



The Party— Invincible Proletarian Vanguard

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What is the Revolutionary Union?

Today the need for revolution is becoming clearer to more and more people, here and throughout the world. The system we live under, ruled by bankers and big businessmen, is heading into deeper crisis and chaos, in this country and internationally. Unemployment, speed-up, inflation, the decay of society and breakdown of social services, attacks on democratic rights, discrimination and degradation of women, domination of oppressed nations and minority nationalities, wars of aggression and the threat of world war—all are increasing as our rulers bear down on us harder and battle others like them for the spoils from the robbery of peoples like us throughout the world.

But this only further exposes how this system is a worldwide system of plunder, a system of imperialism. And the struggle of the exploited and oppressed against this system is growing worldwide. In this country, the last decade has seen mighty mass movements against the oppression of minority nationalities, against wars of aggression, the oppression of women, police terror and government repression, and against the attacks on our living and working conditions.

As a communist organization, the RU bases itself on building these mass movements. But beyond this, the RU bases itself on the understanding that the oppression of the people flows from the basic contradiction of this system: the exploitation of the working people by the capitalist-imperialists. And the liberation of the people lies in the overthrow of the imperialists by the working class, the replacement of capitalism and all exploitation with socialism, under the rule of the working class, which will advance society to communism completely classless society.

To achieve this historic task, to unite and lead all the people's struggles to this goal, the working class must have the leadership of its own Party, the general staff of its revolutionary struggle. In this country the working class does not now have such a Party, since the so-called Communist Party, USA long ago sold out the working class and now aims at preserving the imperialist system. At this time, while working to build and unite the people's movements, the RU sees its major task as uniting with all others standing for the revolutionary interests of the working class to form this new Communist Party.

The creation of this Party will mean a great advance for the people's struggle in this country and will help bring closer the day when the decay and corruption of imperialist exploitation will be overcome by the international working class, representing the great majority of mankind and holding the future in its hands.

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THE PARTY—INVINCIBLE PROLETARIAN VANGUARD

Communism teaches that the working class, in order to overthrow capitalism, build socialism, and move forward to communism, must be led by a Communist Party. Why is this true? How does this Party act as the vanguard of the working class in its revolutionary struggle? Why does the working class only need one political party, and why is socialist society led by this single party? Why is there a need to build a new Communist Party in this country and what is the road to building this Party? The following article deals with these important questions—Ed.

Marxism has, for the first time in history, cleared away the fog of mystery that for thousands of years surrounded the relations between man and nature and

between man and man, the fundamental relations of all societies. Basing itself first and foremost on the experience of the most socialized class in history, the modern factory wage-earning class, and especially the industrial workers in large-scale enterprise, Marxism shows that the basis of all forms of human society is the struggle to transform nature, to produce and distribute the material requirements of life—food, clothing, housing, etc. From this, everything else in society develops—culture, political systems, etc.—and without this struggle for production, everything would come to a standstill. To put it simply, people must eat.

Human history is marked by the continual efforts of societies to advance the means of carrying on the struggle for production—to develop the productive forces.

Overall, the most important of these productive forces are the masses of laboring people themselves. But to expand production and to move further and further away from animal-like existence, the people of all societies continually develop newer and better instruments or means of production—machinery, technology, etc.—and continually carry on scientific experiment.

At each stage of the development of the productive forces, the people who make up society must enter into certain relations of production—social relations with each other, to carry out production. In all societies, the basic social relations are determined by relation to the means of production.

In all forms of class society, including capitalist society like the U.S., the class that owns and controls the means of production appropriates to itself the surplus produced by the laboring people of society, above what they need to live. In this way, this class rules over the classes that own and control little or none of the means of production. How each group in society earns its livelihood depends on this question of ownership or non-ownership of the major means of production.

Class Struggle in Society

In ancient human society, there were no classes. The primitive instruments of production, such as stone tools, etc., were owned in common by tribes. Everyone worked cooperatively and what they produced—vegetation scratched out of the earth, game hunted, etc.—was shared.

