

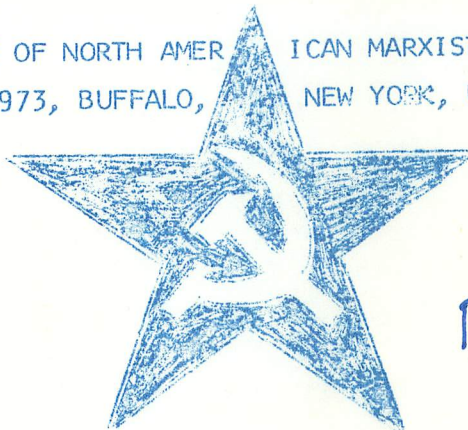
DIGEST OF NORTH AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY MATERIAL FOR
PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

NO. 1
JUNE 1973

The publication in the Bay Area of the DIGEST of documents of North American Revolutionary Material for ORGANIZING THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION is another example of the broadening movement of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. For the past year, the task of widescale dissemination of the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought has been taken up by growing numbers of class conscious proletarian workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world and in North America and the U.S.A. Coming at a time when the National Liberation Struggles waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against U.S. led imperialism and all lackeys and social-fascist flunkies to imperialism has let loose the wave of revolutionary indignation of all peoples in the form of revolutionary storm centers arising from deep amongst the masses, the American internationalists and class conscious brothers and sisters of the peoples of the world, with determined spirit, seek to carry the U.S.A. revolution through to the end and thereby contribute, for once and for all, to the GREAT UNITY OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLES. Step by step, these communist fighters are paving the way and concretizing the revolutionary examples of organizing the American working and oppressed peoples for proletarian revolution. In the community, at the place of work and in educational institutions, it is an undeniable truth that PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION and ARE DETERMINED TO MAKE REAL THIS MOST DEEPEST OF ASPIRATIONS. It is to this high ideal of the people that COMMUNISTS have issued the CALL FOR A CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN MARXIST-LENINISTS to BUILD THE MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY in the U.S.A. These documents serve to illuminate this most important FIRST TASK. It is INEVITABLE that NORTH AMERICA WILL BE THE STORM CENTER OF THE WORLDWIDE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

TAKE UP THE TASK OF ORGANIZING THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS FOR PROLETARIAN
REVOLUTION !

HAIL THE CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN MARXIST-LENINISTS, AUGUST 18 -
SEPTEMBER 2, 1973, BUFFALO, NEW YORK, U.S.A. !



Red Banner (ML)

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1 CALL FOR A CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN MARXIST-LENINISTS

Issued by the First Meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the
Conference - November 19, 1972

Proletarian revolutions and wars of national liberation are raging, and the struggle for socialism is being waged all over the world. While revolution is the main trend in the world today, we see throughout the whole world that fascism is increasing its attacks against the revolutionary class and the revolutionary movement in general. Internationally we see this in the growing collusion of the U.S. imperialists and the U.S.S.R. social imperialists to attempt to crush the proletarian revolution and increase their aggression against the peoples of the world. Within the U.S. we recognize the seriousness of the situation the imperi-

alists are developing through their propaganda about the re-election of Nixon: the imperialists are carrying out a steady vicious advance toward an organized fascist drive against the working class of the U.S. In light of these conditions we view it as a very serious matter that the revolutionary movement in the U.S. is disunited and its forces are not monolithic but instead dispersed and scattered in the form of many individuals, groups and organizations throughout the U.S.

In opposition to the growing forces of fascism and to the disunity of the revolutionary movement, there is arising a struggle to develop unity among the revolutionary forces. This is expressed concretely in the writing of this call by several separate organizations within the U.S. as well as in Canada and Quebec. The organizations in the U.S. are working with the support of the comrades of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of Quebec (Marxist-Leninist) for the development of the revolutionary movement in the U.S.

On what basis have these organizations united? We can only be united on the basis of the interests of the whole working class. That is, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which is hostile to any struggle for personal interests or opinions. Marxism-Leninism is the theory of scientific socialism, that is, it is based in objective reality as opposed to a subjective fight for individual ends.

It is out of this struggle for scientific socialism, for correct line, that the real unity of the revolutionary movement will develop in its highest form, a single organization that fights for the whole working class to overthrow imperialism. Lenin pointed out and history has confirmed that The Party of a New Type can only be built on the basis of the struggle against revisionism and opportunism (incorrect line). We don't want to unite purely for the sake of uniting, but for the sake of struggling for correct line for the working class in its struggle against the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

We are uniting on the basis of Marxism-Leninism to organize a conference (to be held sometime in 1973) where all honest revolutionaries would be minimally united on the basis of wanting to struggle for Marxism-Leninism against revisionism, for a Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class of the U.S.

The Preparatory Committee of the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists calls on all those who agree in the main with the above points to attend this revolutionary conference. Those who call themselves Marxist-Leninists must hold themselves accountable in front of the people. There are many differences on the crucial task of building the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of a New Type. But these differences can only be aired in this mass democratic conference. All organizations, whatever their size and experience, have equal right and every obligation to present their views openly for discussion. For amongst Marxist-Leninists there is no jockeying for position and fame. Let all Marxist-Leninists unite for the cause of proletarian revolution and the proletarian party.

end.

2 RESOLUTION OF THE 3rd MEETING OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN MARXIST-LENINISTS - JUNE 9, 1973

The Preparatory Committee for the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists held its third meeting in Tampa, Florida, on June 9, 1973. The meeting was attended by the Red Star Cadre, the Red Collective, the Association of Communist Workers, the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), and the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist). The Red Banner (Marxist-Leninist) sent a message saying, "Red Banner (Marxist-Leninist) hails the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninist, August 18 to September 2, 1973, and is proud to join the ranks of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference in becoming a sponsoring organization."

All the comrades re-affirmed their support for the Call for the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists, held consultations, and used the mass democratic method to solve a number of questions and strengthen their unity around the Call.

The Preparatory Committee denounced certain individuals resident in Chicago who organized a so-called Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists in Chicago from May 24 to May 28. This bogus conference had nothing to do with the Preparatory Committee or with the North American Conference of Marxist-Leninists. Furthermore, these same individuals speaking as representatives of a bogus "preparatory committee" have issued a so-called memo attacking the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) and have also continued their slanders in an article entitled "ACWM (M-L) Breaks from the Call." The Preparatory Committee of the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists never issued such statements, and points out that no statements represent the Preparatory Committee unless all the sponsoring organizations are consulted with.

A number of important decisions were reached at the meeting. It was agreed that the Conference should be consultative and educational in nature, whereby all the participants could discuss their views in a serious and open manner. It was further decided that the Conference should be conducted on the basis of the mass democratic method, using the two basic guidelines:

- 1) No investigation, no right to speak.
- 2) No sophistry or rhetoric.

After extensive discussion it was unanimously agreed that it is of great importance for the Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. to take up the task of ORGANIZING THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. The Preparatory Committee decided that the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists must be oriented towards serious discussion of this task. In light of this task, the following tentative agenda was drawn up for the Conference, so that these points can be dealt with in depth:

- 1) Building the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party as the Decisive Factor
- 2) Mass Movements
- 3) United Front
- 4) International Communist Movement
- 5) National Liberation Struggles
- 6) Basic Contradictions in U.S. Society

It is these points that the revisionists have done their utmost to mystify, in order to create road blocks to ORGANIZING THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

It was decided that the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists would be held from August 18 to September 2, 1973 in Buffalo, New York, instead of in Chicago.

We urge all genuine Marxist-Leninists to sum up their experience in light of the points raised in the tentative agenda, and make preparations to fully participate in the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists.

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3 HAIL THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE INTERNATIONALISTS!

-Communist England, journal of the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) and Red Patriot, journal of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) in a Joint Special Issue dated April 26, 1973, No. 2, carried a statement entitled HAIL THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE INTERNATIONALISTS! March 13th 1963 - March 13th 1973, All Glory to the Youth and Students of England and Ireland Who Built the Internationalists! The full text of the statement follows:

JOINT STATEMENT OF THE TWO SISTER PARTIES -- COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND (MARXIST-LENINIST) AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF ENGLAND (MARXIST-LENINIST), April 23rd 1973.

On the historic date of March 13th, 1963, the "INTERNATIONALISTS" were founded in the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, by youth and students, under the leadership and guidance of Comrade Hardial Bains. In November 1965, Comrade Bains the founder and leader of the INTERNATIONALISTS in Canada led the founding of the INTERNATIONALISTS movement amongst the students in Trinity College Dublin, and in August 1967 the IRISH INTERNATIONALISTS under the leadership of Comrade BAINS, helped to bring about the formation of the ENGLISH INTERNATIONALISTS amongst the students, workers and immigrants. Through their activities the INTERNATIONALISTS have given rise to genuine Communist Parties in their respective countries - the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of Quebec (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist).

In England and Ireland the rise and development of the INTERNATIONALISTS signalled the defeat of the hegemony of revisionism and dogmatism over the broad masses and their anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles, and prepared the conditions for the rise of genuinely revolutionary Marxist-Leninist centres.

In both Ireland and England the so-called Communist Parties ... the "Communist Party" of Great Britain and the "Communist Party" of Ireland had long since committed their treacherous betrayal and capitulation, refusing to lead the struggle for national liberation and emancipation in Ireland and the struggle of the proletarian masses against the government of the British monopoly capitalist class in England. The betrayal of these 'leaders' meant that the peoples' struggles were liquidated into

weak reformist struggles ~~on~~ begging for reforms from the class enemies, and that their fighting organisations which could no longer act as vanguards became corrupt fiefdoms of a few cliques and 'ideologues'. These 'Communit Parties' became nothing but tools of their master...modern Soviet revisionism and for its revisionist line and influence all around the world. Following the treacherous lines and policies of their masters, Khrushchev, etc., these revisionist Parties pushed the policies of peaceful co-existence and "there is something good in capitalism". They called upon the workers to have faith in the bourgeoisie and in the Trade Union aristocracy. The revisionists in Ireland called desperately for the people to lay down their arms and give up the national liberation struggle and beg for 'civil rights and guarantees of human rights', etc. from the British imperialists.

However, with the intensification of contradictions on a world wide scale after World War 2, with the great Chinese people successfully establishing the Great People's Republic of China and with the heroic Vietnamese people waging armed people's war against U.S. imperialism, a new awakening of the working people began to occur. The Communist Party of China repudiated and exposed the heinous politics and activities of the modern Soviet revisionists and clearly re-enunciated the principles of Marxism-Leninism for the proletarian masses all round the world. It was just a matter of time before the revisionist headquarters in all countries were overthrown and genuine Marxist-Leninist centres were again established. In this world of rapidly intensifying contradictions it was the youth and students who first came forward on a wide scale to wage struggle against imperialism. U.S. imperialism, in an attempt to subvert the young people and prop up its dying carcass, launched a counter-revolutionary cultural campaign with which it aimed to fill the heads of the youth with egocentrism, selfishness, sensuality, bourgeois individualism, parasitism and totally detach them from the working masses and from the real struggles in the world. The INTERNATIONALISTS developed out of these conditions from amongst the young people and students.

In Trinity College in 1965, as in the whole of Ireland, there was no revolutionary atmosphere, no discussion of revolutionary ideology, no revolutionary centre, all due to the betrayal of the revisionist Party. At the same time the people were suffering the entire onslaught of the imperialist system, on the economic, political and cultural fronts. The INTERNATIONALISTS spearheaded an actual way forward for the students from this situation and with the deep aspiration to overthrow oppression, the INTERNATIONALISTS and their fellow youth and students began a trend of opposition to all the prevailing cultural conditions and unquestioned theories of the bourgeois educational institutions. From a very small discussion group in 1965 the INTERNATIONALISTS grew into a militant well-disciplined anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist youth and student movement in 1967 and into a Marxist-Leninist organization in 1968. By struggling to defeat the various aspects of the cultural superstructure which undermine the youth the INTERNATIONALISTS, under the leadership of Comrade Bains summed up and provided the NECESSITY FOR CHANGE analysis of imperialist culture. This analysis provided a scientific basis for the struggle of the youth because it showed that all the different problems which the youth faced, the bourgeois educational system, the consumer culture, the egocentric way of life, etc. were all caused by the imperialist economic system and that therefore the only way forward was by linking with all other oppressed sections of the society to build a genuinely anti-imperialist struggle.

By this time a number of groups and individuals had broken away from the old revisionist Party in England and declared themselves against revisionism and for Marxism-Leninism. In the historic NECESSITY FOR CHANGE CONFERENCE held in London from August 1st-15th, 1967, and personally led and directed by Comrade BAINS, the INTERNATIONALISTS found that these new anti-revisionists, who had come from the old Party, had all the old style and thinking of the revisionists and were totally unwilling to engage in the actual struggles to lead the people and defeat revisionism in the course of that. Instead they had become ardent dogmatists who were pre-occupied with "clarifying theoretical questions", had no guidelines as to how to get organized, how to defeat revisionism in style of work, had nothing to say to the youth and students who were astir and demanding a way forward and worst of all presented the theory to justify all this that 'conditions were not ripe for revolutionary work'. This they used to justify doing nothing to prepare the conditions for revolutionary struggle. They arrogantly claimed that the people were wrapped up in and actually liked the onslaught of imperialist consumer society and that it wasn't possible to take revolutionary ideology amongst the people and have open ideological struggles there. These gentlemen who called themselves Marxist-Leninists refused to help provide guidance to the INTERNATIONALISTS or any other youth and students. Because of this, the INTERNATIONALISTS delegates present at the conference from North American, Ireland and England solemnly and enthusiastically pledged to continue their work in order to give rise to new Parties in their respective countries which would provide leadership in practice to the people. This resolution of the historic NECESSITY FOR CHANGE conference was taken to hand by all genuine INTERNATIONALISTS who have persevered in the task of BUILDING THE GENUINELY MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY AND LEADING THE MASSES WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT. In executing this task the Internationalists drew inspiration and guidance from the Great Proletarian Cultural REVolution in China. This earth shattering event linked the struggle to

oppose revisionism in political line and method with the struggle to oppose bourgeois self and gave the slogan: Fight Self -- Repudiate Revisionism".

