

PROGRAM: A DRAFT OUTLINE

The program of *Ray O. Light* is based upon the strategic interests of the international proletariat.

We fight for the elimination of the exploitation of man by man from the face of the earth and with it the elimination of the material and ultimately the ideological bases for antagonistic conflicts among people, i.e., in the first place, the elimination of war. Hence our program is a struggle for Brotherhood and Peace.

Ours is a program for ushering in the grand future of Communism. However, we recognize that the path of our march to that future has many twists and turns. We further realize that it is *through their own experience* that the proletariat will come to see the need for and make a fight for this communist future. Hence *Ray O. Light* recognizes the necessity of a transitional epoch from the time of the proletarian triumph over capitalism until the advent of world communism. Hence the need to fight for the Socialist Revolution which will pave the road to Communism.

Because of the deep rooted capitalist way of life, of thought, etc., that will, of necessity, be the legacy of the old, dying system of capitalism to its offspring and grave digger, socialism, a prolonged period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the form of rule under Socialism, will be necessary in order to utterly vanquish the capitalist system. The dictatorship of the proletariat will provide that training ground in which the proletarian masses will become capable both of ruling themselves and ultimately of living under and creating the Communist future.

In addition to the above, *Ray O. Light* recognizes that in those countries where national development has been suppressed, distorted, restricted and repressed by imperialist domination, the proletariat must play an active, *leading* role in the democratic stage of the revolution in order to lead the democratic revolution to a thorough and decisive resolution and to extend the field of its activity so as to be in the strongest position (to pass the rifle from one shoulder to the other [Lenin, *Two Tactics*]) —to quickly pass to the socialist revolution.

Even in advanced capitalist-imperialist countries, where fascism may be resorted to by the imperialist bourgeois rulers, various fronts both within the working class and of the working class as the vanguard in alliance with other classes and strata may be necessary. Such an alliance may take the form of temporary coalition governments that would include Communists, as a part of the process by which the masses of the proletariat come to the fight for socialism and communism. (see Dimitroff, *United Front Against Fascism*)

The genuine Communist Parties and the Communist International must be the path finder, the organizer, and the vanguard of this forward march of history undertaken by the proletariat and the toiling masses of humanity. The task of the Communist Parties and the Communist International is to find the path, and to organize and lead the working class and its allies *through their own experience* to communism. Hence a vital task of *Ray O. Light* is to wage a systematic and persistent struggle for the establishment of a genuine Communist Party to lead the revolutionary proletariat to victory in the various nations within the present state boundaries of US imperialism (or where conditions ripen, perhaps a party in each nation oppressed by the US(North) oppressor nation) against the US multi-national state apparatus. Hence *Ray O. Light* must wage a systematic and persistent struggle for the building of a new Communist International to lead victorious struggles of the international proletariat, based on proletarian internationalism, over international capital, headed by US imperialism.

The most consistent and principled *struggle against opportunism* is a vital component of the struggle for the establishment of a genuine CPUSA and/or CP's in the nations presently imprisoned within the state boundaries of US imperialism as well as of the struggle for the establishment of a new CI. We recognize that, in this period, when opportunist parties and policies are backed by state power in the USSR and the People's Republic of China etc., that the struggle against opportunism is especially difficult and especially important for the long run victory of the international proletariat. We believe that the Cambodian Party (though no doubt inspired by the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle and by the Communist Party of China's struggle against Russian revisionism in the early '60's) because it emerged and developed independent of and in opposition to the predominant forces in the Soviet and Chinese Parties in the late 1960's was able to chart out a path and lead the Cambodian (Khmer) masses down the path of *military victory* over US imperialism and inspire the heroic Vietnamese people to force their leadership to adopt a fight for *military victory* there as well during April of 1975. The victories of the heroic Cambodian and Vietnamese people have in turn given new life and hope to the oppressed and toiling peoples throughout the world.