But this first form of society, primitive communalism, rested on a very low level of productive forces, and inevitably was replaced by a new form of society, the ancient slave system, which was ruled by the first class that privately owned means of production, the slave-owners. At that time, slavery was the most efficient form of accumulating a surplus and developing the productive forces of society.

Since that time, for thousands of years, the history of society has been marked by the continual struggle of opposing classes, representing different relations of production, different ways of organizing society to carry out production. This class struggle is what moves society forward. At each stage, the class that represents the higher form of social relations of production, that is, the more advanced way of organizing society to develop the productive forces, is the class that ultimately and inevitably triumphs over the class representing the lower, more backward form of relations of production.

And as long as classes exist, as long as society is divided into social groups on the basis of ownership and non-ownership of the means of production, this class struggle must and will continue. This is because, as the productive forces are developed, the old relations of production change from being the best way to continue developing the productive forces into a chain holding back their development. And this is why the new class that has grown up within the old society, the class that can organize society in a more advanced way to develop the productive forces, must overthrow and replace the old ruling class.

Parties Represent Class Interests

Through the various stages of class society—from slave, to feudal-landlord exploitation of serfs and peasants, to capitalism, and, in this century, to socialism—the class struggle has not only continued and propelled the development of society, it has become more and more clear-cut.

In modern, capitalist society, while there are various intermediate classes and strata—professionals, small businessmen, etc.—basically society is divided into two antagonistic camps facing each other directly: the bourgeoisie, or capitalist class, owners of the large-scale means of production; and the proletariat, or working class, the millions of workers who own no means of production and are therefore forced to work in the large-scale factories and other enterprises of the capitalists. And at this stage of human history, society can only move forward, can only establish social relations that can fully develop the productive forces, through the overthrow of the capitalist class by the working class, the establishment of socialism, the social ownership of the means of production, and the march forward to communism, completely classless society.

At each stage of society, in the struggle between the classes representing the old and the new relations of production, each of the contending classes is led by a political party, or parties, that represent its interests. These parties are generally made up of those members of the class, and other members of society, who most firmly grasp the position of the particular class, its role historically, in opposition to the other classes in society, and who therefore have the political authority to lead and represent it. This holds true for both the old class, the reactionary class that is trying to hold back the development of society and maintain the old relations of production, and for the revolutionary class that is struggling for progress, to establish the new, higher form of relations of production.



Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao—Great leaders and teachers of the workers and oppressed people of the whole world in the struggle to wipe out all exploitation and oppression and build socialism

In our society, and most capitalist societies, the capitalist class has not only one, but generally two or more parties. This is partly because the capitalist class, while it is united in the need to preserve capitalism, is divided by the conflicting interests of individual capitalists and groups of capitalists.

This stems from the nature of capitalism itself, where ownership of the means of production and the appropriation of surplus is in the hands of a number of different capitalists, who have to compete with each other to get a bigger take from the robbery of the working people.

In this process, different sections of the capitalists form economic and political blocs. But these are continually breaking apart and shifting, as the struggle of the people against the capitalists develops and the conflicts among them sharpen. This can be seen very clearly today in the Watergate affair, the throwing of Agnew to the wolves, and other similar events that are getting heavier all the time.

Illusion of Choice

The capitalists also generally have at least two parties in order to maintain the illusion that the working class and other oppressed people in society have a "choice" in who runs the government. In this country, the Republican Party is usually presented as the "party of big business," while the Democratic Party poses as the "party of the common man." But in fact, both are controlled by Big Business. All of the major politicians have to and do represent the monopoly capitalists. This is obvious in the fact, that, in the whole Watergate affair, the Agnew resignation, etc., not a single political spokesman, on any side, in all the hearings, press conferences, etc., has even questioned the fact that the capitalist system must be maintained and defended. In fact, all the hypo-

critical whining about "the rights of the people" and the solemn sermons about "violations of the Constitution" are just a cover for the real struggle that is going on within the ranks of the big capitalists over which group of them will have the upper hand within that class and in ruling over and exploiting the people.

