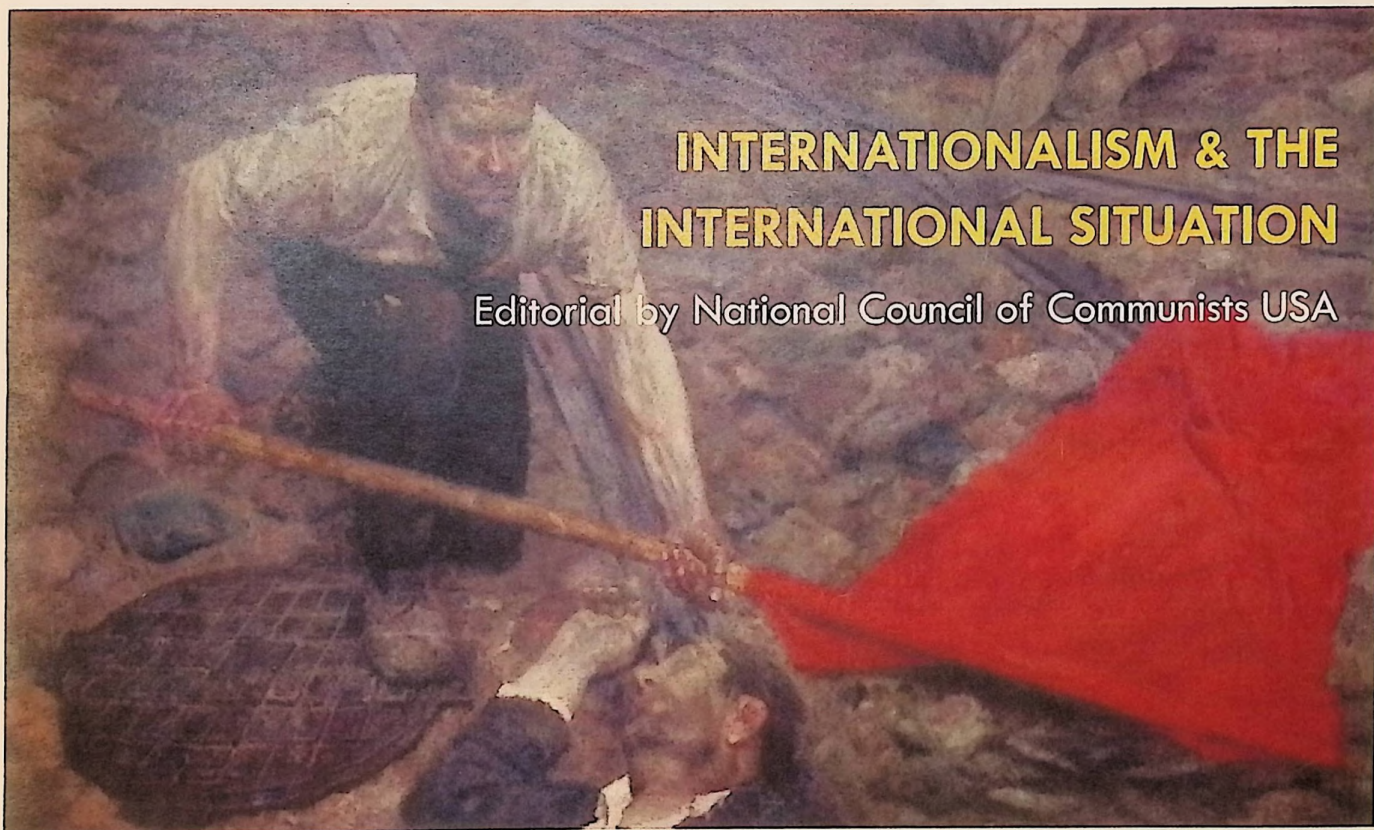


"Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement" – V.I. Lenin

IDEOLOGICAL FIGHTBACK



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INTERNATIONALISM & THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Editorial by National Council of Communists USA

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A Marxist-Leninist Position
on Gun Control
By Daniel Lee

The Youth Need a Voice!

By James Hermann

Capitalism in Crisis

By George Greene

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By Raúl Martínez &
Ramón López

**KKE: The Socialism
Which We are
Struggling For**

**Statement of the PCMLV
on the death of
Commandante Chavez**

VOL. 1 ISSUE 2, SUMMER 2013

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The articles in this magazine, unless otherwise specified, are the opinions of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the collective views of the NCCUSA

IDEOLOGICAL FIGHTBACK

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EDITORIAL

INTERNATIONALISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

I. PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM

The world is a volatile place these days. There are wars and rumors of wars. Some say that this is the end of time: The second coming. In the National Council of Communists, USA we are not that pessimistic or cynical. We are guided by our science, known as Marxism-Leninism. It is our science that gives us our world outlook. That is not to say that world affairs are not serious or are easily dismissed by decree.

In our midst, we have an age old problem. We have traitors and agents of our class, the working class. Why does this matter and how does it affect the international situation? Simply put, since 1943, when the international organization known as the Comintern was abruptly ended, the international cooperation of communist parties as we know it, ended with it. Ending the Comintern was a serious error. While there were international organizations like the Cominform, and later World Conferences of Communist Parties, these were poisoned with the theory and practice of Khrushchevism, which split the international communist movement.

What followed was the abandonment by some parties of what is known as "proletarian internationalism." What does this mean? It means that the workers of all countries are our natural brothers and sisters, comrades, while the capitalists of our own nation (in this case the United States) are our sworn enemies. Why is this so? Because these capitalists exploit workers as parasites exploit their host. Without proletarian internationalism, the working class loses its power to control its own destiny. Lenin, the great revolutionary put it this way:

"There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception."

— Lenin, *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution, 1917* in *Collected Works, Vol. 24*, Progress Publishers, 1964.

In the current world situation, the imperialists in the West, led by the USA, the European Union, and NATO, are forcing themselves on helpless smaller nations in pursuit of raw materials and strategic locations to establish military bases to consolidate imperialist military power. They do this by challenging national sovereignty through "regime change." This has happened in Iraq and Libya, where both national leaders were assassinated. There is no fightback because there is no balance of power. The socialist camp has lost its key ally, the Soviet Union. Exploiting this weakness in the international arena, the USA and NATO threaten any nation that doesn't bow down to them.

II. THE CURRENT SITUATION

At this time, the USA is militarily threatening the sovereign nation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) with military aggression. The DPRK is a socialist country with a planned economy. The Koreans deserve to be treated as equals by the international community. Instead, they are threatened by the USA with military attack and economic sanctions.

Syria has also been attacked. The Syrians support an anti-imperialist policy in the Middle East, and are allied with Iran, the principle enemy of US Imperialism and of the Zionist regime in Israel. The majority of the Syrian people support their President Bashar al-Assad. While the U.S. characterizes the situation in Syria as a "civil war" the truth is that the Syrian rebels are paid mercenaries from Turkey which is supported by the U.S. and Saudi Arabia, hardly a bastion of democracy. The imperialist objective is to destroy the standard of living of the Syrian people and the infrastructure of Syria. Meanwhile, Palestine has been under attack from Israel for years despite the fact that the Arab peoples make up the majority of population in the region.

Cuba is a socialist nation that has been on the radar of the USA for some time. They have been under an economic embargo by the USA for over fifty (50) years. With the fall of the Soviet economy in 1991, Cuba suffered greatly because they were a trading partner of the USSR. The Cubans were forced to implement what they called "special conditions" to cope with this loss of parts, equipment, and food. They minimized their econo-

my and provided only the most basic services.

Iraq was attacked under the false pretense that their government was developing Weapons of Mass Destruction. The entire war was based on lies! While the U.S.A. and Israel were lamenting about the Weapons of Mass Destruction, Israel had and continues to have nuclear weapons. We must remember that the United States is the only country that has used nuclear weapons. Twice!

III. OUR APPROACH ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Since WWII, the United States has become more sophisticated in their fight against the world communist movement, the liberator of the toiling masses throughout the world. The CIA and other imperialist government sponsored groups throughout the world set up phony leftist organizations and joined Communist parties to weaken the World Communist Movement. Some call themselves "Trotskyist" while others call themselves "Maoist". Some Trotskyists have succeeded in infiltrating the leadership of the American Communist party, the CPUSA. Some positions of the American party are no longer "communist" positions. This is evidenced by the CPUSA's leadership under Sam Webb, including blind support for President Obama's policies. Webb and Co. supports President Obama's position on Syria, while the Syrian Communists support their President, Bashar al-Assad. The CPUSA supports the continued presence of United States and NATO troops in Afghanistan and Iraq while peace loving people the world over are calling for their immediate withdrawal. The CPUSA supports President Obama's (and NATO's) incursion into Africa known as AFRICOM. This means that the CPUSA leadership supports imperialism in Africa! The Obama administration is working to destabilize the progressive government of Venezuela, following the death of Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez. While the CPUSA pays homage to Chavez, they pay lip service to the opposition to US foreign policy to reverse the socialist revolution!

With regard to the situation in the DPRK. The CPUSA leaders are joining with the Obama administration in criticizing the DPRK and its President Kim Jong-un. The Webb leadership is in print calling defense of the DPRK a provocative act. Meanwhile, the workers of the United States are asked by the leadership of the CPUSA to take an uncritical view of Obama and his administration and postpone their fightback because he is African-American! This gives American capitalists a free hand to carry out a

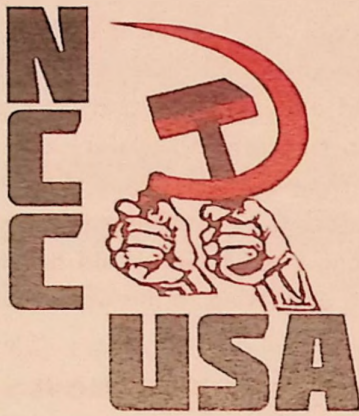
foreign policy to the right of President Bush. What happened to judging a person by the content of their character, and not by the color of their skin? President Obama is a capitalist and no friend of the workers of the world. If he was, he would abolish NATO and close all foreign military bases and stop sending military aid to other imperialist countries. This would be a "true" defense of the United States. These are truly communist demands. This is what Sam Webb and the CPUSA should be demanding. Instead, they are pandering to the Democratic Party and capitalism.

IV. PROBLEMS IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THEIR INTERNATIONAL IMPACT

With the destabilization of the World Communist Movement by the retreat and outright opportunism of the leadership of some of its parties, including the CPUSA, a new theoretical formation is necessary.

The communists need to regain their bearings and return to a Marxist-Leninist course. For this to happen, a new Communist International needs to be established under the leadership of the healthiest forces, the KKE in Greece for example. There are many parties that are truly anti-imperialist and support the Leninist policy of proletarian internationalism. We Communists in the United States need to join this new International and promote the theoretical concepts that flow from it. We need to abandon the old ideas of the "new left" that negate the socialism of the 20th century and the Soviet experience. For over 70 years, the Soviet experience was a shining example of the promise of socialism: enough to eat, full employment, subsidized housing and education, free health care, equal rights for nationalities and women, and peace. Full democracy! This was known as the dictatorship of the proletariat as described by Karl Marx. The working class (proletariat) overthrew the bourgeois (capitalist) class and created a classless society of workers and peasants. From there, the USSR aided national liberation movements and anti-imperialist struggles in other lands. China, the DPRK, Cuba, Viet Nam and other countries would not be living under socialism today were it not for the aid of the USSR. So, in the United States we must establish a new formation that is truly Communist and we must join with our Comrades in other countries that feel as we do in a new International. This is our task!

- By Jackson Flynn and Earl Clark



From the Desk of the
National Council of
Communists:



To the Communist Party of Mexico

Esteemed Comrades,

We send our warmest fraternal Greetings this May Day. We are a new formation of Marxist-Leninists in the U.S.A., the National Council of Communists. Our goal is to win back the leadership of the CPUSA from the current opportunist and liquidationist clique, and to restore the CPUSA as a genuine proletarian vanguard party.

Should that prove to be an impractical undertaking, the formation of a new party has been discussed, and is also a future option. Regardless of outcomes, we seek the closest, and wish for the most cooperative fraternal ties with our comrades in Mexico. We have a quarterly magazine called Ideological Fight-back. It would be both an advantage and an honor for both our organization and peoples to present the views, and show solidarity with PCM.

Due to the nature of globalized capitalism, a close and open relationship and cooperation between ourselves and Mexico's vanguard party is essential to the future of the struggle of the working class of both countries. We are only beginning the struggle against opportunism and revisionism. We praise your example and seek your wisdom. You have succeeded on the very path we are following in our own land.

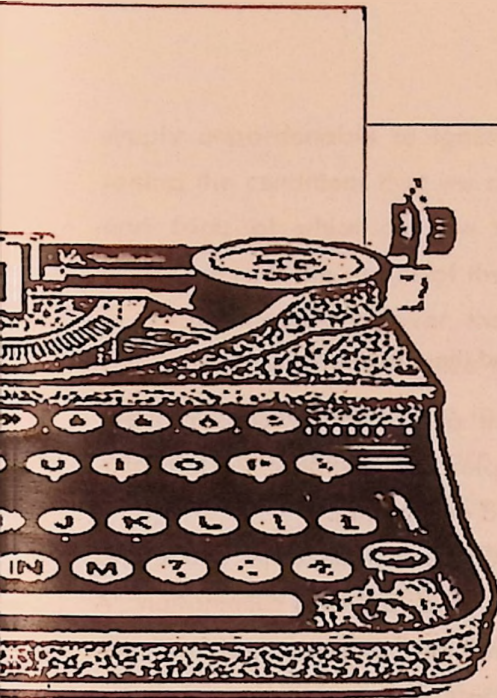
It is a fact of economics that without the cooperation of the vanguard parties of both of our countries, the people of neither country could make any progress whatsoever. Only united can we realistically achieve any of our goals. The current leadership of the CPUSA have ignored an obviously vital relationship with the vanguard party of Mexico, we the members of the NCCUSA do not intend to repeat this serious mistake, seeking instead sincere fraternity and cooperation.

Comrades, let us do make this a historic May Day, and resolve to unite all the Americas with the glow of our friendship and united struggle.