In May 1968, in TCD, after protracted struggles and work in the college for three years, the INTERNATIONALISTS led a historic upsurge of mass democracy in which students in their hundreds stood up against the imperialist nature of the university and society, and engaged in a great debate on how to move forward and fight imperialism under direct leadership of the Marxist-Leninists. This upsurge hammered a further nail into the theory of the dogmatists who claimed that the conditions were not ripe for revolutionary struggle. In practice the INTERNATIONALISTS had built up a revolutionary mass movement amongst the people, openly espousing Marxist-Leninist ideas and firmly against imperialism and revisionism, and at the same time the INTERNATIONALISTS had through this struggle built up a consolidated and disciplined vanguard group... the core group for a Party

The INTERNATIONALISTS developed because they came from the ordinary youth and students who had a deep desire to move forward and who were willing to take up a thorough going struggle against all bourgeois thinking and egocentrism in order to move themselves forward and provide leadership to the youth and students. The development of the INTERNATIONALISTS is all credit to the youth and students of Ireland and England who persisted in the task of changing the world despite the repeated warnings of the dogmatists from the sidelines 'that conditions were not ripe'.

The INTERNATIONALISTS advanced because...

- 1) They embodied the spirit and deep interests of the young people to oppose imperialism and because at all times they relied on the people,
- 2) They provided a concrete analysis of the prevailing conditions...the Necessity for Change analysis which provided a scientific way forward,
- 3) They avoided the pitfall of the 'anti-revisionists' descended from the old Party who were engaged in theoretical disputes, and put the PRACTICAL TASK OF BUILDING REVOLUTIONARY MASS MOVEMENT AND A LEADING GROUP in command, and learnt how to oppose revisionism in methods of work and how to develop the tactics of the revolution in the course of this practice. The INTERNATIONALISTS, under Comrade Bains' leadership followed the correct line that the main problem to be solved was on the question of methods of work and organization.
- 4) The INTERNATIONALISTS made their main aim to take revolutionary ideas and a concrete revolutionary platform to the students and youth, hold open ideological debates against the wrong ideas, especially against revisionism and trotskyism, and put full emphasis on this method to raise the consciousness of the people. Many times the INTERNATIONALISTS were told that this was not possible and that the people could 'only understand bread and butter issues' and that through such issues they should be led into 'communism'. The whole development of the INTERNATIONALISTS and the entire youth and student movement entirely disputes this, and shows that the broad masses are extremely tired of "bread and butter" issues in themselves.
- 5) The INTERNATIONALISTS put full emphasis on building a disciplined leading group in order to lead the development of revolutionary politics amongst the broad masses and take the struggle systematically from stage to stage. The INTERNATIONALISTS persisted in the struggle of how to consolidate such a group by MAKING SELF THE TARGET OF REVOLUTION AND THE AMASSES THE TARGET OF REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA, building initial guidelines in methods of work.

Since 1967-68 the INTERNATIONALISTS youth and student movement gave rise to nation wide campaigns in Ireland and England to DISSEMINATE MARXISM-Leninism MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT to the broad masses in the educational institutions, communities and factories, gave rise to the RESISTENCE MOVEMENT over their right to politically organise and disseminate Marxist-Leninist literature and gave rise to national organisations, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) and Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist)

The Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) call upon all comrades and supporters and all genuine revolutionary and progressive minded people in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales to use the important occasion of the celebrations of the 10th Anniversary of the Founding of the INTERNATIONALISTS to grasp this initial contribution made by the INTERNATIONALISTS and the two sister parties to proletarian revolution in these countries and to use it in order to further strengthen and guide the work the next decade of revolutionary struggle!

Long Live the Spirit of the Youth and Students Against Imperialism and Revisionism!

Long Live the Internationalist Spirit and Style of Work!

Death to Imperialism and Revisionism!

Long Live the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist)!

Long Live the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist)!

ONE STRUGGLE
TWO ENEMIES
THREE GUIDELINES
FOUR LEVELS OF WORK

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONALISTS ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE HISTORIC NECESSITY FOR CHANGE, YOUTH AND STUDENTS CONFERENCE, London, August 1-5, 1967

(This statement was released by the Canadian Internationalists in Toronto and Vancouver, Montreal Internationalists in Montreal, The Irish Internationalists in Dublin, and The Internationalists, Progressive Workers, Immigrants (National Minorities) Youth and Students' Movement of England in London on August 22, 1968. This statement was issued under the headings: ONE STRUGGLE, TWO ENEMIES, THREE GUIDELINES, FOUR LEVELS OF WORK.)

The Internationalists have progressed on an unprecedented scale during the year since the First Historic Necessity For Change Youth and Students Conference. This progress has been all-sided: we have further developed our theory and social practice, we have moved from a primitive organisation to one based on One Struggle, Two Enemies, Three Guidelines and Four Levels of Work. Through mass work we have gathered rich experience about mass democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggles, and the extent to which the broad masses of the people are oppressed by the anti-democratic, anti-people and fascist forces. Our movement which was purely a student movement until the Necessity for Change Conference in August, 1967, is now integrated with the working and oppressed peoples' struggles at the place of work, in the community and in the university and other educational institutes.

Our activities have increased in depth and in scope since the historic conference. We aroused the masses over the problems confronting the working and oppressed people. In the universities, we exposed the decadent, bourgeois educational system which trains lackeys of imperialism; in the community we focussed on the heartless exploitation of the masses - in housing, exorbitant rents, rising costs of living, unemployment and on the cultural front, we exposed the modern soviet revisionists and other liberal-bourgeois ideologies, e.g. "Castroism", "New-Leftism", etc.

Because of these activities, for which the Internationalists gave leadership in theory and practice, and because of the historic upsurge of mass democracy in Trinity College, Dublin, the broad masses of the youth and students, as well as the workers, and the genuinely patriotic and nationalist forces, see the Internationalists as a real alternative to the "revisionist" youth and student movements as well as their mass organizations, dogmatic "marxist" groups parading under various names, counter-revolutionary elements organized under various Trotskyist groups and the "new left" types.

We have consciously and creatively followed Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide to action in dealing with various internal and external problems. We have developed in theory and in practice a revolutionary working style, and have persisted in the struggle against reactionary ideas and practices.

We are very proud to announce that the Youth and Students wing of our movement is convening the FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST YOUTH AND STUDENTS sometime during the later part of this year. In so doing we are executing the great historic resolution passed at the historic Necessity for Change Conference. We proudly call upon all genuinely progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist and patriotic young workers and students to rally behind the bright red banner of the Internationalists and whole-heartedly support this great event. We call upon all our mass organizations to organise youth and students conferences on the basis of democracy, opposition to imperialism and modern soviet revisionism, fight against the decadent educational system, and on the basis of denunciation of the degenerate bourgeois culture which is the most perverse, racialist and fascist in nature. Already, plans are underway to hold mass youth and students conferences all over England, Ireland, Quebec, and Canada to publicise and obtain material support for this coming historic event.

The 'unprecedented' rise of the Internationalists during the past year has been brought about by a resolute, persistent and continuous struggle within the organization (internal consolidation) and outside it (external consolidation) waged by the genuinely progressive forces against the backward and reactionary counter-current, on two main fronts: The Cultural Front and the Political Front. The two struggles on the cultural and political fronts are, in essence, one and the same thing. But, without particularising the struggles on the cultural front (as ideology, art and literature, education, and other social forms) the political struggles would be one-sided and mechanical. Any given culture (in ideological form) is the reflection of the politics and economics of a given society. As economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics, and the culture (in ideological form) the reflection of the two. Then to oppose U.S. imperialism and Modern Soviet Revisionism it becomes imperative that the struggle be waged on both fronts. In our struggles, we found that broad masses of the people were able to correlate the metaphysical detached and isolated idealist ideology of the imperialists, to the economic base, the base which demands the development of the imperialist superstructure which subjugates the masses to produce super-profits for the imperialists. They could also relate the role of consumer industry in the commodity society, the role of 'culture' which is to pacify and to repress the revolutionary will of the masses. Once this 'cultural oppression' was properly understood and related to the economic base, the broad masses understood the class struggle. Without analysing and exposing the bourgeois superstructure, without presenting the basis of development, motion and change, without stressing the role of consciousness in political affairs, and without relating this to the whole system of imperialist exploitation, the broad masses would not have been properly led. A profound understanding of the relationship of superstructure to the economic base is essential for the successful waging of mass democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggles.

Our organization laid proper emphasis on the two aspects of the struggle and right from the start came into contradiction with all those who are one-sided, subjectivists - agents of the bourgeoisie trying to infiltrate the ranks of the revolutionary forces. The contradiction between the two showed up as the contradiction between those who called for "Action with Analysis" and those who gave the "Action without Analysis" line. The advocates of "Action without analysis" were giving appeals based on 'moral' and 'philistini' issues and asked for 'unity' on that basis. After close examination, we found that these counter-revolutionary agents were part of a long history of renegades, modern soviet revisionists, trotskysts, pacifists and other anti-people, imperialist lackeys. They were detached from the real struggles of the masses: a significant number of them spent time with psychiatrists to try and deal with their own problems in private. Their theory and practice were diametrically opposed entities. This is why they never analysed the superstructure as part and parcel of the economic base, and vice-versa. In fact, some even denied the existence of such a thing as the superstructure since they believed that culture and other parts of the superstructure are above politics and have no influence on the economic base. They remained bourgeois in their outlook. They emphasized 'political struggles' but the main motive in doing so was to confuse and mislead the masses. They reduced politics and political struggles into absolute maneuvers, negotiations, deals and compromises between the two contending classes. These forces of reaction, attempting to infiltrate the revolutionary ranks, came under fire right from the beginning and we established no unity with them. Absolute struggle against their counter-revolutionary, liberal-bourgeois line has always been the guideline for our movement. That is why we have not only concretely analyzed politics, the concentrated expression of economic base but also its reflection, the culture (in ideological form), and the two comprising the superstructure.

A resolute struggle took place which, at times, became antagonistic in our organization and outside of it between those whose theory and practice were two fully integrated in their theory and practice. This led to the polarisation of the progressive and genuinely revolutionary forces, on one hand, and the retrogressive and decaying reactionary forces on the other. The retrogressive and reactionary forces did not consider development as a process, as unfolding of contradictions, then leaps from one stage to another, but, instead, insisted that development is either one big sweep from no-where to the heavenly kingdom, or is not possible at all. They distrusted comrades and showed contempt for those who were struggling to develop the movement from a lower to a higher level by fully linking the movement with the mass struggles. The reactionary forces put forward 'self-cultivation' as the method of individual progress and attempted to mentally deduce criteria for a 'good revolutionary'. This was the expert line, which was in complete opposition to the mass line. The expert line is the line of the elitists, the people who 'talk big' and are ready to become obedient lackeys of the imperialist state. For example, the worst form in which it manifests itself generally is that "I can't take this responsibility because I am not developed" or "How are you absolutely sure that what you are doing is absolutely right" or "Such and such person is developing so he is good and such and such

person is not developing so he is not good" etc. This expert line is based on the bourgeois world outlook which is detached, one-sided and subjective and does not see that the world, social, physical and biological is all in a state of motion, change and development, and that we can see the coming into being of the new and the going into extinction of the old, and that all phenomena are inter-dependent and inter-connected and develop because of the contradictions inherent in them.

Thus the contradiction between "Action with analysis" versus "Action without analysis", in essence, and in its most general and particular forms is the contradiction between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook. While the former is objective, all-sided, takes into consideration all the phenomena in the most general and particular forms, and based on the development, motion and change in a given historical period; the latter is one-sided, subjective, un-scientific and historically untested. Within our movement, we were faced with the two lines.

There are two most general, basic and universally accepted world outlooks: the bourgeois world outlook, the outlook of the old society, the outlook of the decaying classes, as against the proletarian world outlook, the outlook of the new society, because it supports the old relations between exploiter and exploited, favouring the exploiting classes. The proletarian outlook is developing in depth and application. It is progressive because it reflects the new relations, the rule of the vast majority under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The two world outlooks are in unity in so far as the two are the antagonistic aspects of the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the old and the new, between the progressive and the retrogressive. The two are in life and death struggle. Struggle between the two is absolute while unity is relative. The struggle between the two will remain absolute until class society is finally, completely and utterly demolished with the emergence of the classless society.

The Modern Soviet Revisionists, China's Krushchev, and "revisionists" parties all over the world are attempting to distort the truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, by wailing that the world is not divided into two antagonistic parts, into the socialist camp and the imperialist camp. They wail that there is no struggle between the working and oppressed people on the one hand, and the U.S. imperialists, Modern Soviet Revisionists and their lackeys all over the world on the other hand. They have been drum-beating all over the world that the struggle between the two antagonistic camps is not absolute while unity is relative. On the contrary, they say that unity is absolute and struggle relative. They are attempting to mislead the world revolutionary masses and their struggles against "One divides into Two" as the correct formulation of the basis of all development, motion and change. They are doing so because they are accomplices of U.S. imperialism and enemies of the working and oppressed people. It serves their interests to weaken the national liberation struggles. That is why they are aiding and abetting the most reactionary, decadent and pernicious of U.S. imperialists, while viciously maligning and slandering the Peoples Republic of China and the Thought of Mao Tsetung. They advocate that the two antagonistic systems can exploit together peacefully, repress the sharpening of the contradiction, making it dormant through mutual agreement and action. As a result of the combined efforts of the two, a new, peaceful and heavenly system will be evolved. With this, their attempt is to create the subjective condition for the acceptance of "Big Power Chauvinism" so that the exploitation of the world's people can be continued at an unprecedented rate, with absolute disregard for the suffering of the people, forever.

"Two Combines into One" is not objective, but subjective, not all-sided but one-sided, not a revolutionary, but a reactionary theory. It stems from the bourgeois world outlook because it is metaphysical and based on a purely subjective recognition of the need for "unity" by the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices, Modern Soviet Revisionism, so that their exploitation of the people can continue unhindered. The need of the people is the direct opposite: the waging of absolute struggle against the most oppressive and decadent system of exploitation, U.S. imperialism and its accomplices, the Modern Soviet Revisionists. As the national liberation struggles of the working and oppressed people of the world develop in scope and increase in breadth and depth, the cries of the "need" for "peace" and "unity" also increase in pitch. This whole approach, on the part of the Modern Soviet Revisionists, is metaphysical, because it is based on mental deduction, and idealist, because the material demands of history run contrary to such a theory. While the Modern Soviet Revisionists (just like the revisionists of the Bernstein and Kautsky type), do recognize the existence of the two antagonistic classes and are materialist in that respect, what they recognize is not the objective law of the development of class society and class struggle, but a subjective understanding to undermine the people's struggles against the oppressive forces. They fail to recognize the need for absolute struggles against the exploiters. They only recognize the absolute need for "unity". This is an out and out bourgeois outlook--vulgar materialism--and it supports the imperialist cause. This is the bourgeois outlook because the bourgeoisie also clamors about the "commonness of interests", "working together" and the need for "minimizing conflict" and a "united effort" to get rid of all "problems", Modern Soviet Revisionists are presenting the same ideas under the guise of "peaceful co-existence" and "world peace".

