



# Letters

## on the Draft Programme and Draft Constitution of the RCP, USA

"Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution," was the call issued by the Revolutionary Communist Party some time ago. This was a call to take up, discuss and criticize drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA which were published in early March.

The drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution are truly profound and pathbreaking documents. They are a battle plan for proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism—the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat—in this country. The documents are drafts, weapons in preparation. They represent a concentration of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—and the application of this science to the specific conditions we face in this country. The real possibility for revolution in the next decade demands that those who burn with the desire for such change seriously throw themselves into the struggle over the draft New Programme and New Constitution.

We have solicited comments, questions, agreements and disagreements over the new documents, and encourage the submitting of letters for publication in the

Revolutionary Worker. Groups and individuals are urged to contact the Party with their ideas and to set up discussions.

Any topic covered in the drafts will be open to discussion. The publication of letters does not indicate that the Party necessarily agrees with the position stated in them. Others are free to respond to the points raised in any letter. The Revolutionary Worker will on occasion respond directly to points raised, but as a rule we will not. This is because this process is not a series of questions and answers, but a process of discussion, struggle and sharpening of the drafts which will culminate in the final version of these documents. This process will last for a couple of months and will conclude with an even higher concentration of a correct proletarian revolutionary line by the leadership of the RCP. The final New Programme and New Constitution will be published shortly thereafter. The result of this process directly involving thousands will not only be deeper unity over the political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, but a deepening of the line itself. And the proletariat will have an even sharper weapon in its revolutionary struggle for political power.

### A Reply on Agriculture

To RW:

I am writing this letter in response to the letter in the Sept. 26 issue of the RW on the question of agriculture in the draft Programme. The author of that letter has made a valuable contribution to the struggle and debate that is heating up over the Programme, as the question of revolution and the actual seizure of power by the masses led by the proletariat comes on the agenda in the '80s. The letter contains many glaring exposures of how capitalism stands as a fetter to the development of the productive forces, and in that sense it should strengthen our determination to make revolution and advance beyond capitalism to socialism and communism.

But let the struggle over the Battle Plan rage! The author says that the letter is his/her response to the section in the Programme on agriculture, and I think it's necessary to clarify that the author has put forward a sharply opposing line on the transformation of agriculture—a utopian view that can never unleash the masses to make revolution and carry out this transformation or advance to communism, the stage of society where man will be free to consciously apply his knowledge of the laws of nature to transform the world in the interests of all humanity.

The author contrasts the evils of capitalist agriculture to a vision of agriculture reorganized along socialist lines (though a vision that is static and far from complete, as we shall see), as though all it takes to move people to make revolution is to convince them that life will be better under socialism (farmers and farm workers will have security from "hard times," freedom from banks and debts, vacations, even the freedom to practice more rational and resource-saving farming methods, while the masses as a whole will have better quality food and a more healthful diet). But lacking a scientific materialist method, the author cannot envision how this transformation can actually come about. It is the promise of what could exist, without the method or the means to arrive at it, or to move beyond it to an even higher stage of social organization, classless society.

How different is the section in the draft Programme dealing with agriculture! It is appropriately included in the section, "The Proletariat, Upon Seizing Power, Will Immediately Take Up the Transformation of Society," in the subsection on "The Economy." As the Programme points out, "Agriculture is the foundation of any economy, and agricultural production in the U.S. is extremely important and will be a crucial question for the proletarian revolution, both in winning power and in carrying out socialist transformation." In other words, this is a concrete problem demanding a practical solution by the conscious activism of the masses led by the working class and its Party—not a matter of it's-really-rotten-and-it-could-be-better, as the author tends to view it, which leaves the masses in a

politically passive state, waiting for their conditions of life to be transformed and not actively transforming the world themselves. For this reason, the author cannot grasp that the goal is not to satisfy the needs of the small farmers, but to forge an alliance between small farmers and agricultural and industrial workers. As the Programme says, the unity between the agricultural and industrial proletariat will be key "to conquer both the cities and the countryside, to feed and otherwise maintain the revolutionary army of the proletariat and to transform society upon winning victory in the revolutionary war," (pp. 26-27) but it will also be necessary to unite with significant numbers of small, middle-sized and even some large farmers (p. 49). The Programme goes on to lay out the basis to unite with farmers ("Nationalization of land stands at the center of the proletariat's strategy for uniting with its allies among the farmers"—p. 50) and the criterion for determining who can be united with and who must be defeated by the proletariat and its allies among the farmers ("The main criterion... will not be the size of their farms... but whether or not and to what degree they exploit wage labor"—p. 49). The Programme then explains how it will be possible for the proletariat to carry out fairly rapid socialization of agriculture, "largely by-passing the cooperative forms that have proved necessary in economically backward countries with extensive peasant agricultures." (p. 49)

