

revolutionary movement. That forces the Party to become its subjective expression. That forces the Party to become its political, theoretical, and ideological expression — not the revolutionary movement itself.

The existing, but subverting spontaneous movement is a reformist movement. We should be clear. Both movements are movements for reform. One is a reformist movement for reform within the capitalist system, and the other is a revolutionary movement for reform. The former forced the communists to be or pretend to be the revolutionary movement. That's why it was so easily defeated.

During the McCarthy period it was not possible to use the reformist social motion to win. The battle was entirely fought out on the subjective level. Eisenhower was correct. It was a battle for the hearts and minds of men. The workers were won to anti-communism on the ideological level because of the rapidly expanding economy and bribery.

The battle now is different. We can out smart, out plan and out fight them. Because it is objective, we can use the reaction itself as a source of strength to finally defeat the bourgeoisie.

Doing so demands that every comrade understand how we are going about it. They must unlearn much of what they have learned in the past period. They learned how to subjectively respond to the subjective. They learned to only deal with things they could manipulate. They learned to be a revolutionary movement. They now must learn to deal with, to compromise with, to penetrate and influence the objective social motion. This can be done when we have a thorough understanding of the foundations of that motion and its inevitable political direction.

Once we grasp this we will become enthusiastic and militant. The bourgeoisie's strategy is to stop the inevitable. Ours is to make it happen. It is clear which side will win.

Briefly, this is the political problem we face. The enemy understands the power of the spontaneous movement. They have had more than forty years to establish a network of leadership, to entrench agents, to structure the movement, to give it ideology and political direction. We communists are welcome in the trade union movement, the black movement, the Mexican movement and other parts of the spontaneous movement as energetic organizers or fighters. They have blocked us as

revolutionaries and ideologists since the middle 1930s with the resultant disorientation of the communist movement.

This is changing in a fundamental way. Let's use a military analogy. We are trying to take a strategic city. Our reconnaissance shows us that we are facing full strength ideological divisions. Further investigation shows there is a gap between them.

Now as an officer corps how should we deal with this? Should we disregard the gap and continue to attack? Should we shift all our troops to move through the gap and exploit the breakthrough leaving the rest of the front exposed? Or, should we have limited holding action all along the front while we shift any available troops to launch a furious and relentless assault at the gap. Our objective would be to get inside the city, forcing a collapse of the existing front and carrying out the decisive phase of the battle inside the city.

We have chosen the last plan. The bourgeoisie cannot defend homelessness and illiteracy and lack of health care. They cannot defend the poverty they created. The deepening and broadening struggle around survival is the cornerstone of the revolutionary process.

The capitalist class is moving up their reserves in the form of advocates and do gooders but they cannot fill the gap. Here is a sector of the spontaneous movement that we can capture and by doing so open the entire fortress to us. Once inside we can force the rest of the movement to deal with the consequences of poverty. We can force them to take a class position. The bourgeoisie's indispensable and irreplaceable reserves will become front line revolutionary fighters. Then begins the battle for power.

The troops are the victims of the capitalist system whom we have helped put into social activity. We use that activity to prove to the rest of society that the ruling class is not fit to rule. Then we can prove that any society which fails to provide the necessities of life ought to be and will be overthrown.

That's why we concentrate on the survival movement. That's why we help it form and shape itself and why we educate it. Above all, we must learn to apply the directive of the *Communist Manifesto*, "In all these movements, communists bring the property question to the fore, regarding it as fundamental, no matter what phase of development it may happen to be."