

# The Present Party-Building Movement In The USA And The Materialist Conception Of History

## INTRODUCTION

The honest working class reader who has followed some of the sharp and heated debate, the backstabbing and namecalling, the resort even to fistfighting, etc. in the so-called Party-building movement in the USA today will probably be surprised, perhaps even shocked, at our assertion that all of these Party-building groups have at least one important ideological position which they share in common! From the October League to the Communist Labor Party, from the Workers Viewpoint Organization to the RCP, all of the groups in the "new communist movement" hold the view that the origin of Marxism was in the minds of certain bourgeois intelligentsia and in particular in the minds of two great individuals of the 19th Century, Marx and Engels.

Before the reader becomes overly optimistic about the possibility for developing *principled* unity among these groups and organizations based on their fundamental agreement on this key question of Marxist world outlook, it is necessary to point out that the agreement of these Party-building groups is not however in agreement with, but is in fact in fundamental opposition to the Marxist approach to the origin of scientific socialism. Their idealist conception of the origin of Marxism is in fundamental opposition to the teachings of Marxism on this key philosophical question.

The question of where does Marxism come from is an exceedingly important question for the revolutionary Marxist to answer in a generally correct fashion at any time, for the kind of answer given to *this* question will both reflect and contribute to the approach of the proletarian revolutionary to *the leaders, the party, the class, and the masses* during the course of the actual struggle against capital. It will be affected by and in turn will affect the *objective* role played by the revolutionary in the concrete class and national struggles against international capital. It will affect the path which such revolutionaries will take in struggling to establish a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party in the USA. This fact applies equally to those revolutionaries in the oppressed nations within the state boundaries of US imperialism, including Puerto Rico and the Black Belt Afro-American Nation among others, who may well be successful in establishing Marxist-Leninist Parties in their nations prior to the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist Party in the US (North) oppressor nation or of a single multi-national Marxist-Leninist Party in the US multi-national state as a whole.

At this particular historical moment in the USA, when there is a growing restlessness in the working class movement and a growing reawakening of this class to its own strengths, when there is no genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, no party of the revolutionary proletariat, and when many groups are seriously discussing how such a party can be established, and when these groups are actually taking steps to establish parties which they claim can meet the great task of leading the US proletariat in the revolutionary overthrow of US imperialism, the leader of the imperialist camp, their efforts for the most part are already doomed to defeat. Their idealist based plans and actions regarding party-building are destined to be scuttled on the rocks of reality.

Hence, we believe that the fact that all these various party-building groups share an idealist conception of the origin of Marxism means that this position constitutes a formidable obstacle to the building of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party in the USA. Therefore, this pamphlet will hopefully play at least a small part in reviving the teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the materialist conception of history. In this way we will help to discover the *material* basis upon which honest proletarian revolutionaries can be mobilized for the creation, the consolidation, and the development of a new genuine Communist Party in the USA, capable of fulfilling its historical tasks as the vanguard of the US section of the revolutionary international proletariat. Furthermore, the revival of the Marxist-Leninist materialist conception of history can only strengthen the international communist movement which is dominated by modern revisionism centered in the USSR on the one hand, and by the present Chinese leadership with its vulgar idealist conception of history on the other.

From the outset it is important for the honest working class reader to recognize a number of points: 1) This particular dogma of the "new communist movement" not only is wrong *today* but has always been in opposition to the fundamental teachings of Marxism. Chapter I, "The Materialist Conception of History: A Fundamental Proposition of Marxism-Leninism" establishes this fact. 2) The implementation of this anti-Marxist dogma by the "new communist movement" is extremely harmful to the practical struggle of the proletariat and the struggle to build a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party in the USA. Chapter II, "The Idealist Conception of History Put Forth by the 'New Communist Movement' and its Implications for Party-Building in the USA Today" examines this phenomenon. 3) The "new communist movement" has, of course, dusted off a few pages found on the shelves of the accumulated writings of Leninism which seem on the surface to be a justification of this dogma. We examine the main text which has been abused by the "new communist movement" in Chapter III, "A Leninist Examination of *What is to be Done?*, the 'Bible' of the 'New Communist Movement' and How the 'New Communist Movement' 'Upholds the Faith' ". 4) Their dogma must be tested by the Leninist method, i. e., "in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, in the crucible of living practice." Chapter IV, "Some Historical Experience of the International Proletariat in Party-Building" examines significant experience of the revolutionary proletariat in the USA, the USSR, China, and Albania. 5) The "new communist movement's" dogma on this question is so unanimously agreed upon by all the different groups and organizations that none of these forces ever question it; and so it is difficult to even find this position in print. The material reasons for their unanimity on this vital issue are examined in Chapter VA, "The Class and National Origin of the 'New Communist Movement' and of its Idealist Conception of History" and also in Chapter VB, "The Political Origins and Leadership of the 'New Communist Movement' and its Political Goals." 6) Finally, we attempt to draw some theoretical conclusions to which a materialist conception of history give rise in the current political situation. Based on this materialist conception, we project some key political strategy which honest proletarian revolutionaries must correctly act on in the course of successfully building a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party in the USA. In Chapter VI, "Some Conclusions About the Present Party-Building Movement in the USA and the Tasks Of Marxist-Leninists", we set these forth.