The author of the letter disagrees with all this, indicating that some farmers will be expropriated (those owning more than 500 acres or employing more than 5 farm workers) while others will not, and that for a time some land, means of production and housing will be communally or group owned. That is, the author envisions the development of communes along the lines of the Soviet Union or China. He/she does not grasp that the socialization of agriculture has to proceed from the material conditions that exist in the U.S., conditions which are very different from the backward conditions of agriculture in semi-feudal rural China or Russia. Why will it be possible in the U.S. to bypass cooperative forms? I don't understand this fully, but obviously it has to do with the level of development of the productive forces, the fact that agriculture in the U.S. is characterized by large-scale, highly mechanized farms. While there are still remnants of the sharecropping system and small-scale subsistence farming in the South and Southwest, "20 acres and a mule" is hardly what characterizes agriculture in the U.S. today; i.e., the conditions that would require collectivization to precede mechanization do not exist.

I think the author fundamentally disagrees that the socialization of agriculture in the form of large-scale, highly mechanized state-owned farms would represent an advance, because he/she views mechanization itself as the cause of many of the problems in agriculture today, the destruction of the soil, waste of resources, low quality of farm products, etc. In his/her view it would be better to go back to more primitive, labor-intensive farming methods like those employed in peasant

communes in China. This misses the point entirely that it is not mechanization but who controls agriculture today and the fact that agricultural production is for private profit that is the cause of the problems the author points to.

The author cannot see that these problems can be taken up and solved by the conscious activism of the masses once the productive forces (including most importantly man himself) have been unleashed through social revolution. Nowhere does the author speak of the role of the masses in the class struggle, the struggle for production or scientific experiment in his/her vision of agriculture under socialism. Rather than politics in command, the author sees "correct standard, rather than profit, will be in command." The workers will "go along" with these changes and even work harder because they will receive the rewards of their labor. So will farmers, according to the author. But how will the differences between farmers and farm workers, between rural areas and industrial areas, between mental and manual labor be eliminated? This is not spoken to in the letter. Nowhere does the author mention the political mass movements which played such a crucial role in the Cultural Revolution in China. It reminds me of Mao's critique of Stalin's Soviet Economics Text (quoted by Bob Avakian in *Mao's Immortal Contributions*): "They speak only of the production relations, not of the superstructure nor politics, nor the role of the people. Communism cannot be reached unless there is a communist movement." (Mao's *Critique*, p. 136)

The author is correct when he/she says that much of theory has been developed and tried in the Soviet Union and China, and also that it is up to us to forge new ground for the benefit of the rest of humankind. I would encourage the author and others to study the contributions of Mao Tsetung and Chairman Avakian to the theory of political economy, based on the summed up experience, both the positive and negative lessons, of the working class in the Soviet Union and China. The task is to *apply* that theory to the concrete conditions in the U.S. I think the draft *Programme*, both the political orientation and the actual battle plan for the socialization of agriculture, is correct!

A reader

The following letter consists of two parts: 1) a summation of some discussion by Party members on the proposed re-write of the section in the Draft Programme on women; and 2) some thoughts of my own on the Programme's treatment of the gay question (p. 67).

1) At first sight, the proposed re-write of the draft on women is an advance, but on closer inspection, we felt that, in actuality, it was a step backward. Not that the criticism about the section's neglect of the particular material basis of women's oppression is not well justified, and not that some of the fleshing out of the various aspects of women's oppression isn't needed (although the author neglects to discuss rape—an important aspect), but what primarily characterizes the re-write is a semi-revisionist line on socialism and the woman question.

Running like a red thread throughout the draft section on women is the principle of "unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution." If one could characterize it, the author's line is "unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for production." While paying lip service to the need to involve women in all aspects of the political struggle, what gets the most play is 1) the role of integrating women into production in breaking down women's oppression, and 2) the necessity for women to be fully unleashed in order for production to advance. While production is important in the first regard, can one deny the decisive role that the widespread involvement of women in *political struggle* (e.g. in the revolution in Iran, and in the Cultural Revolution in China) plays in breaking down male chauvinism and the general restriction and shackling of women—a role, perhaps, even more decisive than that played by production? And, also, what are women being unleashed for? Not to boost production as an end in itself, but precisely to further the revolutionization of society as a whole! There are some other weaknesses in the proposed re-write, and in the introduction to it, but this is the guts of it.

2) With respect to the paragraph in the Programme on the gay question, I have no particular disagreements with the first two sentences, although I think they could be fleshed out more (maybe say something about how homosexuality is a response to, but more often than not is just as imbued with, the whole bourgeois attitude towards sex—another commodity to be bought, sold, lured and manipulated, and *obtained by any means necessary*). Just as workers are viewed by the capitalists as "talking tools", so, too, are people (particularly women) viewed as walking, talking sex machines. The reason more attention could be devoted to this question is not only for the light it sheds on the phenomenon of homosexuality, but also because the widespread disgust people have for the "distorted, oppressive man-woman relations capitalism promotes", especially in connection with sex, is one important "shoot of communism" we need to be utilizing.