In warmest Marxist solidarity,

Randall Smith

International Relations Chair NCCUSA



To the Communist Party of Greece

Dear Comrades,

Congratulations to you, Comrade Dimitris Koutsoumpas on your election as the General Secretary of the KKE. We also congratulate the Comrade Delegates of KKE on a successful party Congress. We wish your leadership and membership success going forward from your 19th Congress.

We are the "ideological formation" of Marxist-Leninists challenging the factional leadership of the CPUSA formed for the purpose of fighting abuse and distortion of our method of democracy, known as "democratic centralism." Within the leadership of the CPUSA there are longstanding violations of party norms, including but not limited to, intimidation and expulsion of comrades that have honest differences with the party centre located at 235 W. 23rd St., New York.

The factional leadership under the direction of known revisionist and opportunist elements do not speak, honestly and dialectically, for many members enrolled in our party, a great many, and quite likely a majority of whom have been members through decades of struggle. In response, we have formed this new arena of struggle. Our formation is known as the National Council of Communists. We have a quarterly theoretical journal titled Ideological Fightback.

We are encouraged by the KKE's recent critiques of the CPUSA. Our comrades very much agree with the position of the KKE regarding the political situation in the CPUSA. Our comrades are or have been members of CPUSA, or have worked in coalition with the party. Our goal, however, is to restore the party to its rightful place as a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. Failing that, we will form a party that follows the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism with representation in a new Communist International (Comintern).

We are inspired by the actions and struggle of the KKE. Your party is often quoted in our journal. Find us on-line at www.ideologicalfightback.com. As our positions are very much the same, we seek to establish fraternal ties with the Communist Party of Greece, and would very much enjoy news and press releases from your party for our publication. The speeches and statements made by the KKE on April 8th of this year were especially inspiring and welcome. The struggle in Greece which shows the pure exploitation by capitalist austerity is becoming global. In our country at present it's only beginning, under the name "Budget sequester", which is simply cruel and uncaring exploitation. Suffice it to say, your comments and observations on the issue are as valid here as they are in Greece.

It may be welcome news, comrades, that there are indeed communists in the U.S. that share your views, and that we are organizing. We are most inspired by your party's views and statements, and they are met with anticipation and excitement in our ranks. Fraternal ties with your party would be an honor. Please feel free to contact us at any time for any outreach or fraternal assistance we might humbly provide.

In warmest fraternal solidarity, and best wishes for a joyous, and a well-earned May-Day,

Randall Smith

International Relations Chair NCCUSA

OPINION

Reprinted from:

<http://toilerstruggle.wordpress.com/2013/03/06/where-to-begin-the-communist-party-usa-and-the-present-crisis/>

CPUSA Tucson Club:

Where to Begin?

The Communist Party USA and The Present Crisis

At the present moment, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat is confronted with historic challenges and obstacles which boldly stand in the way of the revolutionary reconstitution of society at large in the interests of working and oppressed people. The reality at hand is the ongoing onslaught that the capitalists are forcing down the throats of working people by means of their ruthless austerity regimes and imperialist plunders. By now, no one can hide the fact that even those in the imperialist First World are suffering from the current crisis of capitalism. While the ruling classes of the West are crucifying Libyans in the name of freedom and democracy, and while the Syrian people, bloodied and exhausted, are struggling to resist imperialist invasion and a brutal civil war engineered and perpetuated by the West, working people of America are being stimulated, and beginning to wake up to the sights around them and realize the gravity of the situation. Witnessing the fury of cuts, austerity, and encroachments on democratic rights at home, and at the same time looking on at the terroristic wars being waged by their government throughout the world, American working people are showing signs of an increasingly awakened class consciousness in response to the crisis of the global capitalist-imperialist sys-

tem. The achievement of a socialist consciousness, however, is still a complex and dynamic work in progress, and a protracted one at that.

As has been admitted, considerable challenges and obstacles litter the road to such a culmination. A capitalist crisis brings not only a responsive class consciousness or political resurgence of proletarian revolution, but also heightened offensives launched with the aim of sustaining the capitalist system regardless of the suffering entailed by the masses of people. The ruling class, split or divided, is fundamentally united by its "better dead than red" mentality, and, driven by this, is determined to fight to the death before surrendering state power to any revolutionary forces.

At such a time, and considering such realities, the fundamental question of the revolutionary Marxist agenda is the means by which the American proletariat can be organized, educated, and agitated to the point of realizing and being capable of successfully enacting the necessity of overthrowing capitalism. This is not only a question of strategy and means that has been discussed many a time around the tables of communists or in the essays and articles of radicals, but also a crucial problem concerning the very livelihood of the revolutionary movement and those involved. It must be borne in mind that, regardless of what phrasemongering may be uttered by various comrades here and there, we are living in a time of definite systemic crisis and radical rupture of capitalism, and our actions and orientation must be suited accordingly to this state of conditions. It is

simply unpardonable to ignore or be "innocent" of seeing the conditions that we are facing, the statistics and facts of which can be found presented anywhere, even in the pages of the bourgeois press.

Unfortunately, however, there are comrades who, although they may recognize the realities of capitalism at hand, shut their eyes to the realities of socialism and revolution which are inseparable from the problems of capitalism and their solution. This tendency is distinguished by its proposal of petty reformist and revisionist distortions in place of genuinely radical theory and practice, and one of the gravest aspects of this tendency is its very position within the working class movement.

There is no use in hiding the fact that the greatest representatives of the reformist and revisionist tendency within the ranks of the proletarian movement are those who constitute the present leadership of the Communist Party USA, i.e., Sam Webb and co. This group, this organized tendency, is responsible for proudly and unabashedly asserting and suggesting numerous theses concerning the path and means by which to deal with the current situation of capitalism which are entirely irreconcilable with Marxism, proletarian revolution, and even the realities of capitalism. As Comrade Mark Anderson has pointed out in his article *The Old Bug of Right Opportunism Returns*, these include, but are not limited to the following:

1. "The capitalist system is not moribund, as Lenin said, but is relatively strong. It is not in general crisis.

Therefore, the U.S. party's strategy should be solely to win attainable reforms within the system rather than advocate capitalism's revolutionary replacement with socialism."

2. "Anti-monopoly strategy, let alone anti-capitalist propaganda, is too advanced for this stage of struggle, and the main focus should instead be on rebuffing the most extreme right and the Republican Party."

3. "Historically, socialism has shown itself to be unable to solve economic and social problems. Central planning is a failure; a market-oriented economy is the way to go. It's not even clear anymore what socialism is."

4. "The class struggle has ceased to be the central pivot around which all questions revolve."

5. "Racism and national oppression are gradually receding. It is no longer necessary to aggressively push for affirmative action."

6. "Issues of discrimination, anti-Semitism, and the struggle for the full equality of African Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Asian-Pacific and Arab Americans, LGBT, women, and youth no longer requires special attention. Party Commissions and special demands on these questions are unnecessary."

7. "The term "U.S. imperialism" is too simplistic. The U.S. government, especially under President Obama, can play a positive and humanitarian role in world politics. For this reason it is permissible for the U.S. military and NATO forces to occupy other nations like

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Iraq and Afghanistan, impose "democratic" reforms, and secure neoliberal economic advantages. Peace and solidarity work is therefore not as important as it once was."

8. "Electoral politics should be limited to work within the Democratic Party. Any attempt to go outside the two-party system is sectarian and futile. Running candidates on the Communist Party ticket is especially narrow and self-defeating."

9. "The CPUSA is bogged down by dogmatism, sectarianism and rigidity. Many of the stock slanders of the Party are indeed justified. It may not survive unless it abandons its outdated dogmas, including the dogma that it should play a leading, vanguard role."

10. "The Party should emulate social democracy and seek to merge with the broad left. The "Communist plus" should be given a quiet burial, and Marxist-Leninist education and literature (including a printed news paper) are relatively unimportant. Strong party organization is no longer necessary."

These notions, although perpetrated and implied in nearly every article or speech that the leadership puts forward, have yet to be presented in more of a concentrated and straightforward expression than in Sam Webb's *A Party of Socialism in the 21st Century: What It Looks Like, What It Says, and What It Does*. An unabashed rejection and condemnation of Marxism-Leninism, a manifesto for reformism and wholesale revisionism, and, above all, the guiding orientation of the Communist Party USA's present leadership and thus Party policy, Webb's essay is an unavoidable and undeniably significant document. The document is even further significant upon realizing its context in present conditions.

At such a time of glaringly evident and deep crisis of the global capitalist system, in the face of the looming environmental disaster facing humanity, and

in view of US imperialism's continued, vicious and violent onslaught against the peoples of the global south – one would think that at such a time, the leadership of the Communist Party USA would shoulder its revolutionary rifle and recognize its historic mission to organize the working class for revolutionary resistance and struggle against the world capitalist-imperialist offensive. Sam Webb, however, has proven that a very different view is at large within the Party's ranks, and, most unfortunately, among its leading figures. Indeed, few pronouncements have so shocked the American Left as has Sam Webb's *A Party of Socialism in the 21st Century: What It Looks Like, What It Says, and What It Does*.

In antagonism to Webb's theses and proposed orientation, there exists a revolutionary alternative. Rather than striving to cope with, accommodate and appease the more "progressive" spectrums of the capitalist-imperialist ruling class, this alternative believes in the pivotal conclusions reached by Marx and Lenin that have made Marxism-Leninism the scientifically deduced theory and practice of the emancipation of the world's exploited and oppressed people that has accumulated the blood, sweat, tears, triumphs and tribulations, and successes and failures of more than a hundred years of struggle.

This tendency, which very much may be the Bolshevik tendency of today (as opposed to the Menshevik tendency of Webb and co.), resolves that, in view of the existing conditions, we must not abandon but instead hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and, rather than ditch truly revolutionary politics, embrace them. The historic dilemma facing communists at the present juncture of history is one of either letting American capitalism continue its history, or, alternatively, beginning the history of American socialism. As has been said, the fundamental question of the

“What communists
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revolutionary Marxist agenda is the means by which the American proletariat can be organized, educated, and agitated to the point of realizing and being capable of successfully enacting the necessity of transforming bourgeois society and thus opening the road for such a socialist America. The way forward is clear: we communists must organize ourselves as the vanguard of working people and the revolution, we must develop a Party capable of educating, organizing, agitating, and leading working people and their allies in the collective struggle for socialism.

Presently, we are playing two ends against a middle in that we, in line with Party policy, are responsible for developing and maintaining a mass base of support by being activists in the struggle against the problems of capitalism, but at the same time we are allying with a “section” of the capitalists in power, the “progressive” Democrats, because they supposedly constitute a buffer against the forces of ultra-reaction, i.e., the far Right, and serve as a popular force in the interests of the “people” and “inclusive democracy”, as Sam Webb would put it. By perpetrating such a policy, however, communists the country over are fulfilling a self-destructive prophecy of dooming the proletarian movement under the guise of “reinvigorating” or “broadening” it. Under the present line, we are responsible for rallying the masses of people around the struggle against capitalism by means of joining and tail-ending forces which objectively bolster and support the capitalist system. The incongruity is glaringly evident. The lack of materialist class analysis is inexcusable.

Rather than mis-educating and misleading people in struggle in this manner, however, the Communist Party USA must be tasked with handling its historic mission of organizing the forces of revolution against those of reaction, with shouldering its task of educating, agitating, organizing, and leading working people against the reactionary forces of capitalism, whether or not they label themselves Democrat, or Republican, or Libertarian, etc.

A revolution is on the agenda when people can no longer go on living in the old way. Such a horizon is extremely close in view. We cannot pretend to know what exact day the people will be compelled to take to the streets and overthrow the current order, nor can we pretend to know the exact day on which the integuments of capitalism will burst asunder and revolution will be the only open door for humanity. What communists, what the Communist Party USA, should do, can do, and must do, however, is prepare cadres, educate, organize, and agitate working people, and

orient its work towards facing its historic mission of leading the American people in casting capitalism to the dustbin of history, and opening up, on the basis of socialism, prospects for humanity's sustainable and just development.

What is to be done? Where to begin?

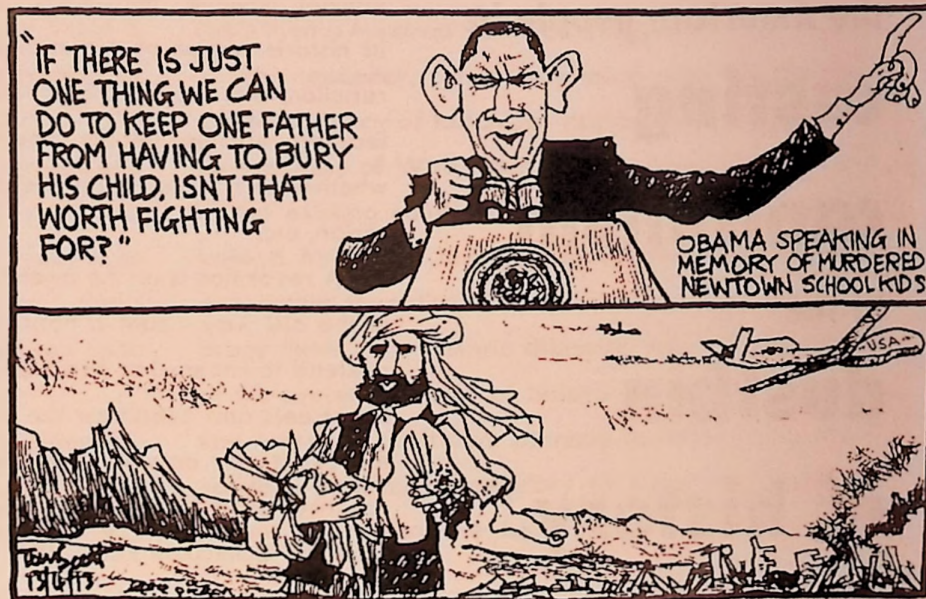
The Communist Party USA, as our Party of working and oppressed people, must be first and foremost revolutionized in its theory and practice.

As Lenin so presciently pointed out: "In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labor for capital, constantly thrust back to the "lower depths" of utter destitution, savagery, and degeneration, the proletariat can become an invincible force only through its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism being reinforced by the material unity of organization, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class." Neither the senile rule of the American imperialists nor the senescent rule of international capital will be able to withstand this army. The Communist Party USA must render itself such an organization which has the theoretical foresight, fighting capacity, and determination by which to wield millions of American workers into an army committed to overthrowing capitalism and bringing fruition to the adage that has been inscribed on the Party's banners for decades: "Peace, democracy, equality, socialism!" To this end, establishing the very organizational and ideological integrity which the Party currently lacks is an imperative matter.

