries need to return to the revolutionary communism of Marx, Engels and Lenin. We must join together to build up the forces of world communism against Gorbachev and all the revisionists. □

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