

curable romantic would think that we can move from liberal bourgeois democracy to the socialist revolution.

We can move forward and prepare ourselves for the struggle if we can extract the necessary lessons from the McCarthy period, the last time of intense reaction. By 1948 revolutionaries saw the period of reaction coming. The Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) leadership did nothing to prepare the comrades ideologically and organizationally for the probabilities. The leadership was centralized by factions rather than on an internal legality, which prevented the membership from influencing the leaders. The only course of action left to coward and influential communist alike was to desert a Party they could not influence.

The CLP must take all necessary steps to prepare for a semi-legal or even clandestine existence before the blow is struck. The leaders of the CPUSA understood clandestine as running and hiding. They did just that, and as they ran and hid, they took the FBI with them. We must not make that error. The Party must fight its way, not run, but fight its way deep into the mass movement where it cannot be isolated and destroyed. Fighting its way means that through agitation we win a section of the class over to the liberating ideology of communism. History proves that once a section of the class and the Party are ideologically united, the Party is indestructible.

The basis of a clandestine party is organizational decentralization and political centralization. Such a party must have cadre capable of finding their own way. They can find their own way through political centralization. Such a party must have collectives capable of sustained struggle without daily guidance from a central office. This can only be accomplished by political centralization.

We cannot will this into existence. We have to fight for it. To do so we must guarantee certain internal conditions.

We must guard our democratic centralism. We must not be misled on this difficult question. We are not a democratic party. We are a centralized party. Democracy is the foundation for our centralism. Centralism guides and limits our democracy. By this we mean that our policy is democratically determined at the Congress. From then until the next Congress no organization within the Party can democratically decide to change that policy. Each organization must democratically decide how to

carry out the policy. We must have freedom of discussion. Serious revolutionaries are not going to stay in a party that does not allow discussion. The corrective to freedom of discussion is the overwhelming demand for unity of action. No one may use that freedom of discussion in such a way as to factionalize or undercut in any way our unity of action.

We must strengthen our communist ideology. No party can withstand the stress of a semi-legal existence without a firm ideology. Strengthening ideology means strengthening our theoretical education. More so it means that all the comrades participate on all levels of the working class struggle. Not simply as agitators, but as fighters for a cause. A side of communist ideology is the detached scientific understanding of capitalism, its place in history, and the dialectics of its function. The other side is a passionate hatred for the class enemy. This can only result from battle.

Only one angel at a time can stand on the head of an ideological pin. If we intend to strengthen communist ideology, we have to fight to weaken and eliminate bourgeois ideology. Conditions have never been ripe before for us to carry out this struggle. We were correct in avoiding a fight over ideology, as "ideological rectification" apart from the real world is simply an exercise that strengthens sectarianism. Conditions are changing. Now that fight becomes an absolute necessity.

We must achieve collectivity. This means winning the battle against bourgeois egotism and individualism. We expose individualism in the struggle for collectivity. It would seem that the simplest and safest way to approach a problem is to proceed from what the Party has had to say. Not so with individualists. They proceed from what they think. Individualism is a form of bourgeois egotism. Bourgeois egotism is a framework for a subjective view of the world. This is our real target. It is not possible for a comrade to come up with the correct solution to a problem if the problem is viewed subjectively. The sole path to objectivity is the fight for the collectivity of the Party as a whole. This is what political centralism means and it cannot be accomplished without collectivity.