"One Divides into Two", the struggle between the two, one destroying the other and in the process destroying itself, giving rise to a new one, new unity, new system. It is objective and all-sided, it is a revolutionary theory. It properly and correctly presents the reality of an era in which imperialism is heading towards total collapse and socialism is winning world-wide victories. The bourgeois world outlook and bourgeoisie are threatened with extinction. As the class struggle develops in depth and breadth all over the world, the objective needs of the world proletariat call for still higher development of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, Modern Soviet Revisionism and all kinds of putrid decaying reaction. The mass revolutionary struggles emphasize the need for the intensification of struggle. Working consciously, with all-sided, depth analysis, proletarians around the world are escalating the struggle against the bourgeois lines in all fields. The most advanced, earth-shaking and deep-going revolution in the People's Republic of China is personally led by Chairman Mas Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse while socialism is winning world-wide victories.

"Two Combines into One" versus "One Divides into Two" is the contradiction in its particular form, and is the reflection of the most general, universal law and essential contradiction, i.e., the contradiction between the bourgeois world outlook and the proletarian world outlook. This formulation is the dividing line between imperialists and their accomplices, the Modern Soviet Revisionists, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolutionaries, imbued with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. The former stand for class compromise, capitulation and the abandonment of class struggle. The latter correctly supports the sharpening of contradictions, defending of the people's rights, and the intensification of the class struggle. Thus the contradiction is between "compromise" versus "conflict" or struggle versus abandonment of struggle.

Struggle is the essence of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Compromise is the essence of Modern Soviet Revisionism.

Everything in its development goes through a process of change, a continuous unfolding, coming into being and going away. This process is the struggle between the two most pronounced, defined and particular aspects of the most general, essential and universal contradiction in a given historical period. Today the most particular, defined and acute struggle is taking place between U.S. imperialism on the one hand, and the genuinely anti-imperialist forces on the other. At the same time, whosoever denies the fact that all the imperialist forces are favoured by Modern Soviet Revisionism, and the anti-imperialist forces by contrast are favoured by anti-revisionist and anti-imperialist forces--is not a dialectical materialist and is thus aiding the imperialist camp.

While the most general contradiction is between the bourgeois outlook and the proletarian outlook, the most particular contradiction is between U.S. imperialism and Modern Soviet Revisionism on the one hand, and on the other hand, all anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist forces, with the vast majority of the working and oppressed people of the world. This particular contradiction will be resolved by the defeat of U.S. imperialism and Modern Soviet Revisionism, by the victory of the national liberation struggles and the successful emergence of socialism with the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Our struggle is one. It is a struggle against U.S. imperialism and its accomplice Modern Soviet Revisionism. Whosoever is fighting U.S. imperialism and is not fighting Modern Soviet Revisionism, or is spreading illusions about Modern Soviet Revisionism, or is discouraging ideological struggles for the sake of "unity" is not our friend but our enemy. We must fight the enemy within the revolutionary ranks! You cannot win with snakes in your pockets.

We must consciously participate in the international struggle, national struggle, and local struggle. The three struggles are aspects of the one most general and universal struggle, i.e., the struggle against U.S. imperialism, its accomplice Modern Soviet Revisionism, and all other kinds of reaction. But failure to grasp this struggle in its particular peculiarity on the international, national and local levels in a given historical period, is to be mechanical in approach and to be detached in struggle. Our task is not only to find the general relationship of the contradiction but also the particular form it takes at various levels. It will not be possible to wage a successful struggle against the enemy if we donot go from a lower to a higher level, from particular to general, seeking truth from facts in order to change the situation. This means analysing the local conditions, correlating them with the national conditions, with a full perspective of the international struggle, thus consolidating our ranks against the common enemy in a comprehensive and detailed manner.

We are fully conscious of the fact that local struggles will not be successful without national struggle and the international struggle will not be successful without international struggle. It does not follow that local struggles cannot be waged and in time converted into national struggle or vice versa, nor that national struggle does not reflect the international struggle and vice versa. On the contrary, particular conditions demand a particular form of struggle.

Local, national and international struggles are external to the movement if the same struggles are not waged consciously within the movement on all levels. Some dogmatists do not relate the struggles on the local, national and international levels to the struggles within the movement, they consider their narrow circle as the entire movement, and fail to serve the interests of the wider struggle. Or they dismiss the movement amongst the masses as not worth bothering about. We must smash this attitude if we are going to work wholly and entirely in the service of the people.

The all-sided integration of the movement with the masses, with historical process, and with the general and particular revolutionary orientation can be achieved by following the world proletarian outlook, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. That is why the Internationalists in their theory and practice, place proper emphasis on the basis of Motion, Development and Change in social sciences, natural sciences and other fields; the role of consciousness in the development of world revolutionary struggles and the role of the superstructure, its relationship to the economic base, and the role it plays during the revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism, Modern Soviet Revisionism and all kinds of reaction. These three most general aspects of the whole activity of our movement have a profound effect on the development of mass political consciousness. Dogmatists, again, fail to see the role of these three factors, and thus, true to their essence, are against the core, the kernel of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

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* ONE STRUGGLE : TWO ENEMIES *
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* THE ROLE OF CONSCIOUSNESS^{TRADITION} IN HISTORY *
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According to the bourgeois world outlook, the outlook of the reactionary ruling circles, the world does not move, change, or develop on account of the contradictions inherent in a phenomenon. The bourgeois world outlook contends that society moves, not because of the contradictions inherent in social phenomena, but because of the one-sided role of the thinking of the ruling circles, which, according to the bourgeois outlook determines social change. So, in the social sciences taught in bourgeois institutions, we are taught that history moves because of the activities of various Kings, and Queens, warlords, landlords, Prime Ministers and Presidents. Thus, we learn that people have no role to play and that the activities of this elite are determined not by social conditions, but by the innate qualities of inherently superior beings.

During the recent upsurge of Afro-Americans against the brutal rule of white racist and imperialist ruling circles, Arnold Toynbee, a most detached and objective stooge of the decaying system, declared that "violence" is inherent in man, and that violence will not be combated because of man's nature. Thus he simply declares that the liberation struggle of the Afro-American people has nothing to do with the economic base and superstructure of the imperialist system. The root cause of violence is said to be external to the social system, but innate in the basic nature of man, rather than determined by the social system which serves the interests of the ruling circles, who must use violence to protect their private-property rights.

On the other hand, more "enlightened" bourgeois social scientists talk about the perceptual existence of "ghettoes" as the root source of the problem. They argue that the sooner these slum areas are removed, the sooner the problem will be solved. They fail to recognize that these slum areas are an organic part of imperialist society, and that they will not disappear without the destruction of their root cause--the cancerous system of imperialist exploitation--and that thus the only direction we can take to prepare for struggle against the imperialist system. But the bourgeois world outlook, because of its one-sidedness, and because it starts from the inside of the brain and works to the outside, moving from the "ego" to material conditions, supports the imperialist system. The historical perspective of these agents of the bourgeoisie is metaphysical and idealist because it serves their interests to have it so, the interests of the reactionary and retrogressive imperialist system.

The bourgeois world outlook considers change in the individual possible only if there exists the inherent possibility within that individual to bring about change. But when dealing with society, they change their stance to suggest that society changes not because of contradictions inherent in the system, but because of the external role played by various members of the elite. Thus they are confounding right and wrong. While the basis of development and change, of consciousness and social law is the relations entered into by human beings in the struggle against nature, still the basis of change within society is not a result of the roles played by individual men, but occurs because of the contradictions inherent in any given system. We can see quite clearly, for example how class society developed from slavery to wage-slavery. We can also see the continuous progressive movement away from the non-scientific to the scientific system of socialism. With the development of class society, we also see the development of class struggle, of scientific experimentation and production.

Equally, we see the profound development of human consciousness.

As we have seen, the bourgeois theory of historical development is entirely one-sided. So is their theory of knowledge and consciousness. Because of the bourgeois world outlook and the interests of the reactionary ruling circles, the whole "national culture" is developed to support the basic contention that history has already "become", that no further change can take place and that all future changes in detail will be brought about by the ingenuity of individual human beings. It is true that things have "become" for the bourgeoisie, and that the future development reflected in their present struggles calls for their extinction. The bourgeoisie is not the majority of the world's people, for whom things are in the process of becoming, for whom the future is bright, and for whom the day is coming when the world's people will be in the majority, and the elite in the minority. The Democratic struggles of the world's people are gaining momentum. The day is not far off when the agents of crime, of ghosts and dragons and of misery will be finally wiped out.

What role does the bourgeois world outlook play in our movement? How is it reflected? How can it be combated?

The role of the bourgeois world outlook in a revolutionary movement is of course one of subversion, of counter-revolution which weakens the movement. But the forms it takes are sometimes hard to detect. The most important aspect which needs attention at the moment is the fact that some genuine and sincere comrades, who have a genuine progressive outlook, because of the dominant rigid imperialist cultural influence, fail to see that influence on their working style and way of living, etc. This attitude is consolidated in their one-sided view of history, i.e., their failure to see the development of the economic base and the cultural superstructure, and their corresponding incorrect appreciation of the role of the superstructure. These comrades are dialectical in their approach only to the extent that they see class struggle in the most general form and in a mechanical manner, failing to see the class struggle that goes on in their working style and way of living. Historical development is all-sided and deep, unfolding the profoundest aspects of existence. But these comrades fail to see that the decay of the monopoly capitalists system demands also the further decay of the superstructure. All those who fail to see this fact are mechanical in their approach.

The cultural disintegration of the imperialist society is not an accident, but the natural consequence of the decay of the economic base. Similarly, the developing socialist economic base demands the development of socialist superstructures. This can only be comprehended if we are creative in our application of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. By doing so, the comrades who up to now have failed to fully understand, will also come to see and appreciate the role of conscious understanding in historical development.

To be mechanical, unconscious and only subjective in favor of class struggle is to go over to the enemy and to be metaphysical and idealist in approach. This attitude within our movement is poisonous. We have some comrades who are dogmatists, who measure revolutionaries with an arbitrary "yardstick" rather than by conscious analysis of the facts. These comrades are the epitome of laziness, complacency and pig headedness. They interfere with the development of ideological struggle, are sloppy in the execution of tasks, and if they are allowed to have their way, will finally lead the movement into total isolation from the masses. When dealing with the masses, they are dry, detached and dogmatic--completely unsympathetic to the cause of the people. They consider themselves as the creators of the revolution. By contrast, the correct approach is to see the masses and the masses alone as the makers of history, with ourselves as their servants. The dogmatists are merely another "elite" who think they are doing the masses a favor by supporting the revolution. In brief, these comrades fail to help the movement because they do not look at the organization as an organic thing, always developing and in the process of change. Instead, they see it as dead, rigid and without future. Thus they cannot see the contradictions inherent in the revolutionary organization and fail to organize in support of the progressive side. They see no contradiction between internal and external, between investigation and agitation, between the mass of the people and the revolutionary vanguard, between theory and practice, between democracy and centralism. They look at things one-sidedly, usually in terms of "us" and "them" and fail to see the concrete contradiction.

The Internationalists, because of their total allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, have developed a revolutionary style of work based on the recognition of the particular need and demand of history--the intensification of struggle against the common enemy. They recognize that the enemy wears two faces--that of U.S. imperialism and that of Modern Soviet Revisionism. They recognize that contradictions within the movement can only be resolved by waging struggles, by following Three Basic Guidelines. And finally, they recognize that without fully integrating and mobilizing the masses, we cannot have a revolution, nor fully develop the Four Levels of Work. This working style takes into consideration the fact that development means that unfolding and resolution of contradictions and that this is true of the most general struggles as well as of the most particular struggles, and that it is our responsibility to remain in contact with the process of history.

Thus, we have contradictions on the local, national and international levels. We have also contradictions within various revolutionary organizations.

The Internationalists correctly analyzed in 1963 that there was no "academic atmosphere" on campus. When we organized on that basis, we were going against the general trend of various "revolutionary" movements who were fighting for peace, organizing on single issues and were very busy learning "Marxism-Leninism" by rote.

The most general, basic and universal contradiction between Exploiter and Exploited on the international level was reflected in the university by the abundance of one-sided reactionary "facts". The academic system was based on the memorization of "facts" on the perceptual level. There was no possibility for dialogue on a concrete basis. All arguments were countered by the facile provision of mental reasons. Material conditions were ignored. Under these circumstances, the first task was to create an "academic atmosphere" by encouraging people to read, develop and exchange ideas in order to confront the reactionary institution and build a material base for the development of a revolutionary struggle against the oppressor class.

Thus it was correct to give this slogan, because only through such a programme could the most universal contradiction be resolved. Any other slogans were counter-revolutionary. We advocated "Action with Analysis" as against complacent acceptance of "Action without Analysis". Through "Action with Analysis" on the local level, we participated in national and international struggle. By correlating the problems in the university, we related our problems to the monopoly capitalist system. We correctly analyzed- that overproduction in the capitalist system has generated a system of consumption which in essence stands for the repression of the "living ideas in one's mind" in order to serve the negative principle of "getting along for the purpose of keeping a job", and the buying back of last initiative by participating in the consumption of objects. This consumer life was the sole basis of the vacuousness, oppression and general degradation felt by the large majority of the petty bourgeois in imperialist society.

We moved from the slogan of "creating academic atmosphere" on campus to "Action with Analysis", to "Understanding requires the conscious participation of the individual in the act of finding-out". This latter was the slogan to organize students, to fight the cold war and reactionary propaganda, to combat revisionists and Trotskyists, to wage vigorous struggles in the classrooms, the community and the factories. "Class struggle in the classroom" means organizing students to fight imperialism. Once the basic analysis is developed, then all the other problems come easy. But when organizations, on account of cold-war rhetoric and other fears, consciously avoid the real problems, they move away from the people toward the general betrayal of the people's struggles.