When the economic and political crisis of capitalism inevitably becomes so acute and deep-going that the old methods of deception no longer work, and conflicts among the capitalists can no longer be settled within the "constitutional" framework, then the most powerful sections of the monopoly capitalists make an all-out move to crush their rivals and institute an open, terroristic dictatorship of monopoly capital, in place of its "democratic" dictatorship.

Generally, this means that the "two-party system" is replaced by the rule of a single, fascist party. But even in these cases, the monopoly capitalists try to conceal the class nature of their rule and sometimes come on as "socialists," especially where socialist ideas have taken deep and wide roots among the people. Hitler, for example, faced with a powerful Communist Party and working class movement in Germany, called himself a "national socialist." In fact, he was a representative of the most powerful capitalists, ruling in their most reactionary form.

The working class, in struggling against the deception and brutal force of the capitalist class, faces a task unprecedented in all of history and has an historic role to play completely different from all previous classes. The slave-owning, feudal-landlord, and capitalist classes simply represented more advanced forms of *exploiting* relations of production than existed in the old society. But the working class can only maintain its rule of society and establish the relations of production that represent its interests

by *eliminating, step by step, all forms of exploitation. In short, the goal and the historic mission of the working class is to lead the people in achieving Communism.*

No Classes under Communism

Unlike primitive communalism, Communism is based on a high level of development of the productive forces, and of science. Communism incorporates all the development and advances made in previous forms of class society, but it opens the way to much more rapid and all-around development, because it means the elimination of the inequalities and the antagonistic (or potentially antagonistic) social "divisions of labor" which characterize capitalism and all forms of class society—between mental and manual workers, between the "skilled" and "unskilled," between city and farm workers and town and country, between various nationalities, men and women, and so on. Contradictions will still exist under Communism—there will still be different kinds of industries, etc.—but the basis for these to become antagonistic, for class divisions to develop, will be eliminated.

To move society forward to Communism, the working class cannot just take over the old state machinery, the army, police, courts, bureaucracies, etc. of the previous exploiting classes. Instead, it must smash that machinery and build up and defend its own state—disarm the exploiting classes and arm the workers, put control of the economy, the political institutions and the culture in the hands of the working class and its representatives. Only after all distinctions between owners and non-owners of means of production, between workers and administrators and the remnants of the ideas of the exploiting classes have been eliminated, can and will this dictatorship of the working class wither away.

This is no easy task, and to carry it out, until the goal of Communism is achieved, the working class must have the leadership of its own Party. This Party must be made up of the members and representatives of its class who grasp most firmly its position in society, its historic role, and its long-range goal, and in this way can lead the working class and its allies forward, through all the roadblocks and detours, along the road of socialist revolution to Communism.

The working class needs a *single* party to represent and lead it. Unlike the capitalist exploiters, the working class represents the great majority of society, and has no need or interest in creating two or more

parties for the purposes of deception. Unlike the capitalist class, which bases its organization of society on private ownership of the means of production by private, competing individuals and blocs, the working class bases its organization of society and can realize its interests as a class only through collective ownership of the means of production, collective planning of the overall economy, and by overcoming any possible antagonisms between workers in industries, etc. The single Party of the proletariat (working class) is the force that unifies the working class around its basic and long-range interests and is the instrument through which the class overthrows capitalism, builds socialism, and moves forward to Communism.

Inner Party Struggle

This doesn't mean that there are no differences of opinion within the Party of the working class. In any given situation, there are always lines or programs that are more correct, that more fully represent the interests of the working class. And there are always opinions and programs that are incorrect, that won't advance the cause of the class. This struggle between right and wrong lines always goes on within the Party of the working class.

Besides these struggles, from time to time there are even antagonistic struggles within the Party itself, because so long as class society exists, even under socialism, the ideas of the exploiting classes have influences on everyone in society, even on people within the Party of the working class. Certain individuals within the Party can abandon the cause of the class, go over to the stand of the exploiters and push their interests within the Party itself.

But even where these forces are temporarily successful, even where they take over the Party and wreck it, or turn it into another instrument of the exploiters, they cannot prevent the re-formation of a genuine Party of the working class, a true Communist Party. This is because society has reached the stage where socialism and eventually Communism must replace capitalism, in order to develop the productive forces and move forward.