Such is the guiding principle by which to begin to orient the struggle against the retrograde trends in the

Party and begin to push forward the struggle for the emancipation of working and oppressed people in the United States of America. It us up to communists around the country to realize these crucial realities of theory and practice, and contribute their lot to working out concrete methods and means of building a Communist Party which is not just interested in interpreting the world, but effectively changing it. Limiting ourselves as we currently are to tail-ending the Democratic Party, the trade unions, "progressive" politics, and so on is systematically sabotaging and impeding the development of what has rang essential since the days of the Communist Manifesto: "They [communists] openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." Working and oppressed people of all countries, unite!

Signed: Comrades J. Arnoldski, John Mackoviak, Anailise Spencer, Jim Byrne, and E.C. Tolentino of the Tucson Club of the CPUSA



LETTERS

Dear Editor:

A friend of mine recently showed me a copy of the keynote address by Sam Webb, national Chair of the CPUSA to a National Members Conference held in New York on April 27 & 28, 2013. What started out as a promising analysis of the problems of American workers turned out to be a big disappointment.

While Webb correctly identifies the symptoms of the capitalist cancer and its profoundly negative effect on the working class, he departs into an apology for the misdeeds of the Democratic party and suggests that it is the job of all communists to work with Democrats in some kind of 'progressive' alliance. He seems to forget that he is a member of the Communist party. Perhaps the name of the party should be changed to the Capitalist Party, USA!

Being a Marxist-Leninist in the XXIst century is not for the faint of heart.

I have to ask at this point, knowing what Mr. Webb knows with all his years in the communist movement, how can he reach the conclusions that he does? There are other left commentators that reach the same conclusions, but they are not communists. They get paid to write apologies for the system. They are not marginalized because the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie props them up! Shouldn't Mr. Webb get paid for his trouble? Perhaps by the FBI that has made it their sworn mission to destroy the Communist Party? Who better to do it than Mr. Webb as head of the party?

What is Webb's price? A free pass on the Metro? A new house? Unlimited airline miles? An expense account? This is exactly what happened in the USSR under Gorbachev. "And then by men we trusted, this land of ours was sold. They sold their friends to enemies as Judas did of old."

This is not the first time in the history of the

CPUSA that right revisionism has reared its ugly head. There was a dark period around 1945 when Earl Browder tried to take the opportunist road. It was only the intervention of great Comrades like William Z. Foster and Jacques Duclos that intervened to put the party back on a working class course, dismissing the bourgeois ideas of Browder and his followers. Later after the anti-communist Smith Act show trials, John Gates and his group tried to bring the CP closer to capitalism. This too was rejected by the party.

Mr. Webb says that "our role isn't to stand apart or declare ourselves the vanguard or show off our political pedigree or flaunt symbols and images from another era." Personally, I don't know of anyone that does this. This must be what Mr. Webb says to justify his abandonment of his communist Comrades. Why else would he say it? Why say something you know to be untrue? There are honest people on the left that do not accept its intellectual anti-communism.

I don't ask for much from communists, but I do ask them to be honest and to seek the truth when confronting the capitalist imperialist beast. It is only by standing with our fellow workers and expressing our proletarian internationalism with the working class in other countries by participating in a new world communist organization that we can defeat capitalism and imperialism. If that is old fashioned to Mr. Webb then so be it.

- H. Glocklin

From the Editor: *Hank, call us old-fashioned as well! The CPUSA's "progressive alliance" as the cheerleaders of the Imperialist Democratic Party has done nothing except to deceive and betray the Working Class whom we are supposed to be leading to liberation, not further enslavement, as well as alienate the International Communist Community with the Party's class-collaboration and tailism. Give us that old-time Marxism Leninism, it's good enough for me!*

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ideologicalfightback@gmail.com for consideration. - The Editorial Board



*John Brown, Leader of
Harpers' Ferry Uprising
"Tragic Prelude"
By John Steuart Curry*

A FAREWELL TO ARMS,

OR A WORKERS' UPRISING?

A Marxist-Leninist Position on Gun Control

By Daniel Lee

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Following the tragic Sandy Hook school shooting in December, the drum beat was raised by the reactionary bourgeois Democrats to politicize the shooting in order to push for increasing gun control measures, an attempt to revive the campaign they had started in July with the Aurora Colorado movie theater shooting. Newspaper polls proclaimed that "Over 50% of Americans favor banning assault weapons" and limiting magazine sizes. The President took to his "bully pulpit", calling for stricter gun control measures including universal background checks by the FBI.

In true Tailist fashion, a flurry of editorials and stories were published in the CPUSA national committee's mouthpiece, *People's World*. One editorial

piece titled "Guns, profits and Sandy Hook" started by opening with the need for the country to "get serious about regulating guns." It pontificates further, giving a perfunctory nod to universal health access as "a piece of the puzzle" to preventing the epidemic of gun violence. The editorial then issues a call for a "broad enough coalition to confront and curb those who profit from manufacturing and dealing in these individual weapons of mass destruction". It places the blame squarely on the gun lobbyists, and the corporations that profit from the sale of guns. The article ends finally in demanding a "Ban [of] assault weapons and high capacity bullet clips".

This article, which could have been written by any bourgeois Democrat or liberal group from Nancy Pelosi to Moveon.org, buys into the reactionary "liberal" approach of treating the symptom without curing the disease. Certainly those profiting off of the sale of weapons through the promotion of violence and racism must be made accountable for their ex-

plotation and oppression of our fellow workers – and let us not forget that the US Government is one of the largest gun runners in the world, fueling instability, murder, and genocide of the proletariat around the globe, a fact PW conveniently leaves out. The article fails to mention that nearly 2,000 civilians were wounded in our War of Imperialism in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq during the first six months of 2012. About 1,145 civilians were killed in that same time period, according to U.N. totals. James Holmes', Adam Lanza's, and other serial killers' crimes are dwarfed by this monstrosity in comparison, making the US government by far the most psychotic killer, still at large and



continuing to slaughter men, women and children by the thousands. These figures don't even take into account the hundreds of unarmed civilians slaughtered by uniformed bourgeois Police gangs across the country. Where is PW's outrage to this crime? Where is the demand to confiscate the government's guns?

Less than a month later, a document bearing the headline "A statement by the Communist Party USA" was emailed to CPUSA membership and email subscribers, as well as posted on its website and social media. The "statement", actually issued by the national committee, titled "The fight to curb gun violence is a working-class issue," comes out like an imperial edict or dictatorial decree. The "head honchos" have apparently forgotten the democratic processes the Party has in place for decision-making. It seems everything that comes from Sam Webb and his cronies are now considered infallible ex cathedra, and instantly becomes the official line of the party without discussion or room for dissent. Other instances of this include Webb's "unofficial" documents, such as "A Party of Socialism in the 21st Century: What It Looks Like, What It Says, and What It Does" which when it was published by Political Affairs carried the disclaimer – "The following article represents the views of its author alone. It doesn't necessarily reflect the

official views of any organization or collective." – but somehow became set in stone, bronzed and lacquered, embossed and covered in gold leaf as the Official Party Line, and any member who has spoken out against it since has been labeled "anti-party", "ultra-leftist", and "does not represent any part of the Communist Party USA". Those of us who point out

its blatant revisionism are immediately accused of "name-calling" and being "dogmatic". With this latest statement however, there is not even the pretext of democracy. Any dissent or differences of view are not only considered to be in violation of "Democratic Centralism", but according to this statement, are "supporting the

enemies of America's working people."

Moving on to the actual text of the message, however, shows it to be a thinly-veiled attempt to link gun ownership to:

- Union busting
- "Attacking...Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security"
- Working to cut and privatize public education
- "Seek[ing] to slash accessible and affordable health care"
- "Oppos[ing] President Obama's stimulus program to create millions of jobs and rebuild infrastructure"
- "Promot[ing] racism and attacks on the rights of women, immigrants, gays and lesbians.
- "Climate-change deniers who are backed by the fossil fuel industry."

Did they miss anything? It seems that having a gun is apparently the Original Sin which caused the fall of man! This ridiculous logical fallacy of "guilt by association" is not only intellectually dishonest by even an elementary schoolchild's standards, but shows the desperation of the Webb faction to scare the membership into following their every utterance blindly, which is in complete disregard for the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and over 150 years of

revolutionary Marxist history.

They point to the second amendment as having been "adopted to enable the new American republic, lacking a standing army or state national guards, to muster militia to put down domestic uprisings and repulse any attempted return by the British. Which is what it did in repressing slave revolts, Native Americans, and poor farmers during Shay's Rebellion." Should I also point out that it was guns which enabled the champions of the people to rise up and defend themselves, their families, and the oppressed, such as John Brown's Rebellion in 1859, whose actions brought to the forefront of the American consciousness the need to abolish slavery?

Shay's Rebellion itself in 1786 was an armed uprising led by trained ex-Army officers who attempted to seize an armory for the purpose of securing more, you guessed it, weapons—hardly the "nonviolent mass organization" of poor farmers the Webbitses claim them to be. Thomas Jefferson himself, in reference to the rebellion in a letter to James Madison said "I hold it that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical. Unsuccessful rebellions, indeed, generally establish the encroachments on the rights of the people which have produced them. An observation of this truth should render honest republican governors so mild in their punishment of rebellions as not to discourage them too much. It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government", and "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure."[i]

Native Americans also have been known to use guns to defend themselves and their people against an Imperialist US government. In fact, had they not

used "military-grade" weaponry, they would have all been obliterated long ago.

From the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 to the Wounded Knee incident in 1973, Native Americans have needed weapons to defend themselves against Federal and State "democratic" governments who have ordered their murders, the abduction of their children, and the genocide of their peoples and culture.

Union workers for over a century have had to be armed to protect themselves against strike-breakers and police forces that brutalize and murder their comrades and their families. The Ludlow Mine Massacre did not happen because a group of miners sat down and sang "Kumbayah" — but rather because the miners dared to defend themselves against attack, and held off the strike breakers' thugs and National Guard goons for months, before they were finally massacred in the spring of 1914. However, their deaths paved the way for many of the workers' rights we have today. The Black Panther Party is famously known for exercising their second amendment rights and carrying weapons to



demonstrate their ability to defend their rights. In fact, it is their "bearing of arms" which caused the NRA and the KKK to support stricter gun control laws! The Deacons for Defense and Justice were another African American civil rights and defense organization which were armed during the 1960's throughout the South. While many do not remember them today, the Deacons were instrumental in protecting African American communities from brutal repression not only from the Klan, but also the US government. According to Robert Hicks, a former civil rights leader and activist in the Louisiana chapter of the Deacons for Defense and Justice:

"The Klan would drive through our neighbor-

hood shooting at us, shooting into our homes, and the police wouldn't help. The black men in the community wouldn't stand for it. You shoot at us, we shoot back at you. I'm convinced that without our guns, my family and many other black people would not be alive today."

Of course, the reformist milksops cry, those armed uprisings and rebellions were unsuccessful! They did not succeed in their aims, and the participants were killed or imprisoned. Even the Deacons were investigated intensely by the FBI, who cared nothing about the violence the black community faced from the KKK. However, just because a particular uprising is not successful, it does not mean that it was wrong. Rosa Luxemburg led the workers in the Spartacist Uprising in 1919. Was she wrong for doing so because the Social-Democrat government brutally murdered her and the other workers? Even the Russian Revolution took over 20 years of agitation and unsuccessful

uprisings which resulted in hundreds of deaths for the workers to successfully overthrow the Czar, and then, it took one more revolution for the Bolsheviks to overthrow the "democratically elected" bourgeois government and establish the worker's Soviet state. Did they accomplish this by peaceful, "nonviolent mass organization"? No! It took the sacrifice of many for the rest of the workers to rise up as they saw their sons, daughters, mothers and fathers, neighbors and friends bravely fighting and dying to liberate their fellow workers. Even the icons these Social Democrat pacifists hold up as models of "nonviolent revolution," such as Martin Luther King, are remembered today as being successful only because of the efforts of many others who were willing to go to any lengths necessary to fight for their cause.

Flying in the face of these truly revolutionary ex-

amples, the Webb faction thunders condemnation at those of us who honor the sacrifices of workers past and seek to chart a course in their example –

"And we want to make this clear: Personal possession of weaponry is not a revolutionary means to change the system in our country in the 21st century, as some self-proclaimed "revolutionaries" and some extreme right wingers claim. The great social changes that have transformed our society in the modern era have come about through the nonviolent mass organization and struggles of the American people. In unity there is strength. This is the way forward to progressive change as well as the path to achieve more basic transformation – a socialist society that

is deeply democratic, egalitarian, and at peace with the world."

These outright lies are not only a complete repudiation of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles, but do a grave disservice to all those who fought



and died for workers freedoms here in the US and around the world. Standing in sharp contrast are the very words of the Communist Manifesto –

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

As Marxist-Leninists, we must approach the issue of gun control as we do any other issue – under the scientific principles of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and practice. We affirm first and foremost the absolute supremacy of the interests of the working class, and the necessity of revolution for the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat to complete-

ly overthrow the oppression of the bourgeois state and its minions. When we talk about gun ownership then, we must talk about the rights of the workers to bear arms. One way or another, the bourgeois will exert their will through force either directly or indirectly, and usually through the cats-paw of the government and its military and police institutions to repress the working class and protect their own property interests. How then shall the workers protect their interests? As Marx writes,

"The arming of the whole proletariat with rifles, guns, and ammunition should be carried out at once [and] the workers must ... organize themselves into an independent guard, with their own chiefs and general staff. ... [The aim is] that the bourgeois democratic Government not only immediately loses all backing among the workers, but from the commencement finds itself under the supervision and threats of authorities behind whom stands the entire mass of the working class. ... As soon as the new Government is established they will commence to fight the workers. In order that this party (i.e., the democrats) whose betrayal of the workers will begin with the first hour of victory, should be frustrated in its nefarious work, it is necessary to organize and arm the proletariat." – Karl Marx, Address to the Communist League (1850)

This quote sounds as if it were written for the times we are facing today! However, Dialectical Materialism teaches us that the issues and struggles of history are cyclical, and though taking new forms, at the heart of the struggle remains the eternal war for class dominance.