The early part of the sixties was a period when revolutionary organizations should have organized large-scale ideological struggles. But this was not done. Instead, emphasis was laid on detached action on isolated issues. Theory was detached from practice. One became "revolutionary" by adopting left-wing phraseology and verbiage, while remaining totally bourgeois in attitude and outlook. These people did not put forward the basic contradiction in history; they did not sharpen contradictions; they avoided confrontation through compromise. The main culprits who followed this policy were the Modern Soviet Revisionists. They compromised with imperialism on all major issues. The Irish revisionists were no different. Nor were the English, Canadian or any other. All of them followed the Khrushchevist line and betrayed the revolutionary struggles. If we do not have ideological struggle among the masses, how then will the political consciousness of the masses develop? The revisionist clique has provided no answer. They showed no interest in discussing the issue, and finally degenerated even farther into unashamedly supporting the alliance of U.S. imperialism with the Modern Soviet Revisionist clique.

Our movement was not far enough developed to combat this erroneous line, and we expected "anti-revisionist" groups to fulfill the task. But these groups also were quacks, most of whom had no contact with the masses. They recognized the historical and theoretical errors of revisionism without understanding its organizational faults. They failed to go to the masses, organizing themselves instead around various pubs in order to carry on cozy discussion in the air. Some of them advocated that "revisionists" can only be defeated by the expert "anti-revisionists". They failed to correlate the most general (i.e., theoretical) errors of revisionism to their most particular errors (i.e., the way they failed to apply historical lessons to their own situation in various groups). They smugly carried out "ideological struggles". They, too, failed to grasp the role of contradiction in the development of history. They considered contradiction universally and generally, but remained oblivious of the fact that they themselves were one-sided, subjective and mechanical.

The Internationalists recognized the contradiction between themselves and the enemy in the most general and the most particular form. This contradiction stood out in various forms at various levels. There are still those within our own organization who have either no capacity to grasp the role of contradiction in the development of various phenomena, or who are actively liberal and bourgeois.

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 * ONE STRUGGLE : TWO ENEMIES *
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The bourgeois world outlook considers knowledge to be the accumulation of mentally-deduced data, and consciousness as the memorization of that data. Consciousness, to the bourgeoisie is one-sided, subjective, and detached from the problems of the real world. Bourgeois educational institutions impart this consciousness to their "élite" by processing individuals through an educational factory, the net product of which is a bourgeoisified human being, willing to have "respect" for a master, and nothing but contempt for the masses.

The bourgeois theory of knowledge is the theory of pure reason, the theory of one-sided deduction of laws from "facts" which are unscientific and which cannot be historically tested. For example, bourgeois authorities in the social sciences and natural sciences lay a great deal of emphasis on the external causes responsible for the development of the existence of certain phenomena. Social phenomena are described by these bourgeois academicians as stemming from man's innate qualities which are imposed upon the external world. Never are social phenomena described as the consequence of the contradictions inherent in them.

These concepts are faulty. The bourgeois concept of a human being pretends to refer to an absolute quality of humanity, which in fact, is merely bourgeois humanity, and in no sense absolute or eternal. Man's response to the environment can only be tested if it is done on a scientific level and examined historically. Meanwhile, the bourgeois scientist pays no attention to the overwhelming evidence that man's social consciousness is the product of the superstructure and the economic base in any given society. Man's cultural advancement is dependent on the stage of the means of production, the productive forces, the scientific experimentation and the class struggle. According to the bourgeois theories, some nations are intrinsically incapable of achieving the level of cultural and economic development of the imperialist and revisionist countries. These theories are propagated to help the imperialists and revisionists mislead the masses of the people into believing that the progress of a country is not possible without the aid of U.S. imperialism or Modern Soviet Revisionism, in other words, that advancement is not possible without slavery.

In opposition to the bourgeois world outlook, the proletarian world outlook considers knowledge as the product of the material activity of man in terms of struggle for production, class struggle and scientific experimentation. Man's consciousness is the reflection of the material conditions of the society. In their struggle against nature, men enter into certain relations of production determined by the economic base and its superstructure. Man's conscious activity stems from man's struggle with nature. Man is the father; Earth, the mother of all products. According to the Marxist theory of knowledge, consciousness does not develop because of a one-sided, subjective and passive accumulation of data. Man's consciousness develops because of the contradictions inherent in the process of the development of the society and is caused by the bitter struggle which takes place between contending classes, interests, and nature.

Our theory of knowledge, as developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung, is a theory based on the concept that everything develops, moves or changes because of the contradictions inherent in that thing. The basis for change is internal. The external condition comes into being because of the internal basis. Following this line, the role of consciousness or conscious understanding of phenomena is vital to any human activity in any given historical period. "Conscious understanding of phenomena" involves the isolation of the most general contradiction from its most particular expressions. The general exists only in the particular, and only from thence can it be isolated.

Thus, human consciousness develops out of grappling with phenomena, finding contradictions, and moulding our outlook accordingly. It is imperative that all revolutionaries understand the fact that without conscious participation there can be no real revolutionary movement, because "conscious participation" is the only way in which revolutionary vanguard can come into possession of the vitally important scientific attitude.

The masses have no role to play in the imperialist and modern revisionist countries. Thus consciousness plays no role in the affairs of these countries. In fact, they forced a system of rules and regulations on all the laboring masses to oppress them. Under the socialist system, however, real consciousness and the masses play the dominant role. "Mass-line" is the conscious participation of the masses in the solving of various problems confronting them. This is the line followed in the People's Republic of China under the brilliant leadership of Mao Tsetung Thought. By contrast, the "expert line" develops rules and regulations to enslave the masses, keeping them in ignorance so that they will continue to serve the ruling classes.

The "revisionist" consciousness is the consciousness of "Two Combines into One", of class collaboration, and of capitulation to U.S. imperialism. This can only be done by a vulgarization of Marxism-Leninism, by slanders of Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, and by distrust of the masses. Imperialist consciousness is consciousness of the most detached and predatory nature, and is in total opposition to the interests of the masses. Imperialists also talk about class collaboration and "commonness of interests"---with imperialists as eternal rulers and the laboring masses as minions.

"Action with Analysis" versus "Action without Analysis"; "Conscious participation" versus "Participation by following rules and regulations blindly"; "Learning Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in the process of solving concrete problems" versus "Learning Marxism-Leninism by rote"; "Theory of knowledge based on scientific investigation and historically tested ideas" versus "Theory of knowledge based on mystery, on experience of the elitist in isolation from the struggles of the masses, on mental deductions and on historically untested ideas"; "Mass line" versus "Expertline"; "Socialist ethics (threee constantly read articles by Mao Tsetung) to serve the people" versus "Imperialist ethics to serve the fascists and imperialists to make super-profits for them in return for crumbs of bread"---these are the forms in which the most general and wide spread contradiction between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook can be seen.

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The core of the ideological system of the exploiting classes is egoism, selfishness. As a result of the thousands of years of the existence of private property, such egoism has a deep-rooted influence.

The whole superstructure created on the economic base supports this egoism and selfishness. Because the motive for production is the making of profit under all circumstances and by any means the imperialist society is teeming with contradictions. The superstructure is falling apart. Art and literature for example is reduced largely to pornography because of the profitability of the trade. Everything from sports to the last detail in the home is controlled by a super profit-making complex. The educational system is clearly not geared toward the advancement of human understanding or toward the encouragement of people to undertake productive activity. Instead, degrees are bestowed for the sole purpose of serving imperialism. Slavishness, selfishness, and lackey mentality are regarded above all else. Children are brought up in imperialist society to look after their money, to be selfish and competitive without any regard to the welfare of the masses.

This forms the core of bourgeois individualism, which is really nothing except the right to be anti-people. This individualism is presented as something above question like bourgeois law, politics, economics, and social mores. Everything is for itself, detached and isolated from everything else. Everything exists for its own sake.

Under the imperialist system in the U.S. and other countries, this has brought about the disintegration of the social cohesiveness on one hand while on the other hand giving rise to its antithesis, the development of mass anti-imperialist struggles. These mass struggles are not detached but are a real response of the progressive forces to eliminate the oppressive system of imperialism. The bourgeois superstructure, along with its economic base is decaying rapidly. The alternative is also developing in leaps and bounds.

But this alternative is being confused by the popularization of anti-communism and racism under the notions of "Modernizing Marx" or having "your own brand of Communism". This is achieved by the inculcation into the minds of the masses of seventeenth and eighteenth century notions, such as the idea that opinions govern the world or that it is up to you to believe what you want to believe. In other words, anti-communist and racist propaganda is being done to force the masses to accept the bourgeois world outlook. This work is executed by popularizing renegades and flunkies and by distorting the true picture of actual historical development. On the other hand, gloom is spread that nothing can be done about the "problems" which confront us. The only hope for the bourgeoisie is to render the broad masses of the people passive by means of putting up "experts" as the only people capable of correcting the situation.

Under the bourgeois system of private ownership, the vast majority of the broad masses are deprived of their basic rights. They have no role to play in the running of the society which converts them into producers on one hand and into consumers on the other. Mass initiative and participation in dealing with problems is discouraged. A tremendous amount of propaganda is poured into the mass media against mass agitations. "Experts" talk about the "generation gap" as the root cause of the problem. Imperialists are desperately trying to repress the revolutionary will of the masses.

Last year, a fortnight before the Historic Necessity for Change Conference ended its deliberations, another conference wound up its business with the organization of a "Happening". This conference supported by the liberal bourgeois press and blessed by the bourgeois authorities herded up all the "New Left" "Marxist" and "revolutionary" scholars and terminated with a full page advertisement in the London Times in favor of legalizing marijuana. This conference, though it had "revolutionary" pretensions, called for rebellion against the bourgeois system by simply advocating individual indulgences in all kinds of perverse and decadent activities. Instead of calling for mass struggles against the bourgeois culture, the conference ratified still further degenerate bourgeois activities. The sole motive of this conference was to confuse and mislead the broad masses of youth and students. This involved an appeal to the egos of these people by providing them with objects for their satisfaction and protecting the interests of the imperialist by doing so.

This 'egoism', the core of the ideological system of exploiting classes can only be combatted by fully realizing the importance of mass struggles in history. Without the participation of the masses in the making of history, nothing is possible. The conscious participation of the masses in the making of world history, defeating the imperialists and their accomplices, the Modern Soviet Revisionists, is the motive force behind all our activities. But we cannot wage mass struggles by keeping bourgeois individualism,=subjectivism and liberalism in our dealing with the problem of the masses, in the analysis of the concrete conditions, and in the execution of the various tasks confronting us. Neither can we wage struggles in isolation, away from the masses.

People who advocate "Action without Analysis" are afraid of mass struggles. They were bourgeois in their outlook and participated actively in the expression of 'egoism' and 'selfishness' in their attitude towards others. These were pleasure-seekers who cried for 'peace' so that their pleasure-seeking could continue. Their motive of pleasure seeking was in direct contradiction with their 'professed aims' and they always propagated the imperialist culture.

Pleasure-seeking, indulgence in the consumption of objects, and "Action without analysis" are the characteristics of 'New Left Types', "philistines" and other bankrupt agents of the bourgeoisie. They have no place in the genuinely revolutionary struggles because these forces dampen the mass initiative. A large number of these people are genuinely confused and mislead and we must help them to understand the direction towards which the historical process is heading. And the best way to help them is to introduce them to mass struggles, educate them and arm them with the proletarian world outlook.

The Internationalists have shown full faith in the masses in their five years of activity by properly relying on the masses and by supporting "Action with Analysis". The modern soviet revisionists, on the other hand, are the worst enemies of the people because they stand against mass struggles. Instead they support elitist politics. The same is true of the imperialists. The only way the two can be smashed is by relying fully on mass struggles and standing firmly by the masses at all times. Egocentric "Marxists", bourgeois individualists and subjectivists [sentence mis-copied] It was incorrect on our part to undertake 'private' discussions with these groups on the anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist front front because their main motive is to satisfy their selfishness and harm the revolutionary movements. This situation was corrected soon after our Historic Necessity for Change Conference.

* THREE GUIDELINES *

GUIDELINE 1

GUIDELINES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRATERNAL RELATIONS

Issued by the Internationalists
August 20, 1967

Relationships between organizations and individuals are developed from the fundamental recognition of common aims and common grounds. The common grounds must be developed in practice by pursuing the following guidelines:

1. There must exist a unity in theory and practice between individuals and organizations:
 - a: All relations must stem from the deep urge to further the common struggle against imperialism, and not just the development of organization as such.
 - b: All agreements on policy and method of work must be ratified and them made public in a manner mutually agreed upon by the organization concerned.
 - c: All organizations and individuals who proclaim their anti-imperialist intent in theory but in practice are furthering the interests of imperialism (by making unprincipled criticisms of organizations and individuals or by causing dissension

on account of individualist or subjectivist reasons) have no common grounds with genuinely anti-imperialist organizations.

d: Organizations and individuals who in theory align themselves against imperialism, but in practice fail to unity with other genuinely anti-imperialist forces must be exposed and there can be no unity with them (e.g. dogmatists and left-wing sectarians).

e: Fraternal relations amongst organizations must develop out of mutual experience and must serve the anti-imperialist cause. Fraternal relations based on hearsay are bound to deteriorate and are bound to hamper the development of a genuinely anti-imperialist movement.

f: Contradictions between fraternal organizations and individuals will exist and will be solved through struggle. The people who advocate peace and unity at all costs must be critically dealt with. Unity-struggle-transformation must be the guidelines. It is the solving of contradictions, not the evasion of them that will consolidate an organization.

g: All fraternal relations must in principle be considered temporary--what is permanent is the recognition of the necessity for unity against the common enemy. This will increase vigilance and enhance consolidation.

h: All differences between the two organizations must be critically discussed in a principled manner in private and if and when the differences become basic and there are no possibilities of unity, then all discussions and differences must be put forward to the public. In all cases the motivation for so doing must be to further the people's struggle and to increase vigilance against imperialism.

2. Violation of the above guidelines in theory or in practice must be considered basically counter-revolutionary at which stage any pretensions about being united in common struggle against the enemy must be labelled fraudulent.

GUIDELINE 2

GUIDELINES FOR CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

issued by the Internationalists
July 15, 1968

1. Criticism-self-criticism is a revolutionary weapon in the hands of the Internationalists to strengthen the fighting capacity of our organization and the working capacity of our cadres. It is a revolutionary weapon because it is used for the sole purpose of eliminating what is erroneous and divisive, and consolidating what is correct and progressive; unity-struggle-transformation is the guideline, and thus our ranks are closed against the common enemies of the people.