The main contradiction in the world today is clearly between the "handful of civilized nations on the one hand, and the hundreds of millions of colonial and dependent peoples of the world on the other." (Stalin, *Foundations*)

Of the imperialist powers, it remains US imperialism whose bloody hands are at work, whether in Indo-China, in Lebanon, in Southern Africa, in the Mediterranean, in Latin America. It is US imperialism which retains the title of international hangman of revolutions. But in Cambodia this number one enemy of the

international proletariat was not only beaten militarily but has thus far been prevented from repenetrating through diplomatic, economic, and other channels.

In the international arena, the situation remains largely as described by *Youth for Stalin* in April of 1968; namely, "Since the death of Stalin, the two main characteristics of the international situation have been 1) the intensification of the contradiction between the oppressed nations and US imperialism; and 2) the development of a policy in most socialist countries of betrayal of the oppressed nations based on the ascendancy of the national bourgeois class in the socialist countries." (page 1, *The Role of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the International Marxist-Leninist Movement: The October Revolution vs. the "Cultural Revolution"*)

Within the USA, there are today companion tasks of finding the path and party-building. Unfortunately, we find ourselves here in a situation not so very different from that described by Comrade Lenin one-half century ago.

"It is far more difficult—and far more useful—to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle *do not yet exist*, to defend the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organization) in non-revolutionary bodies and even in downright reactionary bodies, in non-revolutionary circumstances, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action. The main task of contemporary Communism in Western Europe and America is to learn to seek, to find, to correctly determine the specific path or the particular turn of events that will *bring* the masses *right up against* the real, last, decisive and great revolutionary struggle." (pages 77-78, *Left-Wing Communism* Lenin's emphasis)

This problem is compounded in the USA today by the fact that the predominant class composition of the so-called "Marxist movement" is the privileged petty-bourgeoisie of the US (North) oppressor nation (i.e., presently the chief oppressor nation in the world). This class (and national) composition has been the material basis upon which the "new communist movement" has been totally unable to grasp the *materialist* reality of the present concrete situation in the USA. Since they cannot fathom where the class and the masses really are, these petty bourgeois democrats are doomed to failure in their effort to chart a path to get from where we are now to the great new human era of Communism. In fact these petty bourgeois democrats represent a significant obstacle to this development.

What then is the present concrete situation that confronts the working class in the various nations that make up the present state boundaries of US imperialism? What are the strategic tasks that flow from these conditions?

STAGES OF THE REVOLUTION AND STRATEGY IN THE US MULTI-NATIONAL STATE

The great teachers and leaders of the class struggle of the proletariat, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao have taught us that in analysing part of a situation we must understand the situation as a whole.

Our understanding, then, of the relationship of forces within the USA is conditioned by our recognition of the fact that internationally the main contradiction in the world is between the handful of civilized nations, headed by US imperialism on the one hand, and on the other, the hundreds of millions of colonial and dependent peoples fighting for their national independence from imperialist domination. This fact of life of the post-World War II period has been reflected in the decisive (if in many cases only temporary) victories of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Some of these victories include the world historic victory of the Chinese revolution and the great victories of the revolutions in Korea, Cuba, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Guineau Bissau, Indonesia, Congo Brazzaville, Tanzania, South Yemen, Albania and ultimately all of Indochina.

These great struggles had a tremendous impact on the peoples of the US whose country was the target of many of these liberation struggles. Particularly the Afro-American people centered in their Black Belt homeland were inspired to exert once again a great effort in the cause of their own emancipation. Beginning in the late 1950's and culminating in the Black Power Movement in the period '66 to '69, the Black people rose up in their oppressed Black Belt Nation and then in the Afro-American minority communities in the US (North) oppressor nation and shook the very foundations of the bulwark of world capitalism. Inspired by the rising peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and particularly by the Afro-American people's struggle, the Chicano and Puerto Rican people's movements sprung up and fought significant battles against their imperialist oppressor during the late '60's and into the '70's.