Moving forward to Lenin, the great leader of the October Revolution in Russia, we see that he too advocated arming the workers:

"The minimum programme of the Social-Democrats calls for the replacement of the standing army by a universal arming of the people. Most of the official Social-Democrats in Europe and most of our own Menshevik leaders, however, have "forgotten" or put aside the Party's programme, substituting chauvinism ("defencism") for interna-

tionalism, reformism for revolutionary tactics.

Yet now of all times, at the present revolutionary moment, it is most urgent and essential that there be a universal arming of the people. To assert that, while we have a revolutionary army, there is no need to arm the proletariat, or that there would "not be enough" arms to go round, is mere deception and trickery. The thing is to begin organizing a universal militia straight away, so that everyone should learn the use of arms even if there is "not enough" to go round, for it is not at all necessary that the people have enough weapons to arm everybody. The people must learn, one and all, how to use arms, they must belong, one and all, to the militia which is to replace the police and the standing army.

The workers do not want an army standing apart from the people; what they want is that the workers and soldiers should merge into a single militia consisting of all the people." – A Proletarian Militia by VI Lenin

Comrade Stalin, the fierce defender of the fledgling workers' Soviet democracy and the Champion against Nazi aggression, said that the **"most important countermeasure against counterrevolution is the arming of the workers and peasants."**

Finally, from the writings of the revered leader and liberator of the Chinese people, Mao Zedong, we find this important commentary on the role of the Red Army: **"The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations."**

Certainly, each statement above applies to a particular instance in time at that particular stage of revolution in each writer's respective countries. However, the principle remains the same. The workers must be made able to protect and defend them-

selves. In some cases, such as in 1916 Russia, the bourgeois were even willing to finance a workers militia – to protect their own interests – which Lenin said should be paid for by the bourgeoisie, but that the militia must above all protect the workers both from external threats, and from the bourgeois within the gates.

At this point in time, the bourgeois state is not in a state of flux which would necessitate them calling upon the workers to form militias – in fact, such a thing is considered a threat to the Imperialist State's hegemonic domination. Thus we can expect no checks to be coming in the mail from the rich for the funding of workers' protection. However, we must still encourage the exercising of such rights still granted to all people by the Bourgeoisie state for the protection of the working class and minorities. We can take a lesson from the Black Panthers, who encouraged black communities to arm and protect themselves instead of relying on the unpre-

dictable and brutal police forces and judicial system for protection. We can encourage the formation of community defense groups which are founded along class lines, upholding and protecting the rights of oppressed minorities. We can encourage and sponsor gun safety training, and work to create the best conditions possible for working class neighborhoods to protect themselves. We can encourage organized labor to stand together in solidarity to help protect the schools and surrounding communities, creating a "thin red line" of our own which acts as a deterrent against crimes from any source. And in the center must be the party, directing, protecting, and organizing the workers defense. Lenin would do no less.

[1] The results of Shay's rebellion, which though it was put down, influenced the adoption of the US Constitution and the necessity for a Bill of Rights to protect people (at the time, white male property owners) against undue encroachment from the government on personal liberties – including gun ownership.

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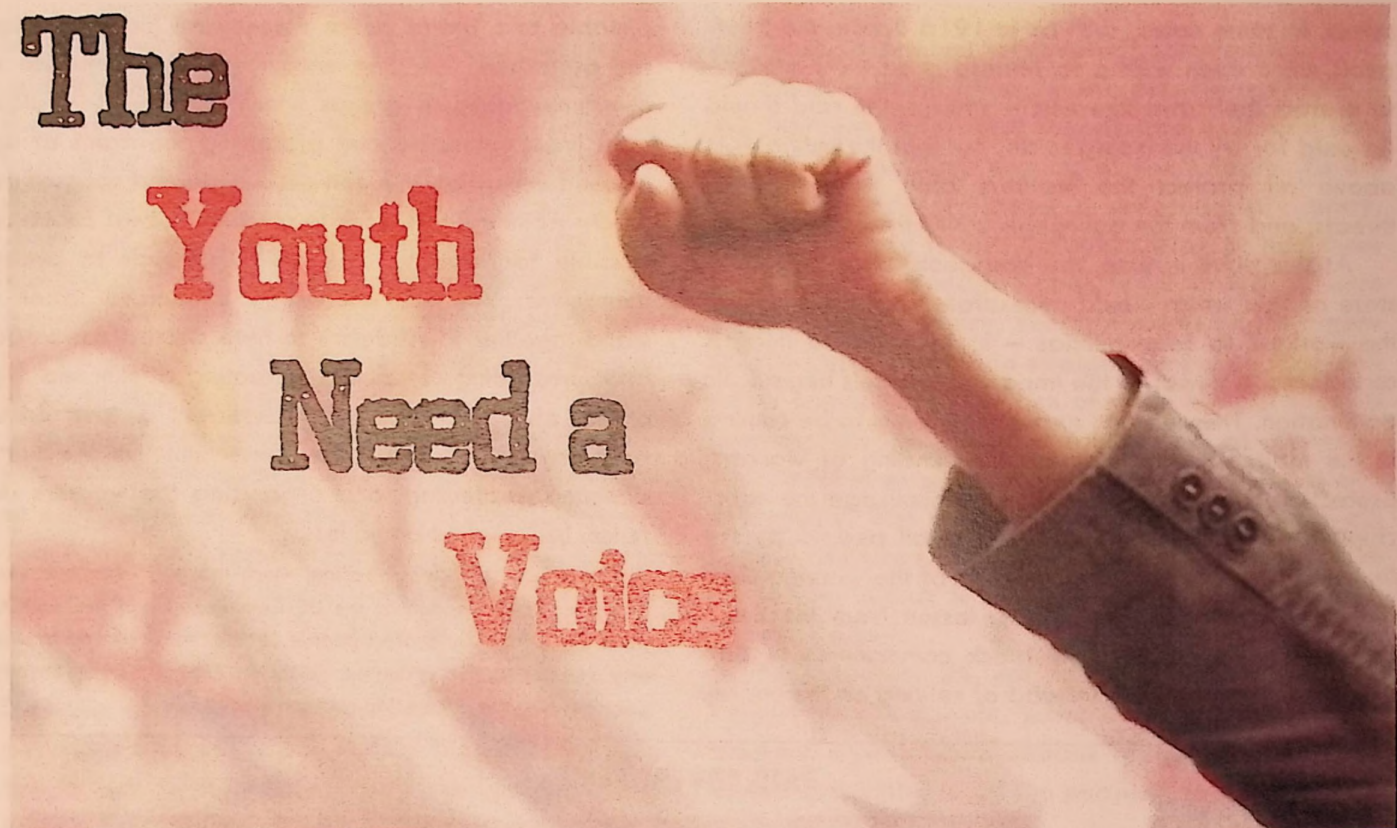


The Communist Party of Oklahoma has been reformed. For over one-hundred years, the socialist tradition has been kept alive in America's heartland. Before the Russian Revolution, before the Red Scares and the Cold War, Oklahomans flew the red banner and rallied together around Oklahoma's state motto, "Labor Omnia Vincit" (Labor Conquers All). Today, as our country has been racked by senseless wars, corporate swindles, and the sell-out of government to multinational private conglomerates, Oklahomans are once again uniting together as a

class - the Working Class - who are tired of living a poor man's life in a rich man's world. The Communist Party of America, founded in 1919, was formed to be the militant vanguard party of the workers, firmly rooted in the revolutionary science of Marxism Leninism. The Communist Party of Oklahoma is proud to uphold that tradition, standing against all forms of revisionism and class collaboration, and is once again organizing working people to create a society free from oppression, poverty, and exploitation, a true workers democracy .

The Communist Party of Oklahoma

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The Youth Need a Voice

By James Herrmann,

Founding Member of the League of Young Communists, USA

"It is all the more necessary to dwell on this question because in a certain sense it may be said that it is the youth that will be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society. For it is clear that the generation of working people brought up in capitalist society can, at best, accomplish the task of destroying the foundations of the old, the capitalist way of life, which was built on exploitation. At best it will be able to accomplish the tasks of creating a social system that will help the proletariat and the working classes retain power and lay a firm foundation, which can be built on only by a generation that is starting to work under the new conditions, in a situation in which relations based on the exploitation of man by man no longer exist." —V.I. Lenin, the Tasks of the Youth Leagues

The American communist movement has forgotten the importance of organizing the youth.

In the past, the Young Communists League USA (YCL) has had national organizers and coordinators who

would lead to the reinstatement of actual Marxism-Leninism in their organizations' ideological lines, which would rekindle growth in the youth movement. As young people, we can bring real change. We have the potential to build a powerful movement that's full of revolutionary vigor and potency. Revolutionary groups like the Black Panther Party set up Liberation Schools (the most famous of which was the Oakland Community School) to provide quality education to black youth, and recognized the importance of the youth in promoting socialism and revolutionary politics. The CPUSA also once understood the importance of the young people in the class struggle, and set up organizations like the Young Workers Liberation League and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America in an attempt to organize the youth. In the past 15 years however, there has been a sharp decline in youth organizing by Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties.

With the absence of an active and vibrant youth organization, the growth of the Marxist-Leninist move-

ment has stagnated. While imperialism and capitalism becomes more aggressive, and class contradictions among the people heighten, the party has become less diverse, and is out of touch with working class young people. The paltry YCL that does exist is a shadow of its former self, crippled by nepotism and given no voice by the rest of the party, its revolutionary fires smothered by revisionist functionaries and lack of even the most basic ideological training.

The aim of the bourgeoisie is to effectively pacify the youth, having learned how to dissipate and squander radical movements that can bring about real change from their experience with the radical movement in the 1960's through the 1970's. The youth, for the first time in U.S. history, had taken a place in politics and asserted themselves as opponents of capitalism and American Imperialism. What happened to the radical movement, and the youth movements that were a product of that? The bourgeoisie learned how to distract them from politics and the contradictions that face society. Young people are taught that they won't have a voice until they're older; that their opinions don't matter and should be negated because they are "inexperienced" and "don't know what's good for them". These ideas, the idea that young people aren't important, is reactionary and needs to be fought. We, the younger generations, have the power to change history, to smash the system that murders and oppresses millions. It is not up to just the older generations; the older comrades are not the only ones who can change the status quo.

While imperialism continues to act against progressive and anti-Imperialist regimes like that in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Cuba and while young people are fed lies about Marxism-Leninism, we must stand up and counter those lies and propaganda with strong and effective organizing and education. We as young people need to learn about the crimes of imperialism and colonialism, and we need to organize our generation in the revolutionary class struggle for socialism and equality.

To answer this need, we, the youth involved in the National Council of Communists, are forming a new radi-

cal youth organization – the League of Young Communists (LYC). The League of Young Communists will organize the youth into an educated, disciplined, radical organization that is dedicated to promoting Marxism-Leninism and creating a new generation of cadre for the communist movement. It is the workers who build this country, and it is their children who will continue to build it. Those who are capable of bringing change need an organization, those who have the ability to unite against oppression should, and the proletarian movement will not grow without a youth movement. The youth need a voice, and the League of Young Communists will be that voice.



To Join us, contact the LYC at:

Email: lyc4usa@gmail.com



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CAPITALISM IN

CRISIS

By George Greene

Workers Communist Organization

The bourgeois media all claim that the crisis that began in 2008 is over, because production (and more importantly profits) are increasing. But as most working people know, unemployment, officially at 7.5% (closer to 25% in reality — Ed.), is still high, and the few jobs that are being created are mainly in the low-paid service sector. But there is almost no discussion of the causes of these crisis. This is the subject of this article.

As long as production, which is social in nature (many workers cooperating to produce a product, whether an automobile or a Big Mac), but appropriation (who gets the money — the capitalists) is private, it is not possible to do away with crises. Under capitalism, the main goal of production is profit. Under socialism, the main goal is securing the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society.

These are no mere words. In the U.S., during the Great Depression that began in 1929, the official unemployment rate rose to over 20%. Similar or even



worse conditions prevailed throughout the rest of the capitalist world. But in the same period, the socialist Soviet Union began to institute a planned economy, with the first of the five-year plans beginning in 1928. Mass production industries were built and unemployment was eliminated. Within a decade, the Soviet Union became the second greatest industrial power in the world.

Under socialism, the rising productivity of labor is used for the benefit of all. When people's basic necessities

have been provided for, it will also be possible to reduce the workweek from 40 hours to 30 hours or less, without any loss in purchasing power. To achieve socialism, the workers must first take state power into their own hands and away from the capitalists. Only then can they take over the basic industries, banks and all means of production and put them in the hands of the workers' state. In this way it will be possible to organize planned, socialist production to meet the needs of the people, doing away with crises once and for all.

A Cyclical Crisis of Overproduction

Capitalist crises are first of all crises of overproduction. This does not mean that more goods are produced than people need, but that more goods are produced than working people, with their limited incomes, can afford. Under capitalism, independent producers compete with each other to get the largest share of the market. At the same time, the great mass of the people are workers, who labor for the capitalists but receive only enough in wages to pay for their basic living expenses so that they can return to work the next day. The extra value that they produce over and above their wages goes to the capitalists as surplus value. If initially the products of the capitalists can all be sold, the capitalists take part of the surplus value and reinvest it in new machinery, increasing the productivity of labor. Now, more commodities can be produced with the same number or fewer workers, and they cannot buy the larger quantity of commodities produced.

Let us take an actual example, from the motor vehicle industry, historically a key industry in the U.S. economy. In 1996, there were some 11,830,000 motor vehicles (cars and trucks) produced in the U.S. By 1999, this number rose to 13,025,000, an increase of 10%. However, the number of motor vehicle workers rose from 1,240,300 to 1,312,600, an increase of only 6%. Since 1999, the number of motor vehicles produced has fallen to 8,655,000 in 2011, a fall of 34%. But the number of workers has fallen to 716,900, a decrease of 45%. So both in this period of crisis and "post-crisis," the number of workers has

decreased faster than the decrease in production, as the capitalists have increased productivity to get rid of workers. That is why unemployment is still high even though production has increased.

Of course, cars are bought not only by auto workers, but by all classes of people: workers, petty bourgeois ("middle class") people and capitalists. But in this scenario, only the capitalists in the auto and other industries have more money, and they do not need that many more cars. There is thus a glut in the auto industry. But in an industry as important as auto, if there is a glut and cars can only be sold at lower prices or not at all, this causes a similar glut in steel, glass, rubber, etc., and leads to an overall crisis of overproduction.