What disturbs me is what's in the next two sentences. It says: "Once the proletariat is in power, no one will be discriminated against. . . merely (my emphasis) on the basis of being a homosexual." This lends itself to two possible interpretations: 1) homosexuality might be one among a number of reasons for discriminating against someone, or 2) that homosexuals are more likely to engage in other kinds of activity that would justify their being discriminated against. Three things need to be said here. First of all, it is a fact that significant numbers of homosexuals have taken progressive stands politically. It is also a fact that such politically-minded gays have, in the past, tended to form something of a social basis for those (on the "left") who would viciously attack the Party's line over-all. This undoubtedly stems from the infatuation many homosexuals have (their homosexuality being an expression of it) with the petty-bourgeois notion of "freedom of lifestyle" and glorification of individualism. But like all strata, homosexuals have higher aspirations (and, for some, their homosexuality represented an attempt to take a political stand, however misguided), and we need to unite with those aspirations, and with the positive sentiments gays have about capitalism being fucked up, to move them forward. (In the past, I feel this task was slighted, and there was, instead, a tendency to view all gays as hopelessly fucked up, and to think that there was no basis to unite with them.)

The second thing is we need to be arming them with a materialist analysis of why homosexuality is not the answer to the problem of "oppressive man-woman relations", and we have to be a whole lot more scientific and thorough than we've been in the past when our line smacked of Menshevism ("humans are meant to procreate", "we can't do anything that would alienate the masses", etc., etc.) The third point is that both before and after the revolution, the revolutionary and progressive-minded gays have to be *relied upon* to lead others in repudiating homosexuality on the basis of understanding its class character, and on the basis of understanding the real road forward. Uniting with the advanced to win over the intermediate to isolate the backward is a Marxist principle that has application to the question of this strata as well as for all others.

T.C.

#### CORRECTION

Dear RW:

I am the reader who submitted the proposed re-write on the *Draft Programme* Section on women. (RW No. 71). I want to call to your attention that you made an error in printing it.

The 7th paragraph should read "We have to come to grips with the particular contradiction between capital and women and analyze its relationship to the primary contradiction. . ." The version you printed puts this sentence in the past tense. This is a serious error, because you made it seem like the task being put forward as the way to correct the errors on this question is already done.

Please print a correction. Thanks.

Dear RW:

This is a letter in defense of the *Draft Programme* section on women and in opposition to the criticism and proposed rewrite published in RW No. 71.

To start off, when the *Draft Programme* was first published for discussion and struggle months ago, the section on women was one of the many sections that seemed to me to be good examples of the qualitative leap reflected in the whole *Draft Programme*—especially in the greatly deepened understanding of the key role consciousness plays as a material force in society, both in terms of moving things ahead and of holding them back. Particularly around the question of the oppression of women, I was excited by how this section dealt with the role that women can and must play in both the seizure of power and the ongoing revolution. I think this crystallized form of the Party's line on this important question represents an even more dialectical approach and summation of the fundamentally revisionist line that had been achieved through the struggle against the remnants of Menshevism on the question that were reflected in the slogan from the not too distant past, "The stronger the role of women, the stronger will be our movement." The lingering economism reflected in that slogan (although it represented an advance over some earlier formulations and a break with the rampant feminism of sections of the women's liberation movement that narrowed everything about women to women); this economism has been broken with so fully by the more recent thrust of the Party's line, to quote from the *Draft Programme*: "Politically the proletariat will seek to *unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution*." (The rewrite changes the wording of this sentence, and, I think, the essence with its "unleash them as a mighty force for progress for humanity.")

When the criticism of this section was published with its first paragraph saying, "it (*Draft Programme*) seems more economist than anything," my first response was, "you can't be serious." But in digging deeper into both the criticism and rewrite and again studying the *Draft Programme* section, it is my belief that what is in fact economist is the *rewrite*. I think this economism takes the particular political form of reformist feminism and uses the incorrect ideological method of idealism to reach this bankrupt viewpoint. I especially think the rewrite directly opposes the need for fierce struggle in the ideological realm—in the superstructure—against the bourgeois line in order to be able to transform *society* forward against this oppression as well as all oppression.

Of course, the criticism claims just the opposite, so digging beneath the surface is crucial. That's what I hope to do with this letter.