Today the finest sons and daughters of the working class in the US multi-national state have been largely produced out of the powerful struggles of the Afro-American, Chicano and Puerto Rican people for land and freedom.

Given the political history of the US in the past decade and more, and in light of the decisive victory of the Indo-Chinese peoples over US imperialism during the past few years, and particularly in light of the relationship between the victorious independence movement of the peoples of Mozambique, Guineau Bissau and Angola, with the revolution in Portugal, it becomes clear that a strategy for the proletarian revolution of the US

multi-national state must start with a recognition of the central revolutionary role which must be played in this period by the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples of the Black Belt and Puerto Rico (and quite likely in Aztlan and Appalachia as well).

The strategy we believe history has set forth for these nations is to complete the national democratic revolution against US imperialist occupation and domination and for the elimination of all the pre-capitalist remnants in these societies with which US imperialism maintains its rule in these oppressed nations.

In *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Lenin says, "It was the Bolsheviks who strictly took into account the difference between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution; by carrying the first to its logical end they opened the door for passing to the second. This was the only policy that was revolutionary and Marxian." (page 89) This is our fundamental approach to the strategic task of the proletarian revolutionaries in these oppressed nations.

-The Afro-American Nation in the Black Belt:

OBJECTIVE OF THIS STRATEGIC STAGE: completely wipe out the feudal (slave) survivals, especially the plantation system, and the extra-legal KKK apparatus, and drive US imperialism out of the Black Belt, including the smashing of plantation comprador apparatus.

THE MAIN FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION: the Afro-American (Black) proletariat.

IMMEDIATE RESERVES: the Afro-American (Black) peasantry, woodhauers, farmers etc., and the Afro-American (Black) petty-bourgeoisie, Afro-American (Black) petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, etc.

PROBABLE RESERVES: Southern white (Afro-American ethnic minority) proletariat and peasant toilers, the Native American people, Afro-American (Black) national minority communities in the US (North) oppressor nation, proletariat and national liberation movements in Aztlan and Puerto Rico, left-wing of Afro-American (Black) national bourgeoisie.

POSSIBLE RESERVES: white (Afro-American ethnic minority) petty bourgeoisie, Appalachian proletariat and national liberation movement.

DIRECTION OF MAIN BLOW: right-wing of the Afro-American (Black and White) national bourgeoisie striving to win over the toiling masses and to liquidate the struggle by compromising with imperialism.

DISPOSITION OF FORCES: alliance of Afro-American (Black) proletariat with Afro-American (Black) peasantry [hopefully quickly to pass over to alliance between Afro-American Black and White (Afro-American minority) proletariat with Black and White (Afro-American minority) peasantry and Afro-American (Black) petty-bourgeoisie].

-The Puerto Rican Nation:

OBJECTIVE OF THIS STRATEGIC STAGE: destruction of feudal survivals, driving out of US imperialism.

MAIN FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION: proletariat.

IMMEDIATE RESERVES: peasantry, landless peasants, migrant farm laborers (to and from USA), petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, etc.

PROBABLE RESERVES: Puerto Rican and Latino national minority communities in the US (North), Afro-American proletariat and national liberation struggle, Chicano proletariat and national liberation movement, proletariat and national liberation movements of Latin America, left-wing of Puerto Rican national bourgeoisie.

POSSIBLE RESERVES: US multi-national proletariat.

DIRECTION OF MAIN BLOW: right-wing of Puerto Rican national bourgeoisie striving to win over the toiling masses and liquidate the revolution through compromise with US imperialism.

DISPOSITION OF FORCES: Puerto Rican proletariat in alliance with peasantry and petty-bourgeoisie.

Ray O. Light has far less experience and has done far less research on the character of the struggle of the people of Aztlan as well as the struggle of the people of Appalachia than in regard to the other peoples considered here. Yet we believe the following outline for a revolutionary strategy in Aztlan and Appalachia is on the right track.