These crises have taken place on the average every 10 years since 1825. In the last decades, the capitalists have relied on credit to artificially increase demand. The current crisis began in the housing market, in which credit was extended through sub-prime mortgages to expand home purchases at rising interest rates to low-income workers, disproportionately Black and Latino. Thus more homes, both newly constructed and old homes, were made available to workers who in the long run were unable to pay for them. When large numbers of people were unable make payments on their mortgages, this caused a run on the banks, not only the banks directly involved, but other banks and financial agencies that lent money to these banks. Big financial institutions such as Lehman Bros. and Bear Stearns went bankrupt.

Thus what began as an overproduction crisis in housing, pushed on by speculation (which must be left for a future article), became a financial crisis, which soon spread to the whole economy. The Federal government stepped in with their rescue plan to prevent the whole banking system from collapsing. But instead of providing, for example, interest-free long-term loans to people unable to make payments on their mortgages, hundreds of billions of dollars were turned over to the banks that caused the crisis in the first place. This saved the banks but did nothing for the working people. Now we are being asked to pay the

Rank	Bank	Country	Total Assets (US \$bil)
1	Deutsche Bank	Germany	2,810
2	Mitsubishi UFJ Financial Group	Japan	2,803
3	Industrial & Commercial Bank of China	China	2,764
4	HSBC Holdings	UK	2,721
5	Barclays PLC	UK	2,584
6	BNP Paribas	France	2,563
7	Japan Post Bank	Japan	2,513
8	JPMorgan Chase & Co.	USA	2,321
9	Credit Agricole SA	France	2,317
10	Royal Bank of Scotland Group	UK	2,225

deficit that has been caused in part by the bailouts.

As Karl Marx said: "The ultimate reason for all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as opposed to the drive of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as though only the absolute consuming power of society constituted their limit." (Capital, Vol. III, Chapter 30.)

The General Crisis of Capitalism

This crisis is combined with the general crisis of capitalism. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the big capitalist countries have developed into monopoly capitalism, imperialism. The monopolies merge with the banks to form finance capital. The export of capital takes precedence over the export of commodities. One of the main features of imperialism is that the whole world is divided economically and politically among the big powers. (This is true even though most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are no longer officially colonies, but they are still dependent economically on the big powers.) Because of this the imperialist countries can only expand by encroaching

on the colonies and dependencies of their rivals. Imperialism got a temporary breathing spell with the downfall of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This led to expansion by the U.S. and European Union into the markets of these new areas. But now Russia and China have become the chief rivals of U.S. imperialism. This rivalry can lead to a new world war.

Militarily the U.S. is the world's only superpower. It has bases in over 150 countries overseas, with 174,000 troops stationed there. In the last decade alone, it has fought and is still fighting two major wars, in Afghanistan and Iraq. Together with its NATO allies, it bombed Libya, causing unprecedented destruction and leading to the overthrow and brutal murder of Muammar Gaddafi. It is threatening Syria and Iran. And it is making preparations to deal with its major long-term rival, China.

However, economically the U.S. is an imperialist country in decline. Only 1 out of the top 10 banks in the world is headquartered in the U.S. (J.P. Morgan Chase, with assets of over \$2.3 trillion); the others are from Germany, Japan, China, Britain and France, and only 6 out of the top 53 banks are from the U.S.

If we once again look at auto production, while in 1992 U.S. companies made 78% of cars produced in the U.S., by 2011 that figure fell to only 47%. They were pushed out mainly by Japanese companies with plants in the U.S. In Mexico, one of the main developing countries dependent on the U.S., the percent of cars produced by U.S. companies in the same years, 1992 to 2011, declined from 62% to 37%, pushed out by German and Japanese manufacturers. When China produces "world class" cars for export, the percent of sales by U.S. companies (not just within the U.S. but to countries to which U.S. exports) will decline further. In 2009, for the first time China produced more

motor vehicles than the U.S. (9,233,000 to 8,673,000). By 2011, China had already produced more than twice as many motor vehicles as the U.S. (18,419,000 to 8,655,000). No wonder the U.S. considers China its main competitor.

This is why the U.S. has begun its Trans-Pacific Partnership, referred to as "NAFTA on steroids." It is trying to unite its historic allies and other countries in the Pacific region to isolate China. It is shifting military forces to the Pacific region. Imperialism has nothing to provide the working people except crises, fascism, wars and preparations for wars.

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SOCIAL DEMOCRACY



AT THE **SERVICE** OF THE RULING CLASSES

THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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Revisionism, a historical phenomenon hostile to Marxism.

Since the birth of the labour movement to this day, an intense struggle between two tendencies has been waged within the movement: the revolutionary one and the opportunist one. Over the history, opportunism has adopted different and numerous expressions, disguised under forms of "left wing" and right wing. This article deals with the right wing opportunism or revisionism, initial source of the political current that is nowadays known as social-democracy, whose nature mutated along the twentieth century, from being a current of the labour movement to a political movement which is an uncompromising defender and the

essential pillar of monopoly capitalism.

Revisionism emerged in the late nineteenth century when, after the passing away of Frederick Engels, open warfare broke out within the socialist movement led by the German Eduard Bernstein whose maxim "the movement is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing"¹ became the banner of the followers of the revisionist theory and its political practice, reformism. Lenin would argue about it:

"This catch-phrase of Bernstein's expresses the substance of revisionism better than many long disquisitions. To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the proletariat and the basic fea-

tures of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment—such is the policy of revisionism. And it patently follows from the very nature of this policy that it may assume an infinite variety of forms, and that every more or less “new” question, every more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, even though it change the basic line of development only to an insignificant degree and only for the briefest period, will always inevitably give rise to one variety of revisionism or another.”²

Revisionism, claiming that the socio-economic conditions had changed radically, expressed itself as a current openly hostile to Marxism, rejecting the basic postulates of Marxist science:

In the sphere of philosophy, it denied its partisan and class character, being in tow of the bourgeois “science” and dragging along after the “neo-Kantian” thinkers.³

In economic terms, it denied the theory of value, the law of capitalist accumulation and the law of absolute and relative impoverishment of the proletariat in the new conditions of capitalism. It was said that concentration and the ousting of small-scale production by large-scale production does not occur in agriculture at all. They defended the idea that the process of concentration of ownership proceeded very slowly in commerce and industry. They expressed the view that the big capitalist companies would end the anarchy of production and therefore reduce automatically the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.⁴

In the sphere of politics, revisionism sought to review what actually constitutes the basis of Marxism: the theory of class struggle. Political freedom, democracy and universal suffrage remove the ground for the class struggle—we were told by the revisionists—. For, they said, since the “will of the majority” prevails

in a democracy, one must neither regard the state as an organ of class rule, nor reject alliances with the progressive, social-reform bourgeoisie against the reactionaries.⁵

For Lenin, revisionism—revision of Marxism—was one of the chief manifestations, if not the chief, of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and bourgeois corruption of the workers.⁶ In his work *The Collapse of the Second International*, he gave the following definition of opportunism:

“Opportunism means sacrificing the fundamental interests of the masses to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers or, in other words, an alliance between a section of the workers and the bourgeoisie, directed against the mass of the proletariat.”⁷

Right-wing opportunism... distorts the revolutionary character of the workers' party, deviating it from its main objective: the destruction of the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie.

The fact is that ideology is the reflection, in the consciousness of human beings, of the objectively existing social conditions, and mainly a reflection of the prevailing production relations. Thus, from the Leninist view, the historical roots of the revisionist phenomenon and its class nature are highlighted:

“In every capitalist country, side by side with the proletariat, there are always broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors. Capitalism arose and is constantly arising out of small production. A number of new “middle strata” are inevitably brought into existence again and again by capitalism (...) These new small producers are just as inevitably being cast again into the ranks of the proletariat. It is quite natural that the petty-bourgeois world-outlook should again and again crop up in the ranks of the broad workers' parties. It is quite natural that this should be so and always will be so, right up to the changes of fortune that will take place in the proletarian revolution.”⁸

In short, Marxism-Leninism emphasizes three essential particularities of right-wing opportunism or revisionism:

- I. Revisionism is an international phenomenon, being a social product of a particular historical epoch.
- II. Revisionism regularly appears in the workers' parties, given the cyclical nature of capitalist development, and it can adopt diverse forms.
- III. Right-wing opportunism, in reviewing the basic postulates of Marxism, distorts the revolutionary character of the workers' party, deviating it from its main objective: the destruction of the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie.⁹

Faced with the reformist political practice that stems from the revisionists theoretical standpoints, Lenin argued that the bourgeoisie grant reforms with one hand, and with the other always take them back, reduce them to naught, use them to enslave the workers, to divide them into separate groups and perpetuate wage-slavery. For that reason reformism, even when quite sincere, in practice becomes a weapon by means of which the bourgeoisie corrupt and weaken the workers. The experience of all countries shows that the workers who put their trust in the reformists are always fooled.¹⁰

The bankruptcy of the Second International, Social-Democracy and the imperialist war.

Most of the Second International parties consummated their bankruptcy by betraying the resolutions of the Congress of Basel (1912), in which social-democratic parties had established its position opposing the forthcoming imperialist war and calling the world proletariat to actively fight against its triggering. However, on August 4th, 1914, the German and French social-democrats voted in their respective parliaments for the war credits, in favour of the imperialist war and became part of the governments of their countries, as later did the British and Belgian social-democrats, thus obtaining the trust of the bourgeoisie for the manage-

ment of capitalism and thus changing from opportunist workers' parties to bourgeois parties.

Most parties previously grouped in the Second International suffered its first major historical mutation, transforming from socialist workers' parties, in which lived together in hard struggle the revolutionary and the opportunist trends, into national-liberal workers' parties, thus popping the International, inside which opportunism had gained strength during the relatively peaceful development of capitalism period between 1871 and 1914, into a thousand pieces.

In the midst of World War, Lenin deepened in his characterization of opportunism. He defined as the economic base of chauvinism and opportunism the alliance between a few upper layers of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie – who took advantage of the crumbs from the privileges of "their" national capital - against the proletarian masses, against the working masses. He revealed that the old division of the socialists in the opportunist and revolutionary trends, typical of the era of the Second International (1889-1914), corresponded with the new division of chauvinists and internationalists. Advocacy of class collaboration; abandon-

ment of the idea of socialist revolution and revolutionary methods of struggle; adaptation to bourgeois nationalism; losing sight of the fact that the borderlines of nationality and country are historically transient; making a fetish of bourgeois legality; renunciation of the class viewpoint and the class struggle, for fear of repelling the "broad masses of the population" (meaning the petty bourgeoisie)—such, doubtlessly, are the ideological foundations of opportunism.¹¹ Starting from the point that opportunism is not the result of chance, nor a sin, a slip or a betrayal of a group of isolated individuals, Lenin said that it was the social product of an entire historical epoch, also



expressing its class character:

"The epoch of imperialism is one in which the world is divided among the "great" privileged nations that oppress all other nations. Morsels of the loot obtained as a result of these privileges and this oppression undoubtedly fall to the share of certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie and to the working-class aristocracy and bureaucracy. These strata, which form an insignificant minority of the proletariat and of the toiling masses, gravitate towards "Struivism", because it provides them with a justification of their alliance with their "own" national bourgeoisie, against the oppressed masses of all nations."¹²

"Opportunism was engendered in the course of decades by the special features in the period of the development of capitalism, when the comparatively peaceful and cultured life of a stratum of privileged workingmen "bourgeoisified" them, gave them crumbs from the table of their national capitalists, and isolated them from the suffering, misery and revolutionary temper of the impoverished and ruined masses."¹³

Thus, the specific role of the labour aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy in the general framework of the class struggle of the imperialist epoch became clear. This analysis currently retains full relevance today.

For Lenin, the first World War marked a fundamental shift in History as it became impossible to continue having the same attitude towards opportunism than in the previous period. It was impossible to deny the fact that at the time of crisis the opportunists had deserted the workers' parties and had gone to the camp of the bourgeoisie.

"An entire social stratum, consisting of parliamentarians, journalists, labour officials, privileged office per-

sonnel, and certain strata of the proletariat, has sprung up and has become amalgamated with its own national bourgeoisie, which has proved fully capable of appreciating and 'adapting' it."¹⁴

Therefore, it was time to come into action:

"The course of history cannot be turned back or checked—we can and must go fearlessly onward, from the preparatory legal working-class organisations, which are in the grip of opportunism, to revolutionary organisations that know how not to confine

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themselves to legality and are capable of safeguarding themselves against opportunist treachery, organisations of a proletariat that is beginning a "struggle for power", a struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."¹⁵

It had been shown that, in the era of imperialism, the old theory that said that opportunism is a "legitimate nuance" in a workers' party should be discarded, because it had become the biggest obstacle for the revolutionary development of the labour movement.

The Second International had died, defeated by opportunism, the Third International had before it the task of organizing the forces of the proletariat for the revolutionary offensive against the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for the political power and the victory of socialism.

The final mutation of the social-democracy after the Second World War.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 the division in three wings was consolidated: the right-wing, which had become a bourgeois party and was represented by the revisionists, the left-wing, represented by the communists with the Bolsheviks at the forefront, and the centrist wing, formally Marxist and adapted in practice to opportunism,

claiming to seek unity and peace in the party. The centrist sector was led by Kaustky, who devoted his theoretical efforts to attack the October Revolution, accusing the Bolsheviks of ignoring the limits of the productive forces of Russia and, ultimately, describing the revolution as an aberration.

In the period between the First and Second World War, the centrist sectors dominated the Second International, enacting formally "revolutionary" and "Marxist" resolutions and but yielding in practice to the demands of right wing which, thus, strengthened itself to the point of forcing the involvement of social-democracy in bourgeois governments in many cases.

From this ministerial involvement in various countries - Britain, France, Germany, etc. - arise some issues that raise no doubts about the leap made by the social-democracy, from a reformist position, but a working class one, into a bourgeois position, between liberals and communism. Since the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht to the anti-labour economic measures applied as a result of the capitalist crisis of 1929, all reveals the true nature of social-democracy as a bourgeois party in charge of conducting the class conciliation in order to try to prevent and contain the revolutionary outbreak, opposing the development of the communist movement..