The criticism of the *Draft Programme* begins with the statement that the *Draft Programme* is too general on the question of the material basis for women's oppression. I think the critic's view is not only wrong, but misses the point of the opening *Draft Programme* sentences altogether. Isn't it true that the "dominant social relations in this society perfectly mirror the economic relation—exploitative"? Aren't the social relationships between husband, wife and children some of the most basic relations among people in the whole fabric of the relations of production of the capitalist system? Isn't this exploitative form of the relationship one of the necessary capitalist relations of production that the bourgeoisie needs in order to maintain itself at the top of the most fundamental contradiction, between the bourgeoisie and proletariat? And won't these types of relationships continue for many generations, even after the seizure of power and the qualitative change in the fundamental contradiction—which requires us to deal with this contradiction both before and after the revolution? I think so, and I can't see how there could be a sharper or more concise explanation of this materialist viewpoint than the *Draft Programme* section.

The rewrite counterposes these so-called "generalities" with a laundry list of the "petty domestic tasks" that, while a part of the oppression of women (which are addressed as such by the *Draft Programme*) does not describe the essence of the contradiction or the reasons for its existence, and therefore can't point the way forward to eliminate this oppression. In fact, what the rewrite immediately begins to do is put forward yet another laundry list for, as it says, "bringing women forward into production as well as political life on a massive—and equal—basis." I think what this long paragraph adds up to is a bunch of "idealist promises" to women that socialism means a utopia from their oppression, and completely leaves out the heart of how this oppression will in fact be ended—the class struggle! This whole approach is pure economism—it reminds me of the line that we have to address all the particular abuses faced by women and then answer them with palpable promises.

But why is this rewrite feminist, as well as reformist? The best example of feminism is addressed by the rewrite in two sections on how to defeat male chauvinist ideas. "But through both the change in economic and social relations and the struggle against male chauvinism, the old tendency of the man playing the role of bourgeois in the home in relation to his wife and children will be eliminated." Earlier in the rewrite the critic proposes the method of "this will be done through mass political campaigns. . ." If you step back from this for a minute and reread the first part of the *Draft Programme* some sharp differences are evident and important key points left out of the rewrite. First, the *Draft Programme* is very clear that this male chauvinist ideology comes directly from the dominant role of the bourgeoisie in society (who train the masses, especially men, but no one is immune, including women). Second, the first and foremost way to change this is *proletarian revolution*, and the continuing consolidation of this revolution, particularly in the superstructure.

The rewrite leaves you with the somewhat subtle inference that men really just might be the cause of this oppression and, anyway, can't fundamentally be won away from this backwardness through struggle. Another reason the rewrite's like this is that it again replaces the process of revolution with another list of results (knocking down idiots, etc., etc.) which can never happen short of revolutionizing the superstructure and putting proletarian ideology in command of this question as well as all others. Why does the rewrite have to add a rating system of the way that women suffer more than men, which is coupled with the line that "divisions and antagonisms" between women and men will be broken down. To me, these additions are really a way of changing the line in the *Draft Programme* in a way that ends up with the rewrite raising the woman question above the class question, and, in fact, lets the bourgeoisie off the hook. It tends toward making the contradiction into an antagonistic one between men and women (the same contradiction as between the people and the enemy), instead of a contradiction among the people. The *Draft Programme* section's whole spirit of unity/struggle/unity is missing in the rewrite. It leaves me with the impression that the author of the rewrite thinks men might not be able to be won over—they are just too infected with bourgeois ideology.

Isn't the qualitative difference between socialism and capitalism the fact that the masses of oppressed people, led by the proletariat and its Party, are at the helm of society—hold state power—and can, therefore, continue to consolidate that power against the bourgeoisie? Isn't it a fundamental principle of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought—, and so well described by Mao when he argued that 95% of the people are good? That's no moral judgment, but a material reflection of the real interests of the broad majority of people—based exactly on the *tiny* size of the class of bourgeois and their agents as well as the fact that the social productive life of the proletariat leads it to have no interest whatsoever in exploitation or oppression. Once the private ownership is changed to socialized ownership through the seizure of power, then it will be possible to sweep away the remaining ideas that reflect private ownership and exploitation, and to actually eliminate the remaining oppression based on these ideas. We must be clear on this point. For while that 95% will certainly be divided between advanced, intermediate and backward, the material basis for the correct line winning out in the minds and actions of this *broad section* of people is the basis for mankind to advance to communism. I

think that's what Mao meant when he said, "We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing."

To me, the lack of clarity on this point in the rewrite represents a line that ideological and political line struggle is not key to moving society forward. And especially is opposed to the line that the correct line when embraced by the masses can literally "move mountains"—including the mountain of oppression of women standing in the path of fully unleashing the key productive forces of society—the workers themselves (men and women)—to play their full role in transforming the world. In particular, I think the rewrite is simply a new version of the theory of the productive forces.