And, by analyzing this situation, Marxism—the scientific summation of the laws of development of society, the laws of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment—has been developed and spread in every country throughout the world. Basing themselves on an application of Marxism to the concrete conditions they face, genuine communists continually come forward in lar-

ger numbers in every country, and sooner or later unite to form a real vanguard Party of the working class, to lead it in the struggle for socialism and Communism.

It is on this basis of applying Marxism—as it has been developed by the most outstanding leaders of the working class internationally, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tsetung—to the concrete conditions of the society, that the Party of the working class acts as the advanced detachment of the whole class in the struggle against capitalism and all forms of exploitation. Marxism fully represents the interests of the working class and is based on its historic role in advancing human society to a completely new stage, but Marxism does not simply arise spontaneously from within the working class on the basis of its day to day experience.

The working class is the most socialized class in history: thousands of workers are concentrated, working collectively, in the big factories of modern society. But under capitalism, workers are also forced to compete with each other for jobs, and each individual worker's experience is mainly limited to his or her department or industry, and to his or her community. For these reasons, and because individual workers are forced to spend the great bulk of their time working and struggling to survive, they do not and cannot spontaneously develop full consciousness of themselves as members of a historic class, and fully grasp the scientific laws of development of society.

Marxism, as a science, is generally grasped first by intellectuals who have the time to study it, and access to Marxist theory. These revolutionary intellectuals must bring the theory of Marxism to the working class and combine it with the workers' practical struggles. Where this is done correctly, the class consciousness of the workers is raised, while the intellectuals are remolded in their ways and habits, so that they learn how to take part in and help lead the struggles of the class, together with the class conscious workers.

The Party draws its members from all oppressed classes and groups in society, and even from individuals from the exploiting classes who actually desert their class and join the cause of the working class wholeheartedly and completely. Everyone who grasps the laws of development of society and the working class in remaking society in its own image and is willing to devote his or her life to the struggle for the rule of the working class—socialism and Communism—can and must be recruited into the Party.

Workers—Party's Backbone

But the Party must concentrate its forces in the working class, especially among the industrial workers, who are in the most strategic position to lead the oppressed people in destroying the old, rotten system and building the new. And, in the final analysis, the backbone of the Party itself must be built from among the industrial proletariat and other sections of the working class.

At any given time, there are some members of the working class who come forward to lead the struggles of their fellow workers. These are the members of the class who can and must be developed as Communists, as members of the vanguard Party. It is the duty of the Communists and the vanguard Party to educate and train these advanced workers as Communists in the course of struggle, by combining propaganda of Marxist theory with agitation to point out the key targets and tactics of the struggle at every point, and move it forward.

As this happens, as broader and broader sections of the class are raised to the level of class consciousness and join the ranks of the Communists, the Party is more and more able to fulfill its role as an advanced detachment. It is able to carry out more thoroughly the method of the "mass line." This means learning from the working class and the masses of oppressed people; taking their scattered and partial experiences and ideas and applying the science of Marxism to sum up these experiences and ideas; concentrating what is correct in them, what will further unite the class and its allies in struggle against the exploiters and in moving society forward; then taking these summed up and concentrated ideas back to the masses of workers and oppressed people, winning them to these ideas and the policies that flow from them, and uniting with them to carry them out. It is through constantly practicing this mass line, and on this basis, developing the class struggle from a lower to a higher level, that the Party acts as the vanguard.

But the Party of the working class is not only its advanced detachment; it is also its most highly organized detachment. It must not only concentrate the correct ideas of the masses of working people, it must carry them out with an iron unity of will.

Within the Party there are lower and higher bodies, with the higher bodies chosen democratically by the membership on the basis of demonstrated ability to apply Marxism to concrete struggles. Major lines and policies of the Party are adopted by the highest leading body, through summing up discussions held

throughout the Party on these major questions. While these discussions are going on within the Party, every member has the right and the duty to put forward his or her ideas and fight for them. And even after the lines are adopted, members who still disagree have the right to reserve their opinions; and, at the right time, when these policies are being summed up and discussed again, to bring forward these opinions and fight for them again.