The shameful role of social-democracy during the rise of fascism, its refusal to compromise with the Third International and its petty-bourgeois vacillation in key moments of the class struggle, are key elements to understand how fascism came to take the State apparatus with relative ease in different countries. Their confidence in the legal methods, their rotten liberalism, proved that social-democracy had become a defender of capitalism, making difficult the development of the policy of united front of the Communist International.¹⁶

The most blatant and definitive mutation of social-democracy takes place after the Second World War. The victory over Nazi-fascism, the successes in the construction of socialism in the USSR, the global extension of the socialist bloc to a number of countries, the development of the contradictions in the capitalist countries of Western Europe as a result of the destruction of productive forces operated in the war, the reduction of the material basis of capitalism and the enormous prestige of the international communist movement among the working masses of the West, were factors that were driving imperialism to a dead end. Social-democracy, hand in hand with its bourgeois masters, again finds its place in an attempt to

neutralize the class struggle. Many social-democrat leaders in exile came in close contact with Anglo-American imperialists, setting up what would be the order following the defeat of Nazi-fascism in countries like Italy, Germany, France, Sweden, Norway, etc.¹⁷

The Frankfurt Congress, which established the Socialist International, takes place in 1951, and in 1959 the so-called Bad Godesberg Programme sets in writing the political positions of social-democracy in the largest and most influential party

of this trend, the German SPD, which would determine the programs of the other parties and their reconstituted International.

That program formally abandons the reference to Marxism and places itself next to the "Christian ethics" and "humanism", even without naming them. The times when the social-democracy needed to wear the Marxist label to fight the communist movement had passed. From that moment the struggle is an open one against Marxism itself. In the field of the class struggle, the workers' struggle is subsumed within the struggle for "more democracy", as the ultimate goal of the "democratic socialism", whose horizons were vague and refer to economic factors that do not ex-



ceed the level of liberal reformism, accepting in its main terms the bourgeois economic theories, budgetary discipline, Keynesianism as a brake on the class struggle, and so on. Using the words of the program itself: "as much planning as necessary and as much competition as possible".¹⁸

If some doubts still remain, the program has references against "the totalitarian control of economy", affirming the need for the existence of private property. As maximum horizon - never consistently applied - the reference to "economic democracy" in which the working class should be able to intervene in the management of private and public companies. Except in some productive sectors in Germany and other European countries, except that such participation was confined to specific management problems, as happens today with the participation of members of the company committees (the emblem of this social-democratic policy) in company boards, and exercised by the reformist trade union bureaucracy, such a thing was never applied in any country, despite having enough parliamentary majority to do so. In fact, the Godesberg Program, accepted internationally by the social-democrats, only found scope for public education and health, and always restricted to certain countries of Western Europe.

The economic contradictions inherent to the so-called "Welfare State" - which was nothing else than a State of exploitation of the working masses sacrificed on the altar of capitalist and imperialist development - led to the outbreak of the capitalist crisis of the seventies and a change in the perception of most of the bourgeoisie, leaving the Keynesian principles and

adopting a purely liberal approach, revisiting their old conceptions of "laissez faire", separating the State from the direct economic intervention and taking it to exert its influence only through the budget and the monetary policy, undertaking the privatization of the public sector created in the previous period.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to add that the Godesberg Programme already renounced to these "direct" mechanisms and privileged the indirect ones, except in those sectors where State intervention was neces-

sary to avoid the creation of private monopolies. In fact, the liberal version says exactly the same and even speaks of "mixed economy" to include these methods of State intervention. In the eighties and nineties of the twentieth century, the theory of the "natural monopolies in hands of the State" - energy, transportation, telecommunications and other strategic sectors - was abandoned and the ideas of a Central Bank whose monetary policy has the sole goal of inflation control over other considerations, as may be allowing some level of inflation to encourage bourgeois investment, were embraced.

At that time and until the outbreak of the current capitalist

crisis, the bourgeoisie gave priority to privatizations, commodification of productive sectors at the margins of the action of the law of value - whose scope had been modified by the intervention of state powers - and the internationalization hand in hand with large monopolistic firms that had accumulated large amounts of capital in the preceding period. At the same time, the political conditions in which the labour movement has to defend their living and working conditions worsen, the repression against the revolutionary movement and the militarization of the econo-

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my increase, and the deployment of imperialist war is enhanced.

Nowadays, social-democracy has a certain attachment to the labour movement through the reformist trade unions, where it maintains a discourse of "defense of the workers", purely economic and which tends always towards the reconciliation with the bourgeoisie. Its mission is to ensure social peace and the impossibility of the development of a workers' response that can be transformed, as a result of their increased militancy and organization, in development of the class consciousness, the passing from class consciousness in itself to class consciousness for itself, a revolutionary alternative to dying capitalism.

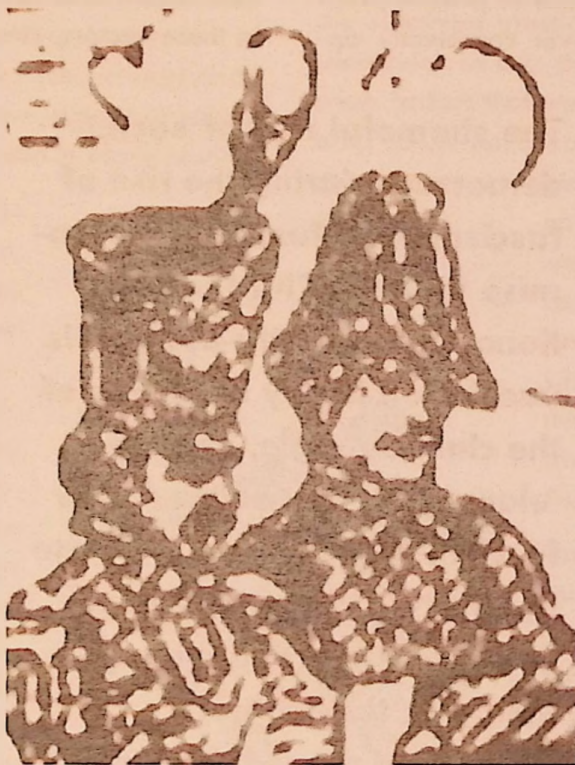
In the capitalist crisis in which we are now submerged, social-democracy has a very clear mission: to implement the measures contrary to the interests of the workers keeping the class conflict within the limits set by the oligarchy. Thus, while adopting legal measures that are contrary to the most elementary rights acquired over decades of struggle of the labour movement (collective bargaining, the right to severance pay, a decent amount of the minimum wage and pension, etc.), they keep the control over a trade union bureaucracy deeply linked to social-democracy and the bourgeois State apparatus.

The "social covenant" positions are intended to chain the labour movement to policies that are clearly contrary to their interests, that favour the monopolies and vent the contradictions that have exploded with the capitalist crisis on the shoulders of the working class and the popular strata. This is to revive the declining trend in the rate of profit, to promote the cycle of expanded reproduction of capital and, for that, to intensify the exploitation rate. In this mission,

the social-democracy plays a crucial role: the role of the firefighter that tries to fight the fire even before it occurs.

Petty bourgeoisie and labour aristocracy.

In order to preserve the support of its social base of the petty and middle classes that share the petty autonomy at work, address specific groups of workers and a shift away from machine, social-democracy, as the lead organization of petty bourgeois reformism, maintains a policy to isolate these groups from the labour movement and prevent the formation of a popular and workers front with hegemony of the proletariat through its political vanguard, which can become a revolutionary alternative to capitalism.



Within this field, social-democratic policies are in the spirit of supporting the petty bourgeoisie with public funds as exemptions from paying social security, trying to ease, without success, the situation of small producers against the large ones. In the trade union field favouring the middle class against most workers, promoting better working, social and economic conditions for these groups. These sectors were the old basis of the bourgeois reformist policy of the years of the "Welfare State", when favoured over a mass of workers condemned to conditions of extreme exploitation and devoid of any union support. This has the effect of worsening conditions of life and work of the proletarian majority, the intensification of its exploitation and also its growing isolation from other classes and sectors.

Yet the capitalist crisis has severely beaten the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie who see their living and working conditions worsen as a consequence of the development of capitalist contradic-

tions, showing also for these groups the failure of reformism. At the same time, social-democracy extends the petty bourgeois ideology of the "citizenship" where we all have equal rights before the law, ignoring class differences, the position of each one in respect to the ownership of the means of production and to the work, influencing the workers to defuse the class struggle precisely among those who most suffer exploitation and are most in need of assuming their historical role as a revolutionary class.¹⁹

In a similar way, the role played by the labour aristocracy is essential in the maintenance of social-democracy and the strengthening and spread of revisionism within the labour movement. Comrade Eleni Comrade Mpellou²⁰ offers the following analysis of this phenomenon:

"Of course what happens at the level of consciousness, in this case revisionism, is a reflection of socio-economic developments-sections of the working class in advanced capitalist countries experienced higher wages and better living conditions due to the super-profits which capital obtained in their countries, having for example the monopoly in foreign trade (Britain until the end of the 19th century), the ability to exploit raw materials and cheap labour in less developed societies. The offspring of these sections of the working class and of the labour aristocracy in the trade union and political movement, absorbed bourgeois propaganda through the education system, and they were incorporated into the widened state mechanisms-either into the "services" of the bourgeois state (education, health, welfare) or into purely administrative mechanisms (tax office, local government bodies, maintenance of state property etc.) or into state or semi-state industries (banks, public utilities, energy, water, telecommunications industry, tourism etc.).

The buying off of sections of the working class and in dynamic sectors of capitalist industry was achieved in

combination with the extensive buying off of scientists, who were of working class background; thus we can see that the widening of the social basis of opportunism and the strengthening of revisionism are interconnected phenomena. The ability of the bourgeois political forces to buy off broad sections of the working class served the political goal of corrupting the labour movement, of diverting it from its strategic aim of socialist revolution in Europe and more generally in the developed capitalist world and indeed in conditions when the international balance of forces had improved for the forces of socialism after the end of the 2nd World War."

In the capitalist crisis in which we are now submerged, social-democracy has a very clear mission: to implement the measures contrary to the interests of the workers keeping the class conflict within the limits set by the oligarchy.

The "left social-democracy", the revisionists and the communist movement.

Social democracy became also an active participant in the international class struggle against the socialist camp. The role that social-democratic parties had to play was to weaken the communist parties, organize and strengthen a non-communist labour and trade-union movement. Altogether with other fiercely anticommunist parties - the trotskyists - the mission assigned by imperialism was clear: the fragmentation of the labour movement, consolidate an anticommunist reformist trend and prevent the development of class struggle in capitalist countries, as well as assist politically, economically and otherwise to counterrevolutionary movements that were developing in countries that were actively constructing socialism. The CIA had a section for those parties: "non-communist left", which received political, logistical and economic support.

Together with the openly hostile and counterrevolutionary role with respect to socialist countries, social-democracy has also historically played a role of political penetration of the communist parties. Even before World War II, social-democracy sought support within the communist movement to reach agreements that would link these parties to bourgeois policies. But

it was later, in the immediate postwar years, when strong reformist tendencies appear within the communist parties that crystallized in the so-called "Euro-communism". This process was possible to the extent that the international communist movement, stuck in the fiction of the existence of an intermediate, democratic and anti-monopoly stage between monopoly capitalism and socialism, subordinated its strategy to a parliamentary alliance with social-democracy that would ultimately have serious consequences for the working class and the international communist movement itself, which found immense difficulties to define a revolutionary strategy in the new conditions after the war.

Such revisionist tendencies, fully triumphant in most parties of Western Europe, had the same social basis of old social-democracy and followed the same path that was previously followed by the social-democratic parties. As a reflection, they represented the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle strata of the labour aristocracy and sections of the trade union bureaucracy. They arrived to the unabashedly reformist conclusion that socialism could be built in Europe through a parliamentary agreement with the social-democracy, using only legal means, constitutional means, reform after reform, reaching a point at which socialism would have been built. This vision, utopian in the sense of being reactionary, was a dead end that found its own limits with the change in policy of the bourgeoisie as a result of the economic crisis of the "Welfare State".

The bankruptcy of Euro-communist revisionism is currently suffered by numerous workers' detachments throughout the capitalist world, especially in the European countries, where the heirs of Euro-communist organizations, keeping in some cases the communist acronyms and symbols or having abandoned it in others, aware of the mutation of a social-democracy that had become a bourgeois party several decades earlier, seek to occupy the left flank of the bourgeois parliaments. This always in an alliance subordinated in one way or another to the social-democratic parties and always under the banner of reformism that

waves within the margins of the system.

Furthermore, they also agree and coincide, not by chance, in a generally favorable view of the European Union, the imperialist project of the oligarchy of the member countries. They want to become the party of "left" passable for those institutions, accepting the fundamentals of European construction, the undemocratic and anti-labour rules for its operation and its one-way monetary and economic policies, the blackmail to which they subject the peoples of Europe in the capitalist crisis, and ultimately, the policies imposed in each moment by the bourgeoisie.

Today these opportunist parties are organized in the European Left Party and they constitute an obstacle to the development of class struggle, they stand as a brake to the development of class positions and class consciousness; ultimately they are natural allies of social-democracy, they are its current left-wing, fulfilling the task of introducing reformist and petty bourgeois ideology in the workers' field, to support a false social peace that will ensure a political framework for the anti-labour measures that capital has to apply to maintain its profit rate and save the day.

Some final considerations.

A part of the social base of social-democracy and revisionism, is constituted by the working strata with a low class consciousness who join the struggle to defend their immediate interests in face of the increasing aggression of capital. When these sectors, with little political background and no class consciousness join the struggles that should trigger the class to defend its interests they do, necessarily, from an ideological point of view.

Indeed, the fact that these workers' sectors do not have class consciousness for itself does not deny the fact that they have, like all people, an ideological worldview which allows them to insert themselves into society. Such a worldview that does not come entirely from class position, must necessarily come from its opponent, if we agree with Marx that within the class-divided societies the dominant ideology is the ideology of the ruling class.