-The Nation of Aztlan in the US Southwest:

OBJECTIVE OF THIS STRATEGIC STAGE: to drive out US imperialism and wipe out the feudal remnants in the countryside.

THE MAIN FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION: the Chicano proletariat.

IMMEDIATE RESERVES: Chicano peasantry and rural proletariat.

PROBABLE RESERVES: the Native American (Indian) peoples in the territory of Aztlan, Chicano petty bourgeois intelligentsia, the Afro-American proletariat and Afro-American national libera-

tion movement, the Mexican proletariat and Mexican national liberation movement, the Puerto Rican proletariat and national liberation movement, the proletariat and national liberation movements of Latin America.

POSSIBLE RESERVES: multi-national proletariat of US (North), especially the Chicano national minority proletarians and other Latin and Afro-American proletarians in the US (North), Appalachian proletariat and national liberation movement, left-wing of Chicano national bourgeoisie.

DIRECTION OF THE MAIN BLOW: the isolation of the right-wing of the Chicano national bourgeoisie, striving to win over the peasantry and liquidate the revolution by a compromise with US imperialism.

PLAN FOR THE DISPOSITION OF FORCES: alliance of the Chicano working class with the Chicano peasantry.

-The Appalachian Nation:

OBJECTIVE OF THIS STRATEGIC STAGE: to drive out US imperialism and wipe out the tyrannical rule of the coal baron, dominated police-court apparatus.

MAIN FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION: the Appalachian proletariat, especially the coal miners.

IMMEDIATE RESERVES: Appalachian peasantry, mainly subsistence farmers and tenant farmers.

PROBABLE RESERVES: Afro-American proletariat and Afro-American national liberation movement, Chicano proletariat and Aztlan national liberation movement, Native American people of Appalachia, Appalachian petty bourgeois intelligentsia.

POSSIBLE RESERVES: multi-national proletariat of US (North), especially the Appalachian national minority proletarians, left-wing of the Appalachian national bourgeoisie.

DIRECTION OF THE MAIN BLOW: the isolation of the right-wing of the Appalachian national bourgeoisie, striving to win over the peasantry and liquidate the revolution by a compromise with US imperialism.

PLAN FOR THE DISPOSITION OF FORCES: alliance of the Appalachian working class with the Appalachian peasantry.

Recognizing that the struggle in the US (North) oppressor nation does not have the *immediate* revolutionary potential that exists in the oppressed nations discussed above, nevertheless the stage of the revolution in the US (North) oppressor nation is at a higher level,

i.e., the socialist revolution. But the strategy for the US (North) Socialist Revolution must be undertaken in relation to the central, immediate strategic struggles in the nations oppressed by US imperialism including those within the US multi-national state. The strategic objective of the proletarian revolution in the US (North) oppressor nation is to overthrow monopoly capitalist rule and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In light of the situation in the world as a whole, including the present conditions in the US (North) itself, the accomplishment of this objective will involve a protracted process beginning with a defense of the working class' economic position against the cutbacks and other encroachments of monopoly capital under the impetus of the economic crisis.

-US (North) Oppressor Nation:

OBJECTIVE OF THIS STRATEGIC STAGE: to overthrow monopoly capitalist rule and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

MAIN FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION: multi-national industrial proletariat.

IMMEDIATE RESERVES: rural proletariat, national minority communities, urban toiling petty-bourgeoisie, e.g., independent truckers, self-employed carpenters, etc.

PROBABLE RESERVES: proletariat and national liberation struggles in oppressed Afro-American and Puerto Rican nations, as well as in Aztlan and Appalachia, Native American people (in US North).

DIRECTION OF MAIN BLOW: isolation of petty - bourgeois democrats who teach the proletariat either class collaboration (e.g., CPUSA, Trade Union bureaucratic leadership, CLP) or teach the proletariat premature class warfare (e.g., OL, RCP).

DISPOSITION OF FORCES: multi-national industrial proletariat—rural proletariat alliance with oppressed nations within and outside the present state boundaries of US imperialism.