But at each point, after decisions have been made and lines adopted, every member and all bodies of the Party must unite to carry them out fully, regardless of their personal opinions. Otherwise, individual members would put their personal opinions above the collective will and wisdom of the whole Party, the Party would not be united and could not act as a vanguard. The Party must be the general staff of the class in various forms of warfare against the exploiters, and, in going into battle, it must concentrate its forces and act with a unified chain of command.

The key to preventing a handful of people, particularly leading people, from acting out of narrow, selfish interests and forcing incorrect policies and lines on the Party, is for the whole membership of the Party to study and apply Marxism in leading mass struggle, to conscientiously apply Marxism in discussions and struggles within the Party, and to criticize and supervise Party leadership on this basis.

In general, all members and bodies of the Party must practice criticism and self-criticism. This means criticizing your own and others' ideas and actions, on the basis of how well and correctly they reflect the interests and needs of the working class, and generally conform to the science of Marxism. This, like all work of the Party, is primarily a collective thing—relying on the opinions, ideas and criticisms of comrades in the Party and of the masses of people.

In this way, the Party will continue to concentrate the correct ideas and the will of the class. It will be both solidly united with the class, and at the same time, constantly lead the class forward toward the historic goal of Communism. And it will be able to help create various mass organizations, and work within existing organizations, that will act as conveyor belts, to link the Party with the working class and the broadest masses of oppressed people.

In the U.S. today, there is no true vanguard Party of the working class. The so-called "Communist Party" (CP), following in the mud behind the traitors

in the Soviet Union, beginning with Khrushchev, has fully degenerated into bootlickers of the capitalist class, and tries to mislead and hold back the struggle of the working class and oppressed people. The ideology of the CP is not Marxism, but revisionism—reliance on the "reasonableness" of the murderous rulers of the U.S. to be "progressive," and to allow socialism to come through a series of reforms!

Over the past 15 years, despite the lack of a single vanguard Party to lead them, mass struggles of the American people have broken out and developed to a high level, in opposition to the monopoly capitalist ruling class: struggles of the Black people and other oppressed nationalities for liberation, the youth and student movement, especially against U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina; women's movements for equality; movements against government repression and fascist measures, in and out of prison; and, especially in recent years, the workers' rank and file movements.

Through these various struggles, a number of people have come forward who have applied themselves to studying Marxism. This has been especially true since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, led by Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party to defend and strengthen the rule of the working class and its struggle against exploiters within socialist society itself.

In the last few years, a number of groups have formed which have attempted to base themselves on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which is the Marxism of our age, the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Some of these groups have splintered or fallen apart, while some others have stagnated or degenerated into one or another form of political opportunism, because they have not really applied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete struggles of the U.S. working class and oppressed people.

On the other hand, a number of organizations and groups have made progress along these lines and have begun to sink real roots in the struggles of the working class and other oppressed people.

It is in working together more closely to carry out this general line in mass struggles, especially of the working class, and in carrying out discussion and ideological struggle to sum up and advance these struggles, that these groups, and others basing themselves on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, will be able to achieve greater and greater unity and take important steps in building toward the single vanguard Party of the working class. ■



th the people. Chen Yung Kuei, who
ina, is now a leading member of the
here in a political discussion during
hard in the fields above.

SOME ADDITIONAL READINGS

On Practise- Mao;

Foundations of Leninism -Chapt 8,
-Stalin

"Having Faith in and Relying on the
Masses" Peking Review #14, 1973

"Party-Building Must Be Closely Linked
With the Masses" Peking Review
12, 1973

"Communists Should Work In The
Interests of the Vast Majority of
People" Peking Review #49, 1973

Socialism Is Built By The Masses, The
Party makes Them Conscious-

Enver Hoxha, Albania

What Is To Be Done? - Lenin

History of the Communist Party of
The Soviet Union (Bolshevik)

(Soviet revisionists revised this
work in the middle 50's--1939

Edition is the authentic one)

History of the Party of Labor of Albania

Red Papers 6 + ppg. 1-10 especially.
Revolutionary Union