Criticism and self-criticism is the essential basis, or the kernel, of our organization, because it is the only militant and progressive way of acknowledging what is progressive and developing it further, creating principled contradictions and so purging the movement of bourgeois ideas and practices, and organizing rectification campaigns to strengthen the positive against the negative and to heighten our vigilance against the negative.

2. What differentiates a genuine Internationalist from everybody else is his organic capacity to relate the theory and practice of the organization to the theory and practice of each member. The genuine Internationalist consciously contributes to the moulding and developing of the individual to the theory and practice of the organization.

3. The aim of criticism-self-criticism is to develop the dialectical relationship between motive and effect, the individual and the organization, the organization and the masses, democracy and centralism.

The motto of our organization is SEEK TRUTH TO SERVE PEOPLE. All genuine Internationalists seek truth by analysing the objective world in its concrete historical development, analysing the objective deeds of the organization and its members in their historical development, and then relating their analysis to the motive of the organization and the political necessities of the epoch. Criticism which is based on historical analysis of investigated facts enables us to relate motive to social practice and so to correct social practice.

Every cycle of struggle develops political consciousness, and deeper consciousness enables the individual to strengthen his "deep urge to further the common struggle against imperialism", which is the motive for unity in our organization and which in turn strengthens the fighting capacity of our organization.

Criticism to us means seeking truth for the sole purpose of serving the people. Self-criticism involves winning the approval of the masses for the motive and effect

of our organization. In the past some Internationalists have practiced criticism-self-criticism, but with emphasis on getting approval from the organization for their motive, and effect, thus depriving criticism-self-criticism of its essence, i.e., "winning the approval of the masses".

In the final analysis, criticism-self-criticism must strengthen our "deep urge to further the common struggle against imperialism," with the effect that we win the approval of the masses on a wider and deeper scale, thus weakening the enemy and strengthening ourselves.

4. To have criticism-self-criticism without aiming to win the approval of the masses is to forget its essence and to practice it to develop the organization and its members as such. All criticism-self-criticism must take place as a result of the concrete demands of the masses.

To remain aloof from the problems of the masses and to organize activities just for the organization and its members is objectively to go over to the enemy camp. This attitude is in direct contradiction to the motive of our organization, and must be combatted through active ideological struggles.

Criticism-self-criticism is the recognition of the necessity of winning the approval of the large masses of the people against the common enemy. Some comrades consider criticism-self-criticism as just another programme which is part of the Four Levels of Work, and so destroy it as a revolutionary weapon to strengthen the movement, making it a bureaucratic exercise. This can be corrected by waging an uncompromising struggle against criticism-self-criticism which develops out of factional struggles within the movement, or out of panic at the gravity of our situation. Members who conduct criticism-self-criticism in this way would like to attack the organisation and use it for their own ends.

5. Self-criticism is not a "confessional session". Some comrades will confess to all the crimes in the world, without making any effort to discover the principle contradiction in their actions and seeing them in their historical relations. They are therefore unable to correct their social practice, and in fact make the same mistakes the next day. Self-criticism means finding the main contradiction, analysing its opposing parts, deciding which aspect is dominant and what are its ramifications. This enables one to struggle with the dominant aspect in its particular forms and so correct oneself.

Those comrades who reduce their past actions to a homogeneous blackness or whiteness do not want to admit to themselves what their specific role in the movement has been. They seek to protect their souls and not to strengthen their "deep urge to further the common struggle against imperialism".

6. All genuine Internationalists must be absolutely clear that criticism-self-criticism can only take place under specific material conditions and that the nature and extent of the struggle being waged will determine the nature and extent of criticism-self-criticism. It is pure idealism to think that there is an external yardstick by which members can be judged. The nature and extent of criticism must be based on the immediate and ultimate needs of the movement. In the past, some comrades offered rigorous criticism of the ideology and motives of others when, in fact, the main task of the organization was to develop unity on the basis of "struggle to get rid of personal hang-ups" and "struggle against cold war slogans". At this time criticism of ideology was inappropriate - what was needed was specific criticism of the liberal attitudes of various individuals. Instead of this, members were damned as having "theoretical possibilities" or "inherently bad motives". When the time came for the ideological struggle and discussion of motive, and when conditions were ripe to combat idealistic and empirio-critical tendencies, the same comrades panicked and started "group within the group activities", raising mental problems, and basing criticism on minor rather than major issues. If criticism-self-criticism does not meet the immediate and ultimate demands of the struggle, it is wasting the resources of the organization.

7. Criticism means seeking truth from facts and using the truth to change the world. Some comrades are good at criticising, but can only do so in a detached and isolated manner. They fail to wage an incessant struggle against erroneous ideas and practices, but content themselves with delivering "sermons" or "damning" the movement.

This one-sided "analytical" approach does not start from the needs of the people, but from a subjectivist "analysis" and ignores the effect criticism may have on the common struggle against imperialism. The root cause of this and other erroneous forms of criticism-self-criticism is liberal bourgeois ideas, which appear in the form of empirio-criticism, mechanical materialism, and idealistic dialectics. When criticising, comrades with predominantly liberal-bourgeois ideas adopt a detached and purely analytical course of action. In other words they become a critic, and the organization becomes something detached from them which they are criticising. They eliminate themselves from the picture by failing to present their true historical role, and refuse to analyse the political necessities or to see how criticism can help the movement go forward. This attitude can be eradicated by intensifying struggles on all

levels, in the execution of tasks and in exposing those who are taking liberal attitudes, in ideological struggles and in dealing with personal problems of individuals.

8. Some comrades within our movement do not understand the historical tasks of the movement or how they will be executed. These comrades live from one event to the next, and refuse to find out what is happening. Such comrades raise questions like "why doesn't so and so undertake self-criticism?", "why don't we criticise such and such person?", "Nobody else really knows how committed I am to the movement", "how can you organise without my approval?", "why doesn't so and so say something?", or "such and such persons are developing, others are not." Strict rules and regulations including rigorous criticism-self-criticism and ideological struggles in the masses, will help these comrades.

9. All genuine Internationalists understand that the people and the people alone are the makers of world history. Without a revolutionary theory and a revolutionary vanguard, the people have nothing. But without the active participation of the people in the revolutionary struggles, the revolutionary theory and the revolutionary vanguard are no good. The revolutionary theory is a guide to action. This guide to action means winning the approval and confidence of the masses. The liberal bourgeois are afraid of the masses, and only discuss problems in the open in an attempt to confuse the masses and win their approval that way. When confronted by genuine revolutionaries they take refuge in their privacies, and "would rather have dissions behind closed doors." The best way of eliminating these people from the revolutionary ranks and of helping them to get rid of their bad habits is to wage SELF CRITICISM IN PRACTICE and in STRUGGLES among the masses. Nothing is worth hiding from the masses. This can only be achieved by a process of educating the masses, learning from them, and uniting with them. The tasks of the movement must be based on the tasks of the people.

SELF-CRITICISM IN PRACTICE must start from the general motive and move to the particular practice. It must consciously be kept in mind that the sole purpose of doing so is to weaken the enemy and strengthen ourselves.

GUIDELINE 3

GUIDELINE FOR BUILDING MASS DEMOCRACY

1. In organizing mass democracy, our motive is to increase the political consciousness of the masses, release their initiative and unify them against the common enemy.

2. We must be fully conscious of the fact that a genuine mass democratic struggle is a strong weapon in the hands of the genuinely progressive people to expose and demolish the "ghosts" and "dragons" spread by various imperialist stooges, modern soviet revisionists, trotskyists, and other reactionaries. Only by initiating mass ideological struggles for democratic rights and struggling for better living, can we unify the masses against all the anti-people forces. We must fully rely on the people and help them: "The masses and the masses alone are the makers of world history."

3. Political consciousness of the masses and their capability to fight will not be enhanced if we keep our ideas away from the masses, have contempt for them and sneer at the thought of involving them in the solving of various problems. For this reason we must expose the anti-people forces to the masses. This cannot be done without waging mass ideological struggles amongst the masses.

4. Ideas are a great weapon which is used by the reactionaries as well as the revolutionary forces, but with different motives. The method of reactionary ideas is to enslave the masses. The inculcation of the bourgeois world outlook is harmful to the fighting ability of the masses. But the motive of revolutionary ideas is to serve the people, increase their vigilance against retrogressive and reactionary ideas. Once ideas are grasped by the masses, they become a material force to unify people to march forward and bring about the down fall of the backward ruling circles. Building mass democracy is a revolutionary way of achieving the growth of revolutionary ideas amongst the people. That is why reactionaries dread the thought of having their ideas exposed to the masses. Thus, in order to expose reactionaries and their putrid, decaying ideas it is imperative that mass ideological struggles take place.

5. In organising mass democracy, we must first work out our ideas in our units, learn from the rich experience of other mass struggles, the experience of other countries, e.g., the Great October Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and then demonstrating them to the masses by closely remaining in the context of their struggles. Any forms of social chauvinism or resistance to learning from other people's and other countries' experience is to go over to the enemy and to harm the people's cause. Thus working out ideas in the context of the struggles and putting faith in the masses by raising all issues amongst the masses, is the role of building mass democracy.

6. All genuine Internationalists must put their ideas to the test of the masses. They must not be afraid that their ideas will be proven wrong or rejected by the masses.

As Comrade Mao Tsetung points out, "If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticised, because we serve the people." But without bringing our ideas to the masses we will not be able to see our shortcomings and have them corrected.

7. Mass ideological struggles are neither empty debates nor discussions of ideas which inhabit the skies. Building mass democracy means organising the masses to solve concrete problems confronting them. Building mass democracy for its own sake is counter-revolutionary and must be opposed. All sophistry, rhetoric, un-investigated ideas, must be outlawed by mobilizing the masses against them. "No investigation, no right to speak" must be the guideline.

8. Care should be taken to expose those who partake in mass democracy meetings only in order to glorify themselves, especially those who are loudmouthed, and who present themselves as 'experts' instead of as part of the masses. They are, at best, empirio-critics, and at worst idealist phrase-mongers. Their main motive is to 'advise' and 'criticise' and they claim themselves to be most objective. Building mass democracy means participation of the masses in the development of ideas for the sole purpose of dealing with a concrete situation. "Follow Mass Line in Everything" must be the guideline. To be detached, isolated and above the masses means to be a tyrant, and 'expert' and an anti-people force.

9. Lastly, all whispers and slanders against genuinely revolutionary organizations and the people must be brought to the mass democracy meetings. Imperialists, modern soviet revisionists, trotskyists and various other liberal bourgeois partake in slander, character assassination and gossip as a means of furthering their political ends. We must expose them to the masses, bar them from mass meetings if they persist in those activities and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy. Anybody who refuses to come under the discipline of the masses must be severely dealt with.

FOUR LEVELS OF WORK

The Internationalists are an organization of a "new type". They are of a "new type" because they are consciously based on the Four Levels of Work. The Four Levels of Work have been developed from a low level to a higher level in the process of our development. Since 1963, ours has been the only youth and student movement based on "Action with Analysis". All other liberal-bourgeois youth and student organizations have either been involved in elitist politics of the student councils, or engrossed in problems of "peace". Our organization alone called for the "creation of an academic atmosphere in the universities", which in practice meant the initiation and development of struggle on the cultural level and in ideological form. We were the only organization which stood against cold war rhetoric and anti-communism, including all the muck of pacifism.

"Action with Analysis" meant adoption of two-level organization. The first level consisted of the leading cadres. The second level took place in mass ideological struggles. "Action with Analysis" necessitated the development of revolutionary theory as well as the revolutionary vanguard. By the fall of 1966, the Internationalists not only began the development of organizational structures at more organized and formal levels, but they also introduced a weekly newspaper against the prevailing ideas and practices. This newspaper became the major organ of agitation and thus gave rise to the third level of work. This level was the development of a material base in which a left-wing stand was possible. The "academic discussion session" gave place to a formal investigational institute, thus completing the growth and consolidation on the initial level of all levels of work which are necessary for genuinely revolutionary and democratic work.

The Internationalists are different from all other organizations because they demand "conscious participation of the individual in the act of finding out", which can only be achieved if organic and workable structures exist in the material world. Four Levels of Work is an organic and workable organizational structure because it depends on the initiative of the individual and the masses for successful growth. The Four Levels of Work clearly points the path which all individuals who advocate genuinely revolutionary action must follow. It is Democratic Centralism in Action. The Four Levels of Work structure is supported by three guidelines so that the single and common struggle against the two enemies of the world's people can be waged on a large scale and on a deeper level.

The Four Levels of Work, first of all, involves internal consolidation of the vanguard group which analyses the facts and is guided by them (i.e., "Action with Analysis"). Without internal consolidation, or analysis, the vanguard group cannot lead mass ideological struggles. Our slogan is INTERNAL CONSOLIDATION::EXTERNAL STRENGTH.

Internal consolidation without revolutionary theory is impossible. It was therefore necessary to develop analysis of "corporate-sensate" culture which was provided during the historic Necessity for Change Study Programme on February 15, 1967. Once the analysis of imperialist society was presented to the membership, the movement quickly stepped from a relatively perceptual level to the conceptual level. It became clear that the individual problems of the students stemmed from the consumer industry of the monopoly capitalist society.

An alternative emerged in the process of this realisation: either move forward and further consolidate the revolutionary ranks by consciously and creatively adopting Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action, or go backward. The majority of the members went forward. They waged mass ideological struggles and paved the ground for acceptance of progressive ideology against the reactionary cold war rhetoric and sophistry. Rhetoric and sophistry were banned at an early stage in our development. Cold war slogans were the next target. With the rise of the conceptual basis of our members, it became obvious that more than six months of production of our newspaper had had a tremendous and profound effect on the broad masses. They became more aware of the real world. The anti-consciousness of the liberal bourgeois was questioned and exposed. This was external consolidation, which culminated in the upsurge of mass democracy at Trinity College in Dublin, and the rise of the movement in England, Ireland, Quebec and Canada.

As the external consolidation increased, it necessitated the establishment of a genuinely revolutionary investigational institute. An increasing number among the broad masses were asking for further "analysis", direction and guidance. This could not have been done on the previous informal basis, since it demanded prior preparation in terms of dealing with the concrete and particular problems of the masses. In the beginning of our movement, the problems of the masses were discussed on a randomized basis. But as the movement developed, the masses put forward their problems in particular and concrete form, necessitating the establishment of the Ideological Institute, which was accomplished on February 15, 1968.