Their worldview, therefore their ideology, if it is not proletarian it necessarily has to be bourgeois or petty bourgeois. It consists in some adjustments of the ideologies of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie to the living conditions of the working class, and the most historically appropriate to these functions is precisely the "economicist" ideology, a reformist one touted by the social-democrat trade unions and parties, and also by the opportunist parties of the EL Party and other similar to them. This ideology fits the workers' conditions, but does so from the bourgeois standpoint, defending small changes in capitalism that can improve or alleviate the current conditions which are applied to the proletariat.

Similarly, and seemingly in an opposite sense, we might consider the utopian-revolutionary ideology which, despite its alleged revolutionary character, is powerless to lead the revolutionary struggle and ends by advocating measures which, if possible, would mean only small changes keeping the fundamentals of capitalist exploitation.

The mission of social-democracy and their trade union confederations within the labour field is to prevent that position, which is an objective stage in the development of consciousness in these sectors, to evolve into the assumption of a purely proletarian ideological position under the prism of Marxism-Leninism, and that tends to confrontation with capitalism, towards its revolutionary overcoming.

Therefore, besides the existence of the social sectors previously referred to - petty bourgeoisie and middle strata - the sectors that have little awareness, the stragglers, can also be a support base for revisionism in general and social-democracy in particular within the class movement.

The communist parties have to deal with these positions and we will have to do so in the future, under very different political, social or economic conditions, until the overcoming of the class conflict itself, until the highest and final stage of socialism-communism. In these various conditions, reformism will take different political positions but, in essence, will try to adapt the labour movement to the positions of the class enemy,

by accepting the battlefield and the fight rules that the enemy considers lawful and denying the need to overcome the capitalist system that generates the contradictions that keep the labour movement in a subordinated position.²¹

The primary mission of the communist parties in this field, generally in trade union action, is to raise that economic awareness, which does not exceed capitalism, to revolutionary political consciousness, so that these sectors abandon the ideological theses of the petty bourgeoisie (in addition to the above mentioned we could mention the idea that the State is neutral in the class struggle, that the law is sacred and that all the provisions of the laws are met, the idea of independence of the judiciary, the separation of powers and other petty bourgeois naiveties that objectively block class struggle) and embrace the ideological theses of their own class. This is possible precisely because the proletarian ideology of Marxism-Leninism is only a reflection in the realm of the subjective field, of the economic conditions suffered by the exploited. In other words, any attempt at a social level of trying the same with non-proletarian sectors is doomed to failure, regardless of whether, individually, many members of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle layers approach the working class and even adopt its worldview in face of the development of capitalist contradictions.

The communist movement is forced to learn from its mistakes. The conditions under which the capitalist crisis places the class struggle requires a frontal attack against the positions of integration that social-democracy and revisionism promote in the workers' ranks. Ideological, political and organizational independence of the working class must be firmly defended, without compromise:

"Now the people, the workers and employees, the self-employed must write their own pages in the history of this country, in really large and bold letters. Their anger must be transformed into strength so that they can take their counterattack to its conclusion. There is no other way (...) Barbarity cannot be made humane."²²

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- 9 Enrique Lister López. "Leninismo y oportunismo" (Leninism and opportunism). Ediciones PCOE, 1976, p. 21 – 22. Madrid
- 10 V.I. Lenin. "Marxism and Reformism". Collected Works, Vol. 10, p. 372-375. Progress Publishers, 1977, Moscow
- 11 V.I. Lenin. "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International". Collected Works, Vol. 21, p. 35-41. Progress Publishers, 1974, Moscow
- 12 V.I. Lenin. "The Collapse of the Second International". Collected Works, Vol. 21, p. 205-259. Progress Publishers, 1974, Moscow
- 13 Idem
- 14 Idem
- 15 Idem
- 16 Nowadays, having the necessary perspective and when there is no doubt about the bourgeois and imperialist character of many sections of social-democracy during World War II, the communist movement has to analyze rigorously the policy of the united front of proletariat with the social-democratic parties adopted by the 7th Congress of the Komintern, as it entailed a series of consequences which have great importance for the international communist movement.
- 17 The links of prominent social-democrat cadres with the oligarchy have deepened since then. As an example, we can mention the participation of the former president of the Spanish government, Felipe González – former Secretary General of PSOE – in the so-called "Father's and Son's Business Meeting", a private initiative that brings together businessmen from all over Latin America and their heirs in order to share the "recipes of success in business" and speak about "the social issues that worry the world". Some of the oligarchs who participated were, among others, Carlos Slim, the second richest man in the world; the Colombian tycoon Julio Mario Santo Domingo; the Venezuelan businessman Gustavo Cisneros; the Argentinians Paolo Rocca, Federico Braun and Alfredo Román; the Chileans Andrónico Luksia and Álvaro Saieh or the Brazilians Joao Roberto Marinho, David Feffer and Antonio Moreiras. (Publico newspaper, Madrid, 08/03/2009, news from Agency EFE).
- 18 Basic Programme of the SPD. Bonn, 1959, p. 5-17.
- 19 About some movements which, like the known as "15M" or "movement of the indignados", never go beyond the social-democratic approaches, we refer to the Statement of the Executive Committee of the PCPE on the mobilizations started on May 15th, issued on May 19th, 2011, which can be found in <http://www.pcpe.es/comunicados/item/268-sobre-las-movilizaciones-iniciadas-el-15-m.html>.
- 20 Member of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of Greece. Quote from her article "Ideas on a new international. Internationalism in Marxist theory", written after the invitation of the Turkish Communist Party to the meeting organized by the Marxist-Leninist Research Centre of Turkey. The article was published in the theoretical journal of the KKE (KOMEF, issue 6 of 2010).
- 21 The President of the Spanish Congress and leader of the PSOE, José Bono, declared in public that the "class struggle" in 21st century "is a bash" that "is not even believed in China", that nowadays jobs have to be created "basically" by the businessmen with the "help" of the public administrations so, he noted, PSOE will not campaign "against those who create wealth and jobs". Words reflected in the Spanish mass media on May 9th, 2010. Agency Europa Press.
- 22 Speech of comrade Aleka Pappariga, Secretary General of the KKE, before thousands of workers, on May 11th, 2011.

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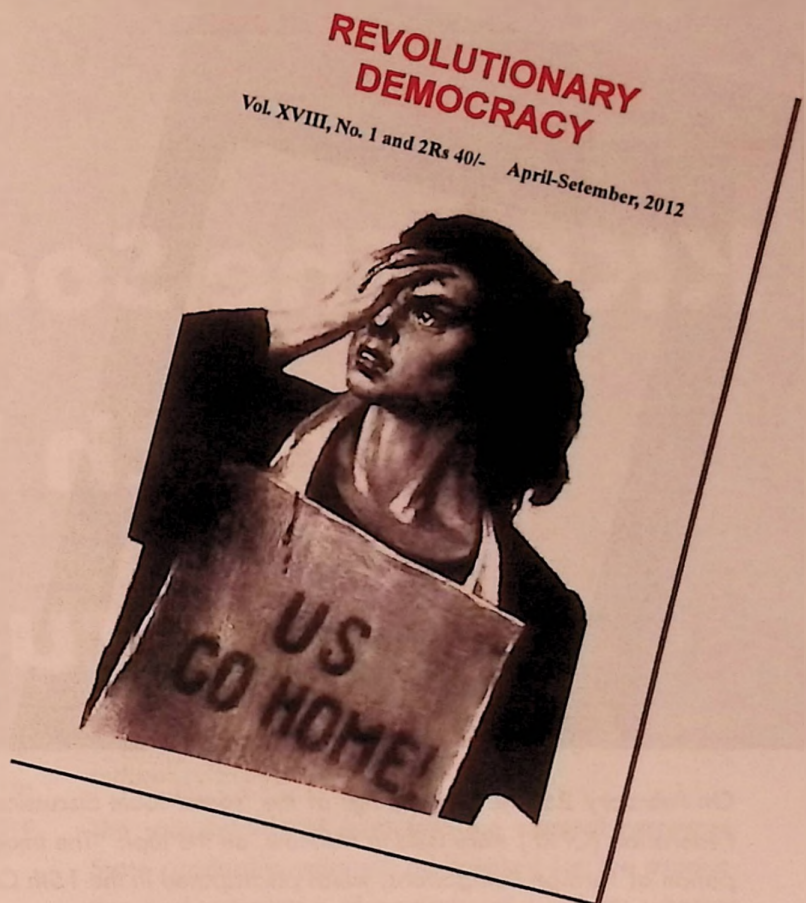
The April 2013 issue of the Indian Marxist-Leninist journal *Revolutionary Democracy* is now available.

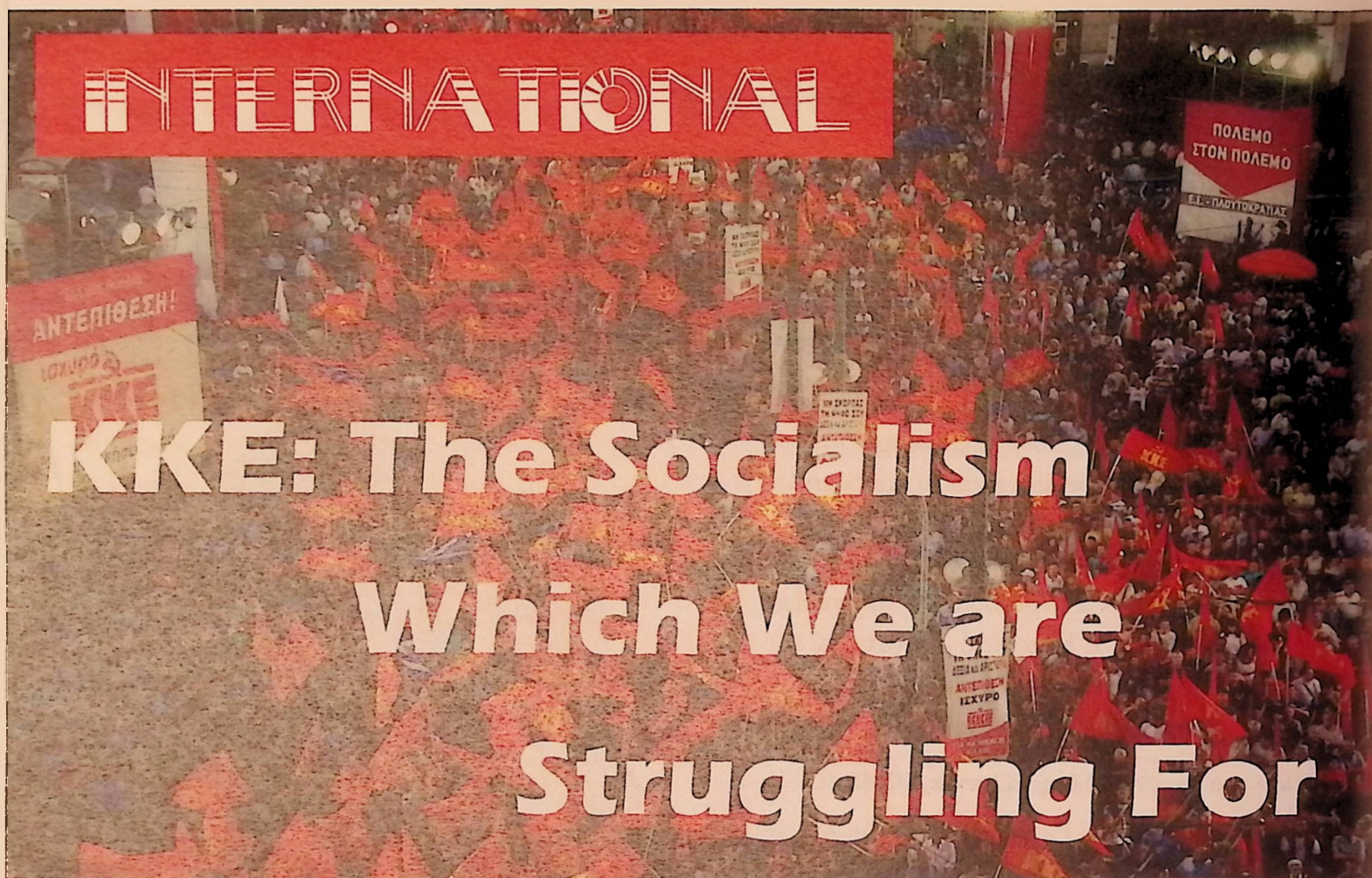
The issue is almost 200 pages long and, besides articles on the situation in India and a number of translations into English from anti-revisionist Communist Parties internationally, contains a large number of articles of theoretical and historical importance for readers internationally. These include:

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- The Struggle of Gramsci against the Opportunism of Bordiga, Communist Party of Italy
- Gramsci and Stalin, Aldo Bernardini
- Two Interviews, Aleksandra Kollontai
- Record of the Two Meetings of J.V. Stalin and Mao Zedong in Moscow (16 1949 and 22nd January 1950)
- Note by Suslov, Malenkov, Grigorian and Yudin to Stalin Regarding Discussions with Representatives of the CC CPI in Moscow with Information about Rao, Ghosh, Dange and Punnaiya, and the Handwritten Remarks of J.V. Stalin, (8th February 1951)

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On February 25, the proceedings of the "round-table discussion" organized by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) were held in Moscow, on the topic "The Image of Socialism we are Fighting for", with the participation of foreign delegations, which participated in the 15th Congress of the CPRF.

Elisseos Vagenas, member of the CC and Responsible for the International Relations Section of the CC of the KKE, made a contribution to the "round-table discussion" on behalf of the KKE.

The speech was as follows:

Dear comrades,

We thank the CPRF for the opportunity that it is providing us today to exchange thoughts about this important issue.

The KKE, after the counterrevolutionary changes in the Soviet Union in 1991, despite the fact that it emerged organizationally weakened, due to the inner-party struggle with the opportunist forces which in the end left the party, maintained its communist identity: Its faith in the Marxist-Leninist worldview and the

necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. It defended the hammer and sickle and its other historical symbols and at the same time began long-term research and inner-party work on the causes which led to the defeat of socialism in the USSR. Through this work, which was consolidated in the Decision of the 18th Congress of our party, our party enriched its conception of socialism. An enrichment which in turn is expressed in the new draft programme of our party, which will be the work of our 19th Congress in about a month.