The critic tries to cover this metaphysical line with a plea for "equality" raised twice in the rewrite and not raised at all in the *Draft Programme*. I think the substitution of this plea for equality flows from a line that real unity between men and women isn't possible and it replaces the political, ideological and social unity that can only be achieved through conscious political struggle with a high-sounding "ideal" which doesn't have much meaning. I think that all people are "equal" in the sense of being people, but that we are unequal in many ways that come directly from the uneven development of the imperialist system, which is based on exploitation and oppression. That's what causes the inequality, which, again, has nothing to do with superiority or inferiority. As a result of the history of this rotten system, I think we are going to "raise up the bottom" around the oppression of women just like we are around the oppression of national minorities (of course, not in the same way) and I think this process will produce even more inequality. That's a good thing, not a bad one—because it lays the basis for ending the oppression we will inherit. But that's only true if the masses, men, women and children, have been politically united behind these moves; otherwise, these fragile shoots will be smashed by the material force of continuing bourgeois ideology. While not directly addressing this question, I think the *Draft Programme* section is based on these premises.

One final point. I think it is crucial to understand the fundamental difference between especially the first paragraph of the rewrite and the third paragraph of the *Draft Programme* (and I encourage everyone to get both out at once and go through them point by point). Even in the paraphrase of Lenin, the rewrite fails to address the question of how the seizure of power by the proletariat will require the unleashed "fury of women as a mighty force for revolution." The difference here is not semantic, and, again by omission, the rewrite leaves out the great quote from the bourgeois commentator about the Paris Commune and the role of women. To me this isn't simply a matter of taste, but a reflection of the fact that the critic wants to stop halfway—and not go on over to revolution. Just who is this "terrible nation" so terrible to? I think to people who hold the line of the rewrite and criticism. And that's the essence of reformism—a failure to fundamentally break with the bourgeoisie. To say the very least, this line will certainly accomplish nothing!

So while the criticism raises the cry against the *Draft Programme* section that it is eclectic—part reformist, part revolutionary—I think that is completely wrong. Neither the *Draft Programme* nor the rewrite is eclectic. One, the rewrite is reformist, while the *Draft Programme* is revolutionary!

Just to emphasize that point, I'd like to end this with the very last sentence of the *Draft Programme* section on women: "In any sphere, from employment to literature and art, this question will be raised and will be the source of ongoing struggle in order to ensure the full participation of women in the socialist society and the ongoing proletarian revolution and thereby immensely strengthen that.

revolution." The fact that the rewrite left this off is one of the things that led me to question the line in it much more thoroughly.

Z.P.

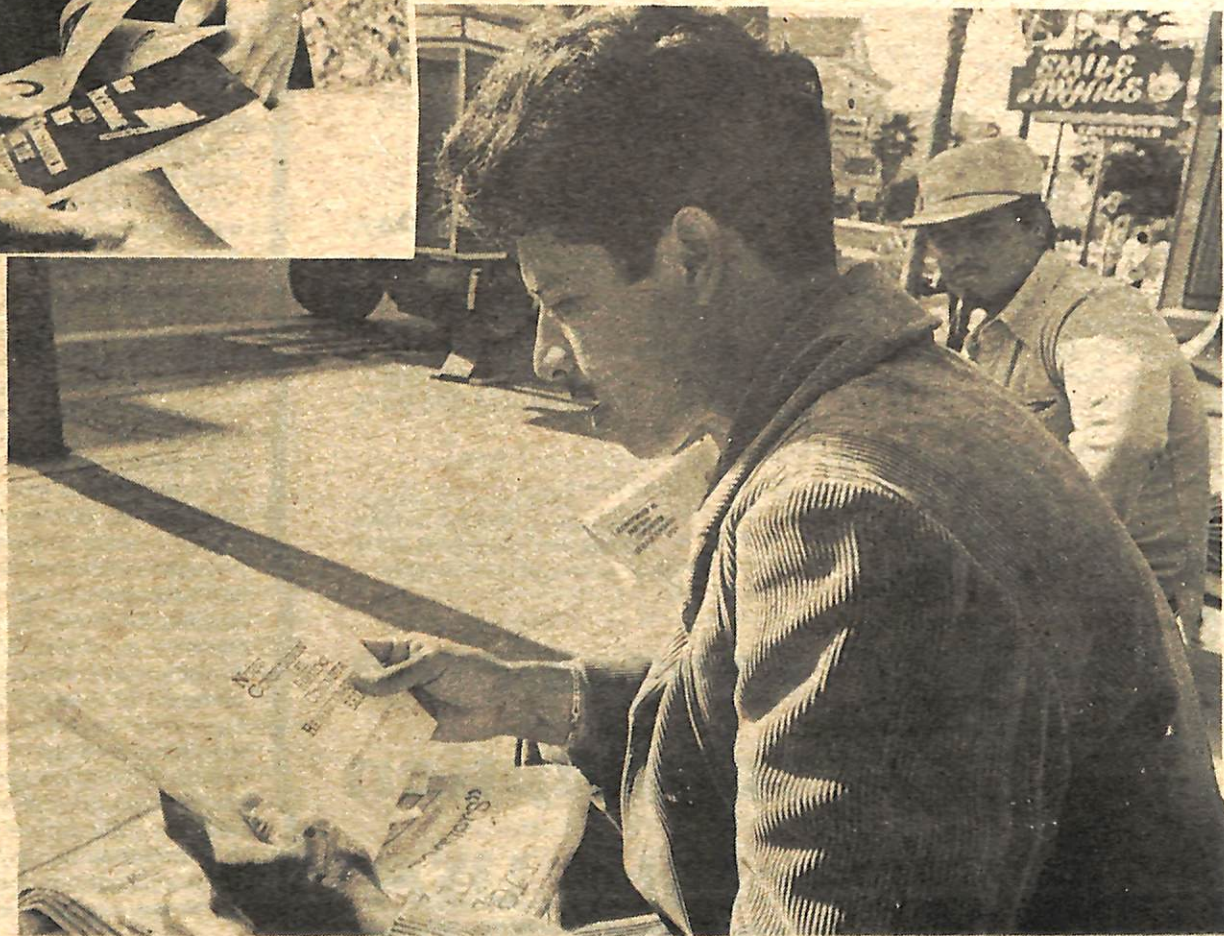
The proletariat, upon seizing power will inherit, among the contradictions left over from the old society, the contradiction between mental and manual labor, perhaps society's oldest and most pernicious, since it lays the basis for classes. In doing away with exploitation and inequality, the proletariat must "free the spirit from its cell." This historic mission must find expression throughout the chapter of the Programme on creating the new socialist society; and to accomplish it the "strategic plan and principle of the united front" must be applied from the standpoint that "the destruction of the old and the creation of the new are closely interconnected."