Various aspects of the movement need explanation if we are to appreciate the full importance of the Four Levels of Work. It must be adequately explained how "Action with Analysis" led to the incorporation of revolutionary ideology in the general framework of the organization. We must become aware of how various organs of the movement were no more than the necessary consequence of the growth of the movement. This needs special emphasis because several liberal bourgeois and flunkies of various shades have compared the institutionalization of various organs of the movement to the constant urge of the petty bourgeois to be doing something.

"Action with Analysis" versus "Action without Analysis" was the main contradiction during the early years of our movement. The predominant line in the Internationalists was "Action with Analysis" while the predominant line among various revisionists and pacifists as well as liberal bourgeois organizations and movements was "Action without Analysis". "Action with Analysis" meant the subordination of all tasks of the movement to the primary task of analysis of the real world around us, and the correlation of various existing problems on the national and international levels. Bureaucratic tasks were always considered secondary. Discussion of analysis was primary.

Other organizations, which called for "Action without Analysis" became mainly concerned with the number of their membership. Fearful of alienating anyone by having analysis, they suffered from the worst kind of liberalism, and fell behind the tails of movements like Civil Rights or Viet Nam, etc. Naturally, they went without analysis and gave rise to huge bureaucratic networks.

By contrast, our movement was clearly a "new type" of movement. Our analysis started from various bourgeois philosophers as the guide to conscious adoption of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. On the one hand we were acutely aware of the fact that we were in the imperialist countries are suffering from oppression. On the other hand, we were also conscious of the fact that our imperialists were causing suffering all over the world.

We saw our salvation in the defeat of imperialism. This we could only bring about by organizing mass anti-imperialist struggles right here in the heartland of imperialism.

The "Action without Analysis" type of organizations were essentially anti-communist advocating that the problem lay somewhere else, that they themselves were quite happy, and that they should help others to rid themselves of their unhappiness. These people were bourgeois stooges vying for influence in left wing circles.

We included ourselves among the oppressed, and on this account, analyzed the objective conditions around us. While one-sided "Marxists" were busy reading books and learning "Marxism" by rote, we gave vent to our initiative and to "the living ideas in our minds", creatively applying ourselves to the problems confronting us.

Knowing the history of colonialism and various other obvious facts, it was not too long before we realized that our own oppression is essentially the same kind of oppression suffered in the neo-colonial countries, and that the root cause of all oppression is imperialism. We constantly studied Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tsetung in order to deal with concrete problems. In the process of solving

concrete problems in the real world, we came to learn revolutionary ideology in a concrete and creative manner. We related our analysis to general theory of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and reached particular decisions about the direction the type of organization and the structures of our movement.

The contradiction between "Action with Analysis" versus "Action without Analysis" developed into "Learning Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung thought in the process of solving problems" versus "learning Marxism-Leninism by rote". The latter line was in essence contradictory to the idea of "mass line in everything", which was our way of defeating the self-cultivation and elitist line shown in the cases of the various one-sided organizations of "Marxists" and flunkys. "Learning Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in the process of solving problems" required organic development of various programmes of our movement. It was abundantly clear, for example, in early 1967, that without an extensive study programme our movement could not go forward. (Ref. to Inaugural Address by Hardial Bains on February 15, 1968)

Every organization marches forward by solving the problems confronting it. The same is true of our organization. We developed Four Levels of Work in the process of solving our problems. Briefly, the Four Levels of Work are:

1. Internal Consolidation
2. External Consolidation
3. Investigation
4. Agitation

The Four Levels of Work are guided by Three Basic Guidelines:

1. Guidelines for the Development of Fraternal Relationships
2. Guidelines for Criticism and Self-Criticism
3. Guidelines for the Organization of Mass Democratic Struggles

The Four Levels of Work and the Three Basic Guidelines are the anti-thesis of the bourgeois organizational structures, and of their motives. The Four Levels of Work are in absolute contradiction with one another. Unity between them is relative, but struggle is absolute. As the struggle intensifies, all liberal bourgeois ideas come under total fire. The movement is strengthened against the two enemies of the people--- U.S. imperialism and its accomplice, Society Modern Revisionism. One struggle against two enemies. This guideline cannot be successful without following Four Levels of Work and Three Basic Guidelines.

Internal consolidation is the seeking of truth through facts for the sole purpose of serving the people. This involves study, investigation and analysis of the world around us, finding the dominant aspect of the contradiction and being guided by it. The dominant aspect of the contradiction during 1963 to 1966 was the waging of struggle to defeat the line of "Action without Analysis", later transforming into defeating the self-cultivation and elitist line as we learned Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. This cannot be done without correct analysis of the historical context, and the correlation of analysis with all facets of our organization. It would indeed require genuine investigation of the system as a whole, its parts in themselves and in their relation; the role and development of the whole system in relation to others; the direction and development of the whole system in relation to others; the direction in which the system is moving, etc. Without investigating politics, art, literature, science, religion, laws and in general the entire superstructure and economic base, Internal Consolidation is an empty phrase.

Internal Consolidation and Investigation are in contradiction because one is dependent on the other and at the same time in contradiction with the other. The struggle between the two is absolute while unity between them is relative. Internal consolidation without winning the approval of the masses is quite useless. "Winning the approval of the masses" means leading mass agitations in order to consolidate the external position of the organization. We go from external to internal and vice versa through mass work. Thus, internal consolidation is dependent on and in contradiction with external consolidation as well as with agitation. The same is true of internal consolidation and investigation. To give predominance to one over the other is to commit a basic theoretical error--to lapse into one-sidedness.

Neither, however, does it follow that under given historical circumstances, one may not take precedence over the others. For example, during the early period of our movement, external consolidation took precedence over everything else. Still, it must be understood that the purpose for our so doing was to consolidate our movement internally. Failure to appreciate this is to become a mechanical materialist.

Internal Consolidation without External Consolidation is not possible. Nor is it possible to investigate, do nothing else, and still call oneself a revolutionary. The role of investigation is directly linked with the internal consolidation of the movement in many ways. No plans, programmes and policies can be chalked out without proper and thoroughgoing investigation. In handling the internal affairs of the movement it is not possible to have Criticism-Self-Criticism without investigation. In the same way, agitation, in the form of ideological struggles, and criticism-self-

criticism sessions within the movement are necessary for the organic growth of the movement. Organs of internal agitation, meetings, conferences, plenary sessions, internal documents and publications are part and parcel of internal consolidation. A library, a bookstore, and proper documentation of various internal ideological struggles is also very much desired.

Mass ideological struggles form the backbone of external consolidation. Struggle against rhetoric and sophistry, revisionism and trotskyism necessitates the heightening of the political vigilance of the masses, which can only be achieved by the discussion of ideology at all opportunities. Mass political struggles must be waged on a principled level with provision of correct analysis by putting faith in the masses and wholly relying on them.

Small-scale libraries should be opened in the neighborhoods. Mass circulation of newspapers and other publications is necessary. A bookstore which provides for the masses must be opened at various localities. The motive behind all these activities is to strengthen the movement and weaken the enemy. We have found in practice what we knew in theory--that investigation without agitation and other levels of work leads to expertism, self-cultivation and elitism. Agitation without paying attention to the needs of the other levels--i.e., agitation-in-itself without direction and care for the masses gives rise to romanticism, isolation and finally, betrayal.

The Internationalists not only developed the Four Levels of Work and Three Basic Guidelines as the basis of the structure and function of the movement, but they also critically examined the necessity for the two. It was found that if a revolutionary movement fails to carry out Four Levels of Work and Three Basic Guidelines, if it is rigid and one-sided and does not follow Four Levels of Work by putting proper emphasis on one rather than the other, as demanded by particular material conditions--that movement inevitably betrays the people, and in the final analysis, becomes an anti-people movement.

Once the policies are formulated through struggle on Four Levels, we must take these policies to the masses all over again and win their approval. This is an essential aspect of external consolidation. Policies, plans and political programme which do not emerge "from the masses" and are not presented "to the masses for their approval" are useless collections of dead words and will be the dream of subjective souls. We intend to learn from the masses, bring their rich experience to the organization for the purpose of widening our scope of work and improving our working ability so that we may serve them well. In short, Four Levels of Work means going from the objective to the subjective, from the masses to the organization and then back to the masses--from democracy to centralism to democracy again.

The Four Levels of Work is democratic centralism in operation. The Four Levels undergo struggle and develop each other, in the process destroying each other and giving rise to higher and deeper levels of organization, strengthening democracy. In carrying out the Four Levels of Work, each unit and each member of each unit is an autonomous agency not connected bureaucratically to the centre or other units. Rather they are organically linked through ideological struggle carried out on the internal level. This is not to say that Four Levels of Work is a utopian scheme which can easily be totally followed. It is, instead, a revolutionary working style and a guide to action.

In our development we have concrete examples of groups who pledged to follow Four Levels of Work and developed rules to do so, but failed in practice because their attitude toward it was one of creating some new bureaucracy. They mechanically held meetings on various levels having no clue as to what the needs of the movement really were. They talked excitedly about Four Levels of Work, but ultimately became a rigid and dead group, the antithesis of what the working style of a genuine Internationalist group should be.

The sole source of strength in our movement is the masses. Each unit is absolutely united with the masses, integrated in their problems and solely at their service. That is why Four Levels of Work must take the Three Basic Guidelines for guidance. The strengthening of the link with the masses on the one hand while on the other hand waging internal struggles consolidates democracy as well as centralism.

Going away from the masses means going away from democracy, which in turn gives rise to bureaucracy and inorganic organization of the revisionist sort. The inseparable integration of the units with the masses strengthens the centre by bringing it closer to the masses. Taking the problems, policies and programmes of the organization to the masses further cements the foundations of democracy, while winning the approval of the masses strengthens centralism.

It is necessary for the centre and the masses to be linked both from the top downwards (ideological struggle in internal consolidation) and from the bottom upwards (bringing the problems, policies and programmes to the masses and winning their approval). All organizations which either advocated "Action without Analysis" or "Learning Marxism-Leninism by rote" showed contempt for the masses and failed to win their confidence and in fact are considered anti-people organizations by the people.

The contradiction, at this level of our development, on one hand, is between ourselves and "Marxist-Leninists" who advocate learning by rote, and on the other hand, between ourselves and social-chauvinists and revisionists supported by various flunk-eyes---people who move from one organization to another to satisfy and appease their petty bourgeois consciences. This contradiction is a basic one and is generally antagonistic.

But it is important that we be careful and not apply the color black to everybody in these groups. Instead, we should organize mass democratic struggles among the masses on a still wider and deeper scale, expose the anti-people elements, win over the serious and genuine comrades from their ranks, and pave the way for further democratic struggles among the masses on a still higher level. The contradiction is manifest between those who creatively follow Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and who thus follow Four Levels of Work by sticking to Three Basic Guidelines; and the dogmatists with their eternal "yardstick"--the modern revisionists, pacifists and other liberal bourgeois flunkies who are against Four Levels of Work and Three Basic Guidelines.

Four Levels of Work is based on the theory that one divides into two. A life and death struggle takes place between the two, ensuing in the destruction of one by the other. Thus, a new totality is born--new unity with new contradictions which is a further development of the previous one. You cannot have a pear tree becoming an apple tree in the process of its development. In the same way, you cannot have a class society solving its contradictions by compromising the antagonism between labour and capital as some revisionists suggest. Instead, you have the sharpening of contradictions based on the essence of class society, i.e., the exploitation of the large majority by the small minority. In the same way, our present contradictions are developed from the old. Struggle is the only absolute which has remained the guideline for our movement. Everything else has been transformed from the old to the new. From a mere discussion group, we have become a Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement. We have moved from limited work in the universities to work in the communities, places of work and in other institutions of learning. The reason for these developments is the First Guideline, Guidelines for the Development of Fraternal Relations, "the deep urge to further the common struggle against the enemy", which has been consciously grasped and followed which could never have been achieved without following the other two guidelines--Guidelines for Criticism-Self-Criticism and Guidelines for the Waging of Mass Democratic Struggles.

Besides this, our organization followed "mass line" in everything, in all our activities, Four Levels of Work is the best guarantee that the mass line is not only continued on the present level, but also developed. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, in essence, is the theory of absolute struggle between the two opposing, contradictory and mutually dependent aspects of the contradiction, with their identity of interests. It sees this struggle as the basis of all development.

In our movement, struggle takes place between self-cultivation and mass line; expertism versus conscious participation in the solving of various problems confronting the movement and the people; empirio-criticism versus genuinely revolutionary criticism; detached attitudes toward the movement masses and others versus integration with the movement, masses, and others; internal consolidation and external consolidation versus investigation; and agitation or internal versus external consolidation, or democracy versus centralism, etc. These struggles, as is obvious, are the development of the main contradiction, i.e., the contradiction between the interests of the masses, the large majority, and the interests of the small minority, the exploiting classes.

The Internationalists did not arrive at these conclusions by negating their class backgrounds in one easy stroke, but by paying attention to their living experience and by seeking truth from facts in order to serve the people. "Seeking truth from facts" means applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, as a guide to action. This stage was reached after fierce struggle against various kinds of dogmatists. What is the essence of Mao Tsetung Thought, the highest development of Marxism-Leninism, if not dialectical and historical materialism? In our fight against dogmatism we found that there are many comrades who understand the theoretical side of modern soviet revisionism and imperialism, but who do not acknowledge the anti-people content of revisionist organizational methods and the influence of imperialist culture in the revolutionary organizations.

This shows that these comrades understand only the superficial, external side of Mao Tsetung Thought, but are oblivious of the kernel, the core, the essence, i.e., struggle. They do not start from conscious analysis of facts, deriving guidance from theory, but instead rely smugly on theoretical formulae to guide their actions. When they come up against something which is not covered by their formulae, they are quite incapable of dealing with it. For example, when various dogmatists read about our slogan TO SEEK TRUTH TO SERVE PEOPLE and INTERNAL CONSOLIDATION:EXTERNAL STRENGTH, they sneered in disgust: Is this Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought?

No! Dear Dogmatists^o This is Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in action. The two slogans are a guide to all revolutionaries and thus are living Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought^o Some even went so far as to ask: where did you ever read this?

This shows that they are incapable of grasping the essence of Mao Tsetung Thought, which is not a dogma, but a guide of action.