Today we are certainly "one step" forwards compared to the revolutionaries before the Great October Socialist Revolution. This is because today there is the vast experience, positive and negative, of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and other countries. The KKE, in contrast with the forces of the so-called "Party of the European Left" (PEL), defends the enormous contribution of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the progress of humanity as a whole. Socialism which existed in the 20th century was able to satisfy important needs of the people, which capitalism not only cannot but does not want to satisfy: free education, health, social security, vacations, housing, pensions at 55 for women and 60 for men, certainty about the future and many other things.

It is no accident that that this experience, the construction of socialism in the 20th century, is subject to the rabid attack of the bourgeois political forces, the EU, the USA, as well as of the opportunist forces, with as a "common denominator" the attack against the person of Joseph Stalin, who was head of the CP and the soviet state, when the foundations of socialism were laid. Our party is of the assessment that this socialist soviet experience must be studied and utilised regarding the issue as to what the socialism we are struggling for should be like.

The overthrow of socialism did not occur due to "totalitarianism", or because the workers had exaggerated gains and rights, as various forces, which are struggling against the communists, claim. The overthrow of socialism happened because in conditions of the aggressiveness of capital's forces, basic laws of socialist construction were violated, such as the replacement of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the "state of the whole people" and the strengthening of commodity-money relations in the decades after 1950.

A second point that the KKE has come to is that the socialism which we are struggling for cannot arise from bourgeois parliamentarianism, through "left-patriotic governments", which promote the "gradual"

correction, "democratization", "humanization" of capitalism, without a socialist revolution, without the destruction of the bourgeois state structures, without the construction of new popular organs of power.

Socialist construction is an uninterrupted process, which starts with the conquest of power by the working class. Our party has a different view from those parties, which in the name of "national specificities" or "21st century socialism" retreat from the fundamental characteristics of the socialist-communist society. In our evaluation socialism is the first phase of the communist socio-economic formation; it is not an independent socio-economic formation. It is an immature communism. The basic law of the communist mode of production is valid: "Planned production for the extended satisfaction of social needs."

A basic feature of socialist society is the socialization of the means of production.

The socialisation of the means of production in industry, energy-water supply, telecommunications, construction, repair, public transport, wholesale and retail trade and import-export trade, the concentrated tourist –restaurant infrastructure, the capitalist agricultural cultivations.

The socialization of land and the mineral resources. State production units will be created for the production and processing of agricultural products whether as raw material or consumer products.

The abolition of private ownership and economic activity in education, health-welfare, culture and sports, in the mass media. They are completely and exclusively organized as social services.

The abolition of the use of alien labour, i.e. wage labour, by those who still possess isolated means of production in sectors that have not been compulsorily socialized, e.g. in crafts, agricultural production, tourism-restaurants, in certain auxiliary services.

Means of production, raw materials, industrial materials and resources, and labour power will enter a process of production and organization of social and administrative services via central planning.

Industry and the largest part of agricultural production will be carried out with relations of social ownership, central planning, workers' control over the whole spectrum of management and administration.

The development potential of the country will be placed at the service of the people and their needs through central planning, as well as whatever has been created by human activity in Science, Technology and Culture. This will safeguard a higher standard of living and of the development and cultivation of the intellect. Unemployment and labour insecurity will be eradicated, free time will be increased, so that the working people will have the ability to actively participate and exert workers' control in order to safeguard the character of working class power.

Agricultural productive cooperatives will be promoted, which will have the right to utilize the socialized land as a means of production. The integration of small farmers will be carried out on a voluntarily basis. The incentives for cooperativization are: the reduction of the cost of production through collective cultivation work and collection of agricultural products. The protection of agricultural production from natural phenomena through the state infrastructure and scientific and technical support. Agricultural produce will be made available through its concentration via the state retail sector.

In addition, we are of the assessment that socialist construction is incompatible with the participation of the country in any imperialist union, such as the EU and NATO, IMF, OECD, and with the existence of US-NATO military bases in our country.

The new working class power, depending on the international developments and regional situation, will seek to develop mutually beneficial inter-state relations between Greece and other countries, especially with countries whose level of development, the nature of their problems and immediate interests can ensure such a mutually beneficial cooperation.

The socialist state will seek cooperation with countries and peoples who have objectively a direct interest in resisting the economic, political and military centres

of imperialism, first and foremost with the peoples who are constructing socialism in their countries. It will seek to utilize every available "rupture" which might exist in the imperialist "front" due to inter-imperialist contradictions, in order to defend and strengthen the revolution and socialism. A socialist Greece, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, will be, to the extent of its possibilities, a bulwark for the world anti-imperialist, revolutionary and communist movement.

Social needs are determined based on the level of development of the productive forces that have been achieved in the given historical period.

Basic social needs (education-healthcare- welfare) are covered for free in a universal way, according to the needs, while another part of them are covered by a relatively small part of the labour monetary income (housing, energy-water supply- heating, transport, nutrition).

A characteristic of the first stage of communist relations, i.e of the socialist relations, is the distribution of a part of the products "according to labour". The distribution of a part of socialist production "according to labour", which resembles commodity exchange only in terms of its form, is a result of the capitalist inheritance.

The new mode of production has not managed to discard it yet, because it has not developed all of the necessary human productive power and all the means of production to the necessary dimensions through the widest use of new technology. Labour productivity does not yet allow a decisively large reduction of labour time, the eradication of heavy and one-sided labour, so that the social need for compulsory labour can be abolished.

The planned distribution of labour power and of the means of production entails the planned distribution of the social product. This is a fundamental difference compared to the distribution of the social product through the market, based on the laws and categories of commodity exchange.

The socialist power is the revolutionary power of the

working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolutionary workers' power requires a high level of organisation with all the available means. It requires workers' control in the exercise of the administration of the industrial units in the sectors of strategic importance so that it carries out its creative, economic-social and cultural work, in order to achieve the supremacy of the workers' and people's majority against the organised domestic and foreign resistance of capital, their counterrevolutionary activity after the loss of their power.

The extent and the forms that the revolutionary working class power uses for the repression of the counterrevolutionary activity depend on the stance of the political and social organisations towards the two conflicting powers, the working class and the capitalist class.

The socialist state as an organ of the class struggle, which continues with other forms and under new conditions, does not have merely a defensive, repressive and organisational function. It also has a creative, economic, cultural, educational operation under the leadership of its ideological –political vanguard, of its party. It expresses a higher form of democracy whose chief characteristic is the active participation of the working class and generally of the people who are educated on the basis of (non monetary) incentives that arise from the superior mode of production and democracy during the formation of the socialist society during the resolution of the old contradictions and social inequalities through the control of the administration of the productive units, of the social and administration services of all the organs of power from the bottom up.

The exercise of workers' and social control will be institutionalised and safeguarded in practice, as will the unhindered criticism of decisions and practices which obstruct socialist construction, the unhindered denunciation of subjective arbitrariness and bureaucratic behaviour of officials, and other negative phenomena and deviations from socialist-communist principles.

The foundation of working class power is the production unit, social services, the units of administration, the production cooperatives where the working people exercise their right to elect and recall the representatives.

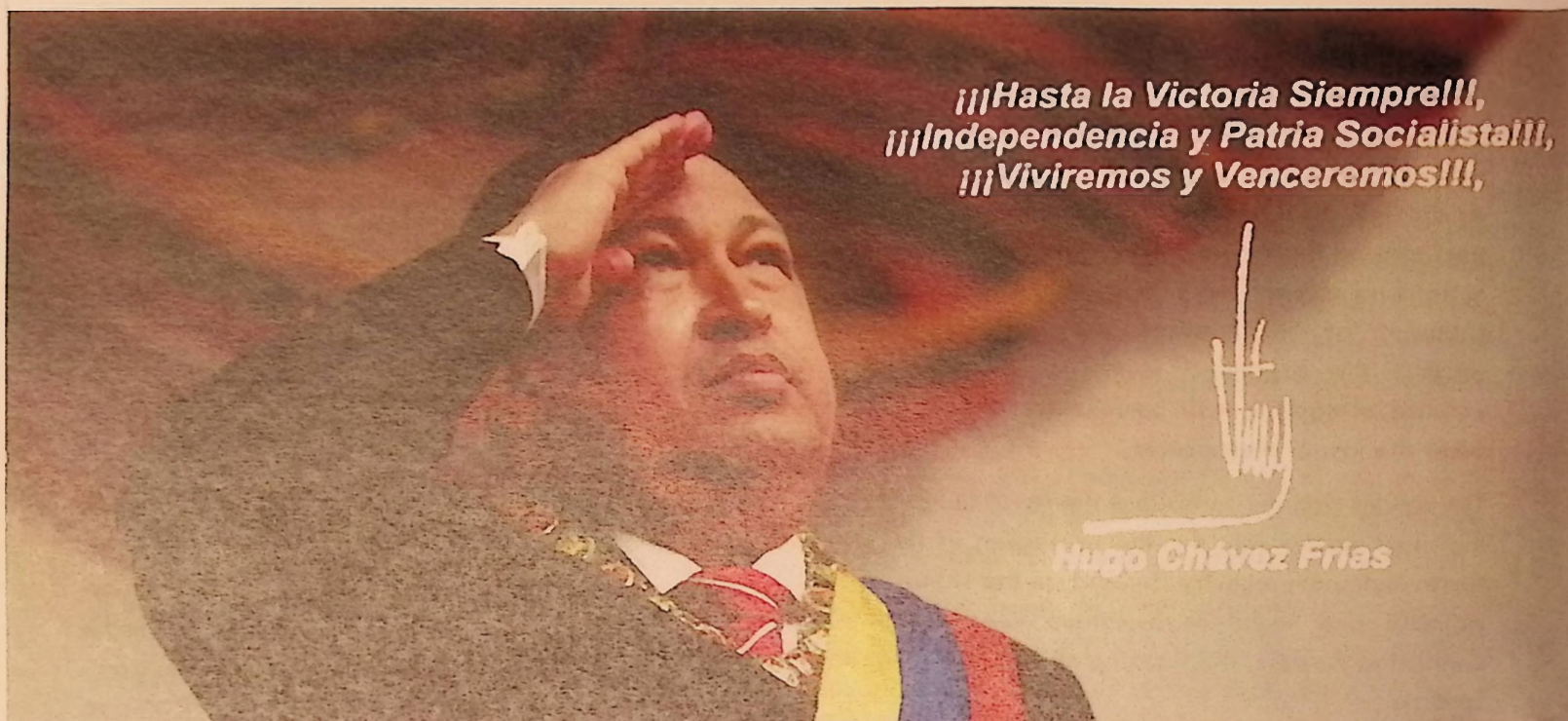
The communist party, as an ideological-political organised vanguard of the working class, constitutes the leading force of the revolutionary working class power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. It vindicates its revolutionary leading role as long as it expresses the general interests of the working class and the scientific laws of socialist-communist construction in practice.

Dear comrades,

At the end of this brief contribution, allow me to say that the communists in Greece keep alive in our hearts the mass heroism of the proletarians who stormed the Winter Palace, of the communists and Komsomols who crushed the counterrevolution in unprecedented historical conditions and laid the foundations of the socialist construction, of the Red Army soldiers who crushed the Nazi hordes! Their sacrifices and their struggles were not in vain. They sustain and encourage the communists all over the world, the forces that struggle for the revolutionary regroupment of the international communist movement.

Reprinted from: <http://inter.kke.gr/News/news2013/2013-02-26-elisaio-kkro>





Tuesday, March 5, 2013

Statement of the PCMLV on the death of Commandante Chavez

The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Venezuela, PCMLV, expresses its grief and solidarity at the physical loss of Commandante President Hugo Chavez Frías to all the workers, peasants, students, women's organizations, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, socialist and Bolivarian parties and organizations of the masses.

We also express our condolences to all his family, friends and to the national government for the loss of a great humanist, a patriotic, progressive and consistent revolutionary statesman, as President Hugo Chavez proved to be until the last days of his existence.

We call on the working class, which knows how to rise to the challenge in the revolutionary struggle in the most pressing moments of history, to prepare to resist and defeat the reactionaries who will not hesitate to take advantage of this difficult time to thwart through violent means the gains and demands that we have achieved under the leadership of President Chavez. Imperialism will set stronger traps at this sorrowful moment that the national revolutionary movement is going through.

The call is to not renounce the struggle to build socialism, the banner that President Hugo Chavez raised in all circumstances; this banner needs to be taken up rigorously and courageously by all the workers of this nation in this difficult moment in history. We, as Party of the working class in Venezuela, make the call for the struggle and building of socialism and communism from the scientific conception of Marxism-Leninism.

The acts of sabotage, of hired killers, the terrorism, food shortages, the propaganda of disinformation, anxiety and manipulation will intensify. The national and international reactionaries feel victorious at this time, but the national and world working class will go forward with the necessary and strategic battles to continue the path of victory and the accumulation of forces to confront the fascists and imperialists.

The death of the President of the Republic must not mean the decline in popular organization, but rather it must serve as an impetus for future struggles against the class enemy. We must not believe in the phony condolences local right wing, which on dozens of occasions tried to assassinate the commandante. These sectors are moved

by a single impulse: profit at any cost whatever.

The right wing is evaluating what actions to take in the coming days. It is no coincidence that the Venezuelan government expelled two U.S. military attaches for conspiratorial work.

We strongly call on all the revolutionary elements to close ranks against the capitalist and imperialist enemy. The working class must be prepared for a possible difficult situation; it must not trust the bourgeois enemy that has historically proven to be traitorous. If the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie tries to take advantage of this hard time of grief of the humble and exploited masses, the masses should respond forcefully and applying revolutionary violence.

Socialism can only be built with the worker-peasant alliance in Power and the people in arms!

PCMLV

Caracas, March 5, 2013



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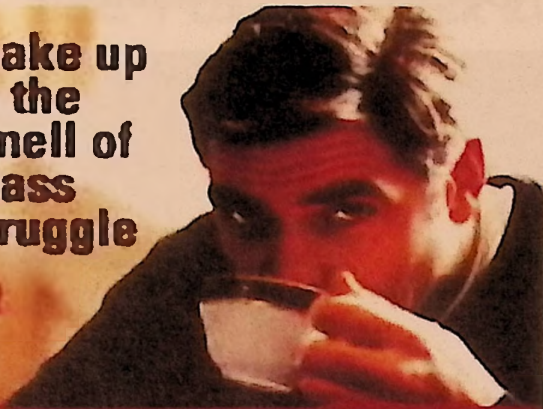
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