My criticism of the above chapter is that it needs to go into how the proletariat will unite with different sections of the petty bourgeoisie in creating the new society and not just buy them off and dictate to them as the Programme states (on p. 47). I fully agree with the reader of the October 3 *RW*, who observed that the desire to break with their role as imperialism's caretakers can propel the intellectuals to join the revolution. As the discussion group said in their "notes" (*RW* Oct. 3) the proletariat must be forewarned about the consequences of not winning over or neutralizing them. The Programme will be put squarely on a materialist foundation when it acknowledges the intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie not as a superfluous class, but as part of the productive forces, with expectations, aspirations and potential that have been stifled by imperialism and the bourgeoisie; as a class that must be united with on the basis of struggle to destroy the old imperialist structure of private ownership and domination of the productive forces, and to restructure society on the basis of socialized ownership; and as a class with a decisive role to play in taking up Marxism, consolidating the rule of the working class and eliminating the difference between mental and manual labor.

The following are thoughts on how the proletariat, through the united front strategy will unleash science and the stratum of scientific and professional workers, incorporating points from the Oct. 3 issue. These comments (or adaptations of them) should be incorporated in the Programme as follows: Part I to go in the section of the "United Front" chapter on the petty bourgeoisie (p. 32), deleting phrases such as "the basis for socialization"; Part II to go in the section on the economy under socialism before the section on socialist planning (p. 55).

I. Pure scientific and academic research is a bourgeois category and just as with all property relations, it, and the traditional bourgeois rights as to ideas, discoveries and inventions being the work of individuals will be transformed by the proletariat in line with the socialization of value-creating wealth generally, with its view that the masses make history, not geniuses. The basis for moving to such a transformation is to be found in present-day capitalist relations. For example, scientists are alienated from their discoveries for the most part, anyway; the patents to them are held by the large corporations that employ them. Buying and selling of patents is commonplace and monopoly capital dominates here as well and the law of maximized profits often dictates that socially useful discoveries be put in cold storage because they would make certain industries obsolete. The location of mineral and oil deposits and the recovery techniques are kept in secret company and government vaults—this knowledge is literally stolen from the labor of the people and from countries oppressed by imperialism. Gone are the days when a person could make it with "\$50 and a good idea."

Another basis for socialization of knowledge is that distribution of grant



money and resources to fund research is controlled by the bourgeoisie through agencies such as the American Cancer Society, National Institutes of Health and the National Academy of Sciences; this control and distribution is politically motivated; for example, studies on the effects of waste chemicals on Love Canal residents have been consciously manipulated in an orgy of intra-governmental infighting while residents are held hostage there and told to suck wind. The subordination of the research interests of scientists and academicians to the bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism's quest for domination of the world and even outer space, as well as the work of class-conscious forces broadly taking out the Party's central task, "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power," will awaken their social consciousness that there must be that other road—proletarian revolution.