Such dogmatists shun creative study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. If an organization or group does not correspond to their "yardstick" they become hostile and antagonistic. Under the guise of "waging theoretical struggles against revisionism" or the pretext of "developing theory" or "drawing clear lines" or "developing unity through ideological struggle", they fight empty and dogmatic battles. A large number of pubs are filled with such people. These comrades are responsible for retarding the development of revolutionary ideas and practices and must be severely dealt with in public. The fact that these comrades conduct their relations with others by "yardsticks" and not by applying Mao Tsetung Thought to the problems at hand, shows that they are not organized on the basis of democratic centralism, and are therefore organized on a revisionist basis. Four Levels of Work and Three Basic Guidelines, if creatively followed would eliminate these dogmatists from the revolutionary ranks. Because Four Levels of Work is Democratic Centralism in operation, the task of all genuine comrades is to grasp the essence and organize themselves on that basis.

We conclude this statement by quoting the first passage from the resolution adopted at the Historic Necessity For Change Conference: "The main contradiction of history, the antagonistic contradiction between exploiters and the exploited, is sharpening all over the world. The imperialists, headed by the U.S., with the support of the Modern Soviet Revisionists, headed by the Kosygin-Brezhnev ruling clique in the Soviet Union, are busy organising secret conferences, hatching plots to impose big nation chauvinism on the people of this world in order to legitimate and continue their exploitation of the people, including the American people. At the same time they are developing techniques of mass murder and oppression. The anti-imperialists and their solid supporters the anti-revisionists, under the brilliant leadership of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, are uniting the working and oppressed people, including the American people, into a mighty storm against the number one enemy of the world's people, namely, U.S. imperialism, and its accomplices, chief of whom are the modern Soviet revisionists. The imperialists and their accomplices are scared because they are attempting to run against the progressive current of history. The anti-imperialists are gathering courage and are forcing the status-quo and reactionaries the world over to give way to the new. The people's wars in defense of their fatherlands and against the most decadent imperialism of our times are flaring all over the world.

"Death to U.S. Imperialism!

Death to Modern Soviet Revisionism!

Death to all Kinds of Reaction!

Long Live Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long Live People's War!

Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution! These are the slogans working and oppressed people of the world have in their minds all the time."

5 ON WHAT BASIS MUST WE UNITE - ANALYSIS OF THE
22ND CONGRESS OF CPC (ML) - DOCUMENT NUMBER 1

The question of unity amongst the Marxist-Leninists is widely discussed in North America at the present time. This topic has been up for debate and discussion at the present time as well for over two years and for several years before this. On what basis should the Marxist-Leninist unite? In the sixties, various anti-revisionist individuals would sit together to find the basis of unity by discussing a "document or political programme". Unless they reached full agreement on the document they refused to unite. Those who did unite on the basis of the document later split up, finding innumerable reasons for dividing and splitting with one another. It was exasperating for the younger Marxist-Leninists to see these individuals fighting, splitting and dividing. Historical experience has rejected this method of uniting as moribund and utterly useless in dealing with the problems of consolidating the communist revolutionaries into one concentrated and well-organized force.

The Twenty-Second Congress put forward the method used by us in uniting the Marxist-Leninists. An analysis of the Congress in terms of its formality, its ability to deal with the practical problems of leading the revolutionary mass movement, and its clarity in terms of the theoretical positions it adopted, reveals a very definite

style and method of organising the Party, of leading the revolutionary mass movement and of uniting the Marxist-Leninists. This method is based on uniting on the basis of political line. In this style and method, even though agreement is required on the general political, ideological and theoretical questions, the decisive factor is the attitude a Marxist-Leninist takes towards the political line. If a Marxist-Leninist implements a specific political line, then the unity with other Marxist-Leninists executing the same tasks comes easy and gets strengthened in practice. Similarly, if there is disagreement as to the tasks, then there is no possibility of unity even though there is agreement on the general political, ideological and theoretical questions. For lasting unity, the question of political line is decisive.

What is political line? Political line is the sum total of tasks an organization sets for itself in order to advance its overall general tactical and strategic work. The organization develops around the political line and those who implement the political line get united in the organization which is being built for the purpose of executing that particular task as well as for the purpose of advancing from that stage to a higher stage. For example, when the Internationalists were founded in March, 1963 the political task they set for themselves was the building of a discussion group on the campus. This task of building the discussion group was decisive in advancing the revolutionary movement amongst the students. At the same time, the Internationalists were also engaged in all sorts of other tasks. For example, the Internationalists were the first student organization to take a clear-cut stand against modern revisionism, dating back to 1962-63; the Internationalists were the first to oppose the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam in August 1964, as well as before; the Internationalists also participated in reformist struggles, struggles to support the worker's struggles, etc. But of all the struggles waged, the decisive struggle was whether or not there was to be a discussion group through which the progressive and democratic forces could present their views to the broad masses of the students and faculty, and which could smash the monopoly of the bourgeois ideas, political line and theories. It is this struggle which transformed the campus. All the other struggles had their place but were, in no way, decisive in building the revolutionary youth and student movement. Those who supported this political line united with one another and advanced, while those who opposed it split and divided.

As the Internationalists further developed, they immediately saw the necessity of taking a disciplined attitude to their work and for three years (1964-67), they fought to have a disciplined group with a clear political direction as the basis of developing the revolutionary youth and student movement. The more the work advanced on the question of building the disciplined group, the more the Internationalists developed. At the same time, the Internationalists participated in many, many other struggles - for instance; in reformist struggles, in opposing the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, in supporting the strike struggles of the workers and in opposing the decadent bourgeois education system. From August, 1967, the political line adopted was to strengthen the theoretical basis of the organization, strengthen discipline, disseminate revolutionary literature and begin the process of building the instruments of working class propaganda. As of August 1967, to the reorganization of the Internationalists in May, 1968, to the period of establishing the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), the political task was to establish the instruments of working class propaganda. From the time of the founding of CPC(ML) in March, 1970, to the convening of the 22nd Congress of the Party, the political line was to ADVANCE THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT and ESTABLISH THE CENTRALIZED ORGANS OF THE PARTY. Now the political line is to strengthen the centralised organs of the Party and lead the actual struggles of the masses. So the decisive factor in the development of the revolutionary mass movement is the strengthening, expanding and deepening of the centralised leadership of the Party and the leading of the actual struggles of the masses. Unity amongst the Marxist-Leninists can only be built on this political line. There can be no political line other than the decisive task facing the revolutionary organization. The revolutionary organization can only be built around this decisive task.

The composition of the 22nd Congress proves the correctness of this analysis. Throughout the entire ten year period since the founding of the Internationalists, those who through their own revolutionary experience came to the conclusion that a particular task was decisive in developing the revolutionary movement during a particular period, came forward to unite, while others stood on the sidelines or divided or opposed the Marxist-Leninists. In the 22nd Congress, there were comrades who had participated in the reformist struggles against fee increases, the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the struggles to support the strike struggles of the workers. One of these comrades is Comrade Bains who participated in various struggles during the period of Fall 1962 to March 1965 in Vancouver and later on in other cities. There are comrades who came out of the revolt of the intellectuals against the bourgeois culture. There are comrades who came out of the movement to democratise the university. They participated in sit-ins and occupations at McGill at Simon Fraser University and various other universities. There are comrades who came out of the struggle to oppose the use of universities by the U.S. imperialist war machine. There are comrades who participated in the struggle against racism at Sir George Williams University. There are comrades who came out of the struggle for

national liberation in Quebec, who supported the struggle of the taxi workers against Murray Hill monopoly at Dorval Airport. Comrades came out of all the struggles of importance which have taken place and all were represented at the Congress. There were comrades who came out of the reformist-terrorist past and many women comrades who participated in the women's liberation movement. What does all this show? It shows that all these comrades, at one time or the other, decided through their experience that building the Party is decisive in leading revolution. And they recognized this necessity either during the period of building the discussion group, the period of building the disciplined core group, the period of building the instruments of working class propaganda, the period of building the centralised organs of the Party or during the present period of strengthening the centralised leadership of the Party and leading the actual struggles of the masses. It is their recognition of the necessity of executing that particular political line which has welded them together and united them with other comrades and not some "allegiance to a political program" in the abstract, or to some general political, ideological and theoretical positions. The entire Congress was full of comrades who had participated in these various struggles and they all unanimously agreed that the best way to unite is on the basis of political line and that the political line is determined by the task which becomes decisive at a particular time. That decisiveness is, in no way, independent of the overall tactics and strategy but is absolutely dependent on it and, in fact, the overall tactics and strategy reflect and present themselves through that decisive task during that period. Any other way of attaining unity brings about that false unity that will not last long. Unity can only be waged through a common political line. Any other way of unity is the unity of the bourgeois radicals and bourgeois socialists. They talk about unity purely for the sake of advancing their particular brand of interest and when they no longer need support for that brand they disunite and nicely continue their counter-revolutionary path.

The unity based on "agreement on the political document" first and unity later, much later - that is - never, is the unity demanded by chance individuals, the centrists - those who flatter themselves as "great" Marxists and demand unity on the basis of "their line" and not on the basis of the demands of the objective world. The 22nd Congress reflected total opposition to this sort of unity. The delegates and alternate delegates who participated in the 22nd Congress considered themselves to be the representatives of the proletariat (and not of themselves) and the advanced representatives for that matter. They came to the 22nd Congress in order to strengthen the fighting headquarters of the Party of the proletariat, CPC (ML), and for no other reason and they gloriously participated in doing just that. Analysis of the actual proceedings of the 22nd Congress shows that the entire delegation was united as one to deal with the problems of the Party. They had total rights to deal with the problems of the Party and no other rights. They opposed anyone who desired to take up other tasks than the tasks of the Party. This entire attitude strengthened the centralism in the Party as well as the democracy in the Party. The centrists (and there were some) were completely in retreat and in hiding. They did attempt to present themselves as the problems of the Party and asked questions in order to "enhance their understanding" as a devious method of opposing dealing with the political line of the Party.

Why was the 22nd Congress so hostile to centrism? The answer to this is straightforward when we look at the composition of the 22nd Congress and the origin of the delegates and alternate delegates. There was a large contingent of comrades from Vancouver. Many of them have suffered at the hands of the centrists within their own organisation before they joined CPC (ML). Vancouver is also the seat of the chief and most notorious centrist, Jack Scott. They despise and hate centrism because it saps the revolutionary energy, promotes disintegration of the revolutionary movement and diverts the communist revolutionaries from the task of building the Party and leading the masses. Jack Scott's notoriety in this respect is all too well known to all our Vancouver comrades including Comrade Bains and Robert A. Cruise who both had direct experience with the technique and method used by him. Centrism is opposed to anything alive and growing. Centrists become panic-stricken at the mere thought of some comrades being interested in building something alive and vigorous. Centrists are like high-priests of the dead, of the have-been, and past revolutionary movements. They tell stories, spread gossips, confuse young comrades, and absolutely oppose any revolutionary advance.

There was also a large contingent of communist revolutionaries from Quebec. Montreal is the seat of another notorious centrist, D. Varma. This delegation also despised him and had utter contempt for his counter-revolutionary splittism and divisiveness. When D. Varma was inside the Party he was vigorously criticised for not leading others on the basis of political line. He used others to engage in some "political discussions", but he failed to unite with others to execute political tasks. He desired to build an organisation which participates in organising backward elements and sideline events from time to time. He was thoroughly opposed. Once all possibilities of manoeuvre and chance of spreading the centrist poison finished, he split. He whined: "there is no democracy in CPC (ML)". D. Varma shed tears on the shoulders of notorious opportunists, confessed his crimes and swore that he will never support the Party again. By democracy, Varma meant space for manoeuvre whereby he could have his line and the Party would not exercise dictatorship over him. He also

moaned: "There was too much criticism!" For a centrist "too much criticism" means that criticism which dictates to him that he must change and which is not merely satisfied with pointing out the faults of a centrist. Centrists are quite happy to be criticised as long as the criticism does not lead to transformation. NO sooner is transformation demanded, than the real bourgeois beast snarls from out of the centrist and he takes up the thoroughgoing anti-communist crusade, taking upon himself the mission of "liquidating" such a Party which had demanded transformation from him. This is what Varma did. Our comrades from Montreal have just emerged from the struggle against the centrist Varma and they were not about to tolerate anyone of his type at the Congress.

From Toronto also, the delegation had ample experience with the centrists. Centrism circled in Toronto around an "ex" Gastrote who has always used the name of the working class to push his anti-Marxist-Leninist lines. For him the proletarian revolutionary line, that is, the political line of the revolutionary proletariat, is insignificant and worthless, while reformist and bourgeois political lines are everything. He pushed the "working class" line, that is, the "working class minus its advanced section" line. In August, 1969, he used this line to split and divide. He was pushed out of the organisation for this crime. He came back, offered sham self-criticism and split again. He was pushed out again recently and he has been approaching the Party to present another sham self-criticism. The Toronto delegation was totally aware of the activities of this centrist. From Winnipeg also the comrades have experience of the splitting activities of the centrists.

With so much experience with the centrists, it is no wonder that the 22nd Congress was vigorously hostile to centrism. The Congress took a deep-going stand against centrism and the centrist method of foaling the masses by claiming that "agreement on the political programme" must come first and unity later - much later. It is a device to stop the advanced sections of the proletariat from organising. The analysis of the 22nd Congress shows not only by the composition of the delegates that unity can only be built on the basis of political line but also by the delegates' deep-going sentiment against centrism that they were not going to tolerate any centrism inside the 22nd Congress.

Behind centrism is the line of informality. The centrists give an appearance of being formal but, in fact, any formal agreements made with them they trample underfoot and arrogantly smash when it suits them. They are anarchists when it comes to formality. Take for example the document signed between the Internationalists and the Progressive Workers Movement in February 1969. Before the ink was even dry on this document which approved the establishment of one Marxist-Leninist centre in Vancouver, the PWM unilaterally violated the spirit and letter of it. They began spreading rumours and slanders about the content and never engaged the Internationalists in a formal decision to terminate it. Jack Scott showed the same attitude in the winter of 1972. He was given a document in February, 1972 containing the basis of unity with CPC (ML). It was requested that he study the document for a week. After the week was over, in a formal meeting, duly witnessed by various comrades, he agreed with certain proposals and disagreed with others. Soon after the agreement, however, Jack Scott played the same bourgeois trick. He broke the agreement unilaterally and used our spirit for unity with him as a device to get some revolutionary status. This sort of attitude was also reflected by Varma and other opportunists and revisionists. The 22nd Congress put an end to informality for this period. The 22nd Congress was led by an extremely formal presidium. The Congress opposed informality and considered it alien to the spirit of the proletariat. Informality in executing political tasks can totally undermine their effect. Because the delegates were all field organisers and had themselves suffered immensely due to the informality practised by the bourgeois individualists of all hues, they vigorously opposed it in the Congress. The centrists oppose formality and thus oppose the unity of the Marxist-Leninists. Formal attitudes are extremely necessary and decisive for building unity amongst the Marxist-Leninists. A formal attitude goes against gossip and slander, cuts down confusion and unites Marxist-Leninists to fight the centrists and others opposing the building of the Party.

The analysis of the 22nd Congress further revealed that the proletarian concept of centralised leadership is extremely necessary for the unity of the Marxist-Leninists. The centrists and other opportunists oppose centralised leadership. The concept of centralised leadership is opposed to the concept of all centralism and no democracy or all democracy and no centralism or a 'balanced centralism with democracy'. These attitudes are alien to proletarian democratic centralism. The Congress rejected these alien notions and adopted the basic proletarian revolutionary line that both centralism and democracy must serve the proletariat and that the question of the extent of centralism or democracy is determined by the political line and that democratic centralism must always be based on political line. Sometimes centralism assists the basic interests of the proletariat and at other times democracy is much desired. The extent to which a Party practices democratic centralism in a given period is determined by the political line. Centralised leadership makes sure that both centralism and democracy are practiced in the Party to fulfill the political tasks and not independent of them. For example, before the 22nd Congress we still practiced more democracy and less centralism. Local and regional branches could make decisions as to their work and the Central Committee encouraged this all over the country. The 22nd Congress

has decided that in order to continue democracy there must be a period of vigorous centralism and that local and regional branches should be deprived of any decision-making powers. Instead, the entire Party is mobilised around the Central Committee operating from the central office in Montreal, and all local and regional policy is entirely governed by the CC. Those who oppose building unity on the basis of political line also exhibit woodiness and sterility in exercising democratic centralism. They are mechanical in their approach and as their entire line begins from their own view of the world and not from the laws governing the real world, they adhere to democratic centralism of "their sort" which is total fascism and anarchism and goes from one extreme to the other. This question of democratic centralism is very much tied up with the attitude one takes towards uniting the Marxist-Leninists. Delegates from all over the country vigorously denounced the centrist view of "democratic centralism" and approved the line of democratic centralism based on the political line.

Further analysis of the Congress shows that delegates opposed all ideas of hegemony as a method of the centrists to build many centres inside the Party. Struggle for hegemony is alien to the spirit of proletarian revolution. Centrists always advocate hegemony. Marxist-Leninists oppose the theory of hegemony. Unity of the Marxist-Leninists can be built through example and by actually leading. Setting an example and actually leading come out of executing the political line, and not out of a demand for hegemony on the basis of agreement on a "political program". The delegates had suffered much from this attitude of the centrists and they opposed this line. The entire Congress proceedings were lively and reflected the spirit of unity and solidarity on the basis of political line and opposition to hegemony. Party comrades from Vancouver and Montreal have actually dealt with the theories of hegemony advocated by Varma and individuals like him. The theory of hegemony is based on the conspiracy theory. Around this line one finds the communal atmosphere of "unity based on friendship". The centrists cultivate small fiefdoms in order to wage struggle against the Party.

The composition of the 22nd Congress shows that the delegates came from over twelve organisations which had either merged with the Party or produced comrades who joined the Party. These comrades joined because the Party set an example of staunch proletarian spirit and practices the policy of leading which invigorated the communist enthusiasts and won them over. Had CPC (ML) pursued the line of hegemony it would have degenerated along with the many organisations which covetously pursued this counter-revolutionary policy.

The composition of the 22nd Congress further showed that CPC (ML) is growing and consolidating itself because it follows the line of building itself on the basis of a political line. The total number of delegates, alternate delegates and observers to the Congress were 190 as compared to 38 in the 21st Congress. During a period of less than two years the numbers have increased nearly five times. During the 22nd Congress the number of delegates and alternate delegates was 57, which is far more than the 32 during the 21st Congress, and the number of observers was 133, which is far greater than the 6 who participated in the 21st Congress. Not only has the quantity of delegates increased, but also the quality. Our comrades are more vigorous, more experienced, more united and more loyal to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought than ever before. This can only happen if the correct policy of organising the Party around a political line is followed. The centrist organisations have shriveled up. In those circles where the number is so-called "increasing", it is the increasing number of backward and reactionary elements which are joining them and not the advanced elements. The advanced elements are leaving the centrists in increasing numbers.

Further analysis of the composition of the 22nd Congress shows that over 80% of the participants are engaged in mass work in the community and at the place of work. Less than 20% of the cadres are in the educational institutions. This shows that with the development of the political line, the shift from the university to the community and the place of work is also completed and the stage is set for the further consolidation of the centralised leadership of the Party with the advanced workers as the main force. This entire line has further consolidated the unity amongst the Marxist-Leninists, while the centrists like Jack Scott who began their work from the working class are eking out their political subsistence from the universities.

The centrists deny the existence of class struggle on the basis of actual political line. For example, whether to build a discussion group or to remain aloof or to oppose it is not class struggle for the centrists but a mere difference in point of view. For them, class struggle is something intellectual: "labour versus capital" in the abstract and not as this struggle is concretely reflected in every cell of the society. The entire composition of the Congress shows that those who did not take up the class struggle to execute the Party's political line were not in the Congress and were either removed in their local areas or expelled by the central organisation. To suggest that class struggle does not exist on the question of executing the political line is to suggest that class struggle is not the universal basis of change, development and motion in every cell of the society. To deny class struggle in every area of work is to deny the possibility of forward motion. The centrists deny class struggle as the basis of moving forward. Because the Party waged class struggle on the basis of political line it eliminated anyone opposing it and for this reason there

was a spirit of unity prevailing in the Congress.

Further analysis of the Congress shows that the centrists exaggerate the role of the individual and are against the proletarian leadership. They have utter contempt for proletarian leadership. For example, the centrists despise the leadership of Comrade Bains. You ask these worthies, "If you do not like the leadership of Comrade Bains then why don't you lead. It is those who actually lead the Party that will be the leaders of the Party." They cannot answer this and they are reduced to spouting anti-communist attacks of "personality cult" and "one man dictatorship", while all the so-called personalities and petty dictators flatter themselves in that role in practice. Because they are "personalities" and petty dictators, they hate proletarian dictatorship which as a first principle smashes their personalities and dictatorships by exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat. They also deny the historical experience of the masses. For example, how can Jack Scott be such a "Marxist-Leninist" when his own organization degenerated and he has not given any self-criticism or led a campaign of learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones. While the Internationalists have flourished, are moving forward and are learning from their experience, this bourgeois reactionary is slandering and opposing from the sidelines. The centrists also oppose the role of the masses in changing history. They cannot see how the youth and students in the 1960's moved things forward, or how workers make daily contributions, or how CPC (ML) has changed the political scene and is leading the proletariat in making revolution. For them, "individuals are everything while the masses are nothing". For this reason, they cultivate themselves as big shots, sneer at the masses and refuse to assist them to move forward. They also put detail in command of the over-all and use differences for the purpose of splitting and dividing and not for the purpose of uniting. Their line of "agreement on the political program" before unity reflects their line of splitting and dividing the ranks of the revolutionaries and paralyzing the entire revolutionary movement. Apart from these qualities, they deny the role of conscious participation in changing the world and give the revisionist theory of bourgeois culture - revolutionary politics. They oppose making themselves the target of revolution and transforming themselves. The entire concept of building unity based on political line is opposed to centrism and the 22nd Congress further concretised and concentrated this concept. Unity can only be based on political line and the 22nd Congress united all those who see the urgent necessity of centralised leadership and the necessity of actually leading the struggle of the masses.

6 ORGANIZE ACTUAL STRUGGLE UNITS

The Workers' Advocate, newspaper of the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist), in its issue dated April 23, 1973, Vol. 4, No. 3, carried an article entitled: ORGANIZE ACTUAL STRUGGLE UNITS. The full text of the document follows:

The number one problem facing the American working class is the U.S. monopoly capitalist class. Besides carrying out vicious super-exploitation of the working class, the monopoly capitalists are unleashing fascism against the entire working class and people and preparing for further wars of aggression against the people of the whole world.

The dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class which supervises the basic contradiction between labor and capital in favor of the bourgeoisie is being strengthened and consolidated in every cell of society through unleashing of fascist rules and regulations, build up of police and the military arm of the state, organizing of fascist committees in the universities, communities and places of work, propagation of rabid chauvinist and fascist ideology, etc. Already large-scale, MASS DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLES led by communist cadre have broken out in universities, communities and work places across the country. The DECISIVE QUESTION IN COMBATTING THIS GROWING FASCISM is the BUILDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY to serve and lead the anti-fascist struggles and develop them stepwise towards proletarian revolution. The AMERICAN COMMUNIST WORKERS MOVEMENT (MARXIST-LENINIST) firmly holds that the party is the head and the revolutionary MASS DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLES are the backbone of the impending proletarian revolution.

As well as developing the basic and over-all revolutionary movement for the DISSEMINATION OF MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT and for PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, the ACWM (ML) has initiated and participated in struggles of the working class to politically organize in the communities and places of work, the over-all resistance movement against fascism and social fascism, struggles of working class against capitalist exploitation and wage slavery, struggles of Afro-Americans and other national liberation movements against national-class exploitation and oppression and for full emancipation, struggles against imperialist wars of aggression, struggles of youth and students against fascist culture and the decadent bourgeois educational system and many other struggles. Our entire experience and the whole history of the international working class and communist movement shows that the PRESSING TASK is to BUILD THE INSTRUMENTS OF WORKING CLASS PROPOGANDA

in the MIDST OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (that is, to build the basic communist units and national leadership, the communist mass organizations and the Marxist-Leninist propaganda and agitational newspapers of the working class). Without the dissemination of the proletarian revolutionary line and proletarian ideology of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought it is impossible for advanced elements to come forward and take up the task of building the party. Thus building the instruments of WORKING CLASS PROPAGANDA IS OUR PRIMARY TASK and we can only fulfill this task by releasing the initiative of the working class through MASS DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLES.

Our basic method of work is to BUILD THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND TO BUILD THE BASIC COMMUNIST UNITS under the general guidelines: ALL RIGHTS TO THE CENTER TO PUT FORWARD THE POLITICAL LINE, ALL RIGHTS TO THE BASIC UNITS TO IMPLEMENT THE POLITICAL LINE, BE EYES AND EARS OF THE CENTER and constitute the stable leading group in their respective local areas.

The entire organization is involved in building ACTUAL STRUGGLE UNITS at the university, in the community and at the place of work. The ACTUAL STRUGGLE UNITS constitute the firm foundation and material base for building the Party and the Party centralized leadership. An ACTUAL STRUGGLE UNIT comes into being only through a long period of mass struggles led by communist cadres in a given locality. First a DIRECTED STRUGGLE UNIT is sent by the center to begin work in a certain locality. The DIRECTED STRUGGLE UNIT's immediate task is to begin revolutionary political work at a very low level, begin propagation of proletarian ideology and do thorough-going investigation and study by going deep among the masses and learning from their history. After completing a first stage of investigation and study of the concrete conditions, the DIRECTED STRUGGLE UNIT decides on a practical program for implementing the over-all proletarian revolutionary line of the AMERICAN COMMUNIST WORKERS MOVEMENT (MARXIST-LENINIST) and arousing the masses in the local area. The communist cadre, in implementing the basic program, must follow the revolutionary methods of work: 1. SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS TO SERVE PEOPLE 2. UNITE WITH THE PEOPLE TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENEMY 3. STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENEMY TO UNITE THE PEOPLE. The basic program is aimed at uniting the advanced, mobilizing the middle elements and arousing the maximum majority of the people around the revolutionary political line in order to isolate the principle enemy, wage revolutionary political struggles on various fronts and contribute to the over-all work of building the Party and advancing the mass democratic, anti-fascist revolution. SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS TO SERVE PEOPLE means doing detailed investigation and study amongst the masses, guided by MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT, for the purpose of grasping the dominant aspect of the contradiction in the area and releasing the masses initiative to change the situation. UNITING THE PEOPLE TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENEMY means doing constant, protracted and painstaking ideological work among the cadres and among the masses around the Marxist-Leninist political line and in favor of the concrete revolutionary struggles developing amongst the masses and doing it in time. NOT TO ORGANIZE IN TIME AND NOT TO ORGANIZE STEP-BY-STEP IS NOT TO ORGANIZE AT ALL. STRUGGLING AGAINST THE ENEMY TO UNITE THE PEOPLE means initiating and leading actual mass struggles against the principle enemy. Right from the start the communist cadres must strive to build the revolutionary committee around itself, even in embryonic form, by mobilizing the middle elements on the basis of principled opposition to fascism. The communist cadres constantly share the weal and woe of the masses and participate in the manifold struggles of the masses with the main motive of strengthening the Marxist-Leninist political line amongst the masses and creating conditions for the overthrow of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and the seizure of state power by the proletariat. The communist cadres must persist in doing ideological and political work in the open and under the supervision of the masses while keeping all organizational work secret. Cadres must use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to strengthen the organization and raise the political level of the masses, persisting in doing self-criticism in the open and under the supervision of the masses. Only through a long period of mass struggles can a DIRECTED STRUGGLE UNIT become an ACTUAL STRUGGLE UNIT by creating a material base for revolution amongst the masses, steeling and training new cadres who come forward out of the mass struggles and who have won the support of the masses, and consolidating itself within the centralized leadership of ACWM (ML). Through this process a basic unit which is steeled in the fire of class struggle, united, disciplined and self-moving, resolute and fearless in defense of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought and the basic revolutionary masses, always adhering to revolutionary principle and employing flexible revolutionary tactics, will come into being. The ACTUAL STRUGGLE UNIT expands, divides and cadres are sent to begin work in a new area. It is through building the ACTUAL STRUGGLE UNITS that the organization becomes one with the masses and it is on this firm foundation that the revolutionary Party must be built.

THE TASKS OF THE BASIC UNITS OF ACWM (ML) ARE:

1. Disseminate widely Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought.
2. Uphold the proletarian revolutionary line of the ACWM (ML) and implement all centralized guidelines and directives with maximum initiative locally.
3. Organize regular study sessions amongst the masses on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought to deal with the actual problems facing them.