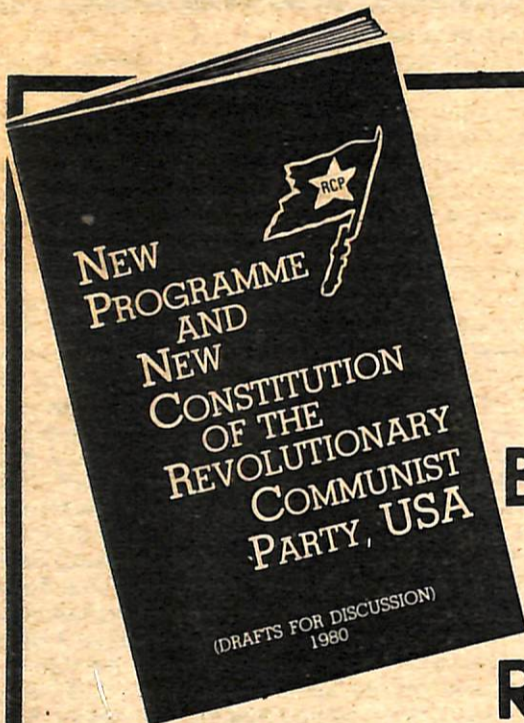
II. Proletarian revolution will liberate the intellectuals from the shackles of capitalism and bourgeois domination of science and research. It will challenge them to join in the process of studying and applying Marxism, criticizing the old relations and their hangers on and diehards, struggling out and uniting over what research areas and projects are relevant and necessary and what ones are frivolous and contrary to advancing class struggle, production and science in the interests of the people. When they see that they are not above society and the masses, and that they have a role to play in administering society in common and in adopting dialectical materialism, the intellectuals will repudiate privilege, careerism, elitism, frivolous research and the marketplace of ideas, which are ways the bourgeoisie panders to them and strengthens its ideological hold.

The proletarian revolution and the continuing revolution under socialism in the realm of science will unleash tremendous centrifugal and centripetal forces characteristic of commodity production: on the one hand, individualism, the outlook of the small proprietor, which will tend to fasten itself onto professional workers, now freed from the discipline of "grantsmanship," school admissions, job placement and bourgeois competition; and on the other hand, bureaucratism that creeps into planning and allocation functions at all levels of administration. These spontaneous tendencies carry with them the danger that, unchecked, they can lead to capitalist restoration and can only be combatted thoroughly by the proletariat, leading the masses to exercise its dictatorship in the realm of science; link science with the class struggle and socialist planning, stress collective work and local, rather than centralized initiative, encourage wide open debates and criticism-self criticism to determine the correct from the incorrect and discourage smugness, parochialism, "stonewalling," intellectual camps and other forms of bourgeois debate and struggle that promote ideas and knowledge as capital. In this way, and in tandem with its policies toward education and those involving the intellectuals in production and class struggle, the proletariat will break down the mental/manual division of labor and promote non-specialization and the all-round development of the skills, knowledge and political consciousness of the masses, and stamp the sciences with its aim and outlook of emancipating mankind and establishing the community of workers.

L.A.

Comrades,

The section on International Relations (pp. 56-57) in the Draft Programme falls short of the Party's understanding of how a socialist state carries out and implements its policies. While the Draft as a whole, including this section, does



## DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION

In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This programme is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for

destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

**"Seize the Day,  
Seize the Hour."**

**New Programme and New  
Constitution of the Revolutionary  
Communist Party, USA (Drafts for  
Discussion).**

\$2.00 (plus 50¢ postage)  
Available from RCP Publications  
P.O. Box 3486, Chicago IL 60654  
or at bookstores in your area.

# the Draft Programme and Draft Constitution RCP, of the USA

represent a tremendous leap in our understanding of internationalism, the ways in which our responsibilities to our class world-wide are instituted, protected and strengthened are left vague and abstract.

Where in this section do you find how the class struggle will unfold on this important front? The working class must be concretely trained in internationalism to make revolution and the same is true even more so after state power is seized if the socialist state is going to advance forward towards communism. This concrete training under socialism will come in the actual battle with the bourgeoisie to defeat national chauvinism and implement socialist policies.

In the Draft this life and death struggle is absent and all that remains is the policies set by the state: military forces will be withdrawn from foreign countries, unequal treaties will be canceled, revolutionary struggles and just wars will be supported, etc... These policies are important, in fact they are absolutely essential in dismantling and crushing the imperialist apparatus and aiding the international proletariat.

But won't the bourgeoisie resist these changes even under the signboard of "socialism"? After all the Soviet Union claims to be fulfilling its "internationalist" duties by "liberating" Afghanistan. Look at Teng, whose reactionary 3-World speech was given at the U.N. while Mao was still alive and China still a socialist country. It is interesting to note that the RCP of Chile in their *Open Letter to the CCP* identifies certain revisionists in China who were carrying out a reactionary policy between Chile and China in both state-to-state and party-to-party relations before the reactionary coup of '75.

Did the internationalist policies of China's foreign relations prevent these revisionists from carrying out *their* counter-revolutionary policies? Of course not, class struggle on the part of the proletariat led by revolutionaries in a communist party to identify and overthrow these traitors is the only way to fight for the implementation of an internationalist stand. In the process of this struggle the working class will be further trained, their consciousness heightened and their real unity with their class brothers and sisters world-wide will be strengthened.

Capitalist-readers are not going to wait and pray for their victory over socialism before they start implementing their chauvinist outlook. History has shown that international relations is an important arena they at all times are trying to pull under their domination as part of their overall strategy to defeat socialism. The working class must be aroused in order to push them back and narrow the freedom they have to operate in this area.

A comrade on returning from China when it was still socialist commented that when she asked a functionary in the CCP what was the nature of the class struggle going on around international relations, he replied, there is none. This was at a time when no revisionist in China would be caught dead exposing himself by outwardly saying class struggle is non-existent under socialism. So, while this bureaucrat, no doubt, feigned belief in the class struggle under socialism, he felt he had the freedom to publicly divorce the realm of international relations from that struggle.

I feel this was partly due to the fact that the class struggle wasn't waged vigorously enough in this realm, that the masses weren't being aroused enough to keep a critical eye on the institution of China's international policies as they had on its policies which were more internal concerning their socialist development (where the class struggle in the main will be the most decisive). And while the Cultural Revolution provided excellent examples of the masses being mobilized around internationalism (demonstrations in support of the Black liberation struggle, the Vietnamese revolution, etc...) I feel it didn't go deep enough. The campaign around denouncing Teng is an example. His theory of productive forces was exposed and his capitulating posturing was identified but there was no struggle unleashed around his traitorous 3-World strategy and how it was a formula for selling out China and the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat. The point here being that to a certain extent, international relations were separated from the overall class struggle, and the revisionists recognized this and used it for all it was worth.

Returning to the Draft, I feel this section is guilty of separating international relations from the overall class struggle. To make this point clearer, compare this section with others under the chapter of "Upon Seizing Power..." Look especially at the section on uprooting national oppression which is a good example. The Draft explains the policies the socialist state will set, like doing away with segregation and so on. But it doesn't stop here, it goes on to show how the initiative of the working class over the masses to sacrifice in order to narrow the divisions between nationalities, isolating and defeating racist fools when they start running their garbage and generally educating and mobilizing the masses to put an end to inequalities. The same method is used on showing how the class struggle will be fought to institute socialist policies in the sections on the economy, unemployment, culture, etc...

This reflects a great advance in the Party's understanding. Socialism is no longer a utopian dream but a goal (not the final goal) we can fight for and advance.

Now look back at the section on international relations: there is no class struggle, just the socialist state (which ultimately means the leaders if the masses aren't activated) instituting internationalist policies. I think to leave this section as it is is dangerous because it reduces the working class to being passive in these matters.

It is dangerous because we have seen in the past what kind of heavy bourgeois pull there is on a socialist state when it enters into state-to-state relations with reactionary countries, especially if it is at a time when the world is moving closer towards war. This presents a difficult contradiction between the policy of peaceful coexistence with certain reactionary countries and our primary duties as internationalists. Bob Avakian talks about this in the CC Report and has pointed out various errors in the International Communist Movement in dealing with this contradiction.

The bourgeoisie will exploit these contradictions under socialism to replace internationalism with national chauvinism. If the working class has been dormant on this front, if they haven't been fighting to defeat the maneuvers of the revisionists, then the capitalist-readers will have greater freedom to turn the socialist state against the revolution of the working class in other countries. In the Draft you don't get any sense of the necessity to keep the proletariat tense around this question since the state has already decreed that state-to-state relations will be subordinate to internationalism, so why worry?

By looking back over the history of socialism in the USSR and China can't we say we are familiar with the various obstacles revisionists will try and construct to sabotage internationalist policies? We should expect them to be kicking up a wind about how we can't sacrifice for revolutionary causes in other countries because we have enough problems building socialism right here at home. Or how conditions are causing us to "adjust" (sabotage) our support for these struggles because of needed compromises that must be made with other states. Perhaps it can take the form of them saying the RCP deserves a special place in the International Communist Movement because we have a larger working class and a higher level of productive forces.

While we can't foresee exactly how the line struggle will unfold, we do understand that it *will* unfold and become quite fierce at times. And we do have a certain sense as to what revisionist concoctions the capitalists will resort to. We also have a grasp of how the proletariat needs to respond to these attacks and it's not by outlawing incorrect policies while the working class sits passively by and read about it in the newspapers. This understanding of the nature of the class struggle around international relations needs to be incorporated into the Programme so the working class in America can make their highest contributions to our international class.

X.T.