

# Unity-Struggle-Unity

Statement of Intent,  
Editorial Plan



*unite all that can be united*

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# Statement of Editorial Intent

*Unity–Struggle–Unity* is a new Marxist-Leninist press based in the U.S. Our goal is to contribute to the advancement of the Communist movement in settler-colonized North America, from within the belly of the world-imperialist beast, towards unity, through comradely struggle.

We plan for *Unity–Struggle–Unity* to begin as a website, USU Online, which will be launched in the coming weeks. Once we procure the necessary funds, we intend to expand into print. Our full plan for the press, detailing each of its components and projects, is included in this booklet.

From the outset, we pledge that USU will maintain an *explicitly* Marxist-Leninist perspective. Why? For the simple reason that, unlike some parties and presses, we aren't in the business or habit of attempting to deceive the masses, our comrades, and ourselves. Because "Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." Because we reject liberalism. At the same time, we will welcome collaboration with revolutionary socialists of all varieties and with the broader pro-Communist Left.

*Unity–Struggle–Unity* was conceived by a small and tight-knit, yet geographically dispersed, circle of experienced, politically active, locally organized Communists — don't worry, we're not just sitting around in armchairs. The press is managed by our rotating Editorial Board. Our current editors, as we prepare for launch, are Cdes. Katsfoter (he/him), Mazal (she/her), and Sylveste (he/him). We use pseudonyms for this purpose as a matter of operational security.

Why did we decide to launch *Unity–Struggle–Unity*? For the same reason many newspapers, journals, etc., are launched: We believe that there is a deficiency in the current field. Namely, we believe that the Communist movement within the U.S. Empire presently lacks a Marxist-Leninist press capable of connecting the myriad local revolutionary struggles being carried on, in a dissociated fashion, across North America, and of thereby effecting our

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movement's advancement towards unity, which in turn stands as the vital precondition for building the revolution. Faced with these challenges, the U.S. Communist movement is in dire need of *accessible, receptive, and principled* periodicals, capable of contributing towards the further unification of our divided, scattered, and disorganized movement. We believe that *Unity-Struggle-Unity* has the potential to fill this deficiency — if not in whole, then in part; if not alone, then in collaboration with comrades across the U.S. Empire and beyond its borders.

In its conceptual phase, *Unity-Struggle-Unity* grew out of our circle's collaborative study of the challenges and questions we've all faced as organized revolutionaries. Despite our wide geographical dispersion, our team has worked to connect our localized organizational roots, to coordinate the tactics of our local formations into the beginnings of an actual strategy, and to channel our experiences in local struggles through our shared Marxist-Leninist ideological framework, into a higher collectivity of study, practical experimentation, concrete analysis of revolutionary questions, and theory production. *Unity-Struggle-Unity* is the logical result of and "next step" for our collaboration: We launched USU intent on expanding our work to serve the advancement of our movement.

### **Our analysis of the U.S. Communist movement — in a nutshell**

Based on our experiences as organized revolutionaries, our collective study, and our analysis thus far, which will follow this letter, we hold that the immediate and vital task of present-day U.S.-based Communists is the continent-wide unification of our movement — or, more briefly, *Communist unity*.

What, practically and tangibly speaking, does "Communist unity" mean?

We understand Communist unity — or, as Lenin called it, a "unity of Marxists" — to mean the unification of the U.S. Communist movement, that is, in definite terms, the clear majority of militantly organized U.S.-based Communists, into a genuinely revolutionary, "All-U.S." Communist Party, capable of serving the revolutionary masses as their vanguard, of leading the revolutionary movement, nascently reawakening and resurging as the period of unipolar imperialist stability begins to deteriorate, to the victorious overthrow and total abolition of the U.S. Empire, and, thereafter, of overseeing the commencement of the decolonization and socialist transformation of North America.

From our analysis of the present-day U.S. Communist movement and its recent history, we have concluded that the task of achieving Communist unity will entail two major components:

On the first hand, an "All-Empire" Communist Party must be capable of uniting, centralizing, and effectively coordinating the myriad local struggles already being waged across the U.S. Empire, which have hitherto carried on in a dissociated, atomized fashion, under a winning "all-empire" program and strategy. We want to make clear that the local efforts of many, likely several thousand, locally organized revolutionaries across the U.S. Empire are nothing short of heroic — especially those doing the mundane, simple, and too often neglected work of serving the people. However, in the absence of any greater Communist unity, these myriad disconnected struggles are failing to *build towards* anything *beyond* temporary, spatially confined victories, towards the advancement of a revolutionary movement within and against the U.S. Empire; instead, the revolutionary energy they do build dissipates at the local level, before it can accumulate at the regional level, let alone the continental or "all-empire" level. Thus, while the sheer number of organized revolutionaries across the U.S. has boomed in the last few years, while a great many of those revolutionaries are engaged in militant and truly heroic local work, and while the level of consciousness and activity among the oppressed masses generally has never been higher in contemporary

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history, the revolutionary movement, from a holistic viewpoint, has largely stagnated, particularly since the petering out of the Summer 2020 Uprisings. Therefore, to advance the U.S. Communist movement to its next stage, the stage of building towards the social revolution, we must first achieve Communist unity.

On the other hand, at the same time, Communist unity cannot be achieved merely by Communists joining, en masse, one of the few relatively large, all-U.S. "Marxist" parties that currently exist — for example, the "Communist Party" USA or the Party for Socialism and Liberation, to name the two numerically largest. Why not? For one, most of the relatively large parties fester with deeply entrenched revisionism, to the point of abandoning revolutionary struggles altogether, and chauvinism, to the point of rebuking decolonization, advocating "socialist" settler-patriotism, sheltering credibly accused abusers, and expelling comrades who've been abused for airing their grievances — just to scratch the surface. But if it were possible to overcome these ideological, practical, and organizational failures through struggle, then certainly we would be called on as Communists to struggle. Unfortunately, these few relatively large U.S. "Marxist" parties are not only deeply revisionist and chauvinist, but in fact *unsalvageably* so. Why? Because their entrenched leaderships have built anti-democratic, commandist organizational structures, which render internal ideological and line struggle effectively impossible. In practice, with each next U.S. general election and each next abuse scandal, these parties demonstrate again and again their *fundamental* brokenness. Moreover, these relatively large, unsalvageable all-U.S. parties have, in effect, if not intent, *served our enemies*, by *drawing out* several thousand potential revolutionaries from *actually revolutionary* struggles and meaningful praxis; by putting them to work as election volunteers for the Democratic Party; by corraling them into settler-patriotism and expelling those who uphold the necessity of decolonization; by absorbing these comrades into massive, cop-infested, pyramid-scheme-designed, thoroughly anti-revolutionary honeypots. This situation has left a significant bulk of U.S.-based Communists entirely pacified. And, it can't go unstated, it has left countless gender-oppressed comrades abused and silenced in the process. In sum, none of the relatively large U.S. "Marxist" parties have proven themselves capable of achieving *Communist* unity, let alone of becoming *the* vanguard of the revolutionary movement that is once more taking hold in North America. To again refer to Lenin, Communist unity should not be mistaken to mean a "unity" between Marxists and the opponents, distorters, and liquidators of Marxism who currently dominate our movement, impede its further advancement, and shamelessly serve our enemies by absorbing and redirecting a significant portion of its resurging energy. On the contrary, the task of achieving Communist unity demands that these hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of comrades, who currently linger as potential revolutionaries in the rank-and-file general memberships of the relatively large but unsalvageable parties, be *drawn back into the revolutionary movement*. In other words, we must unite those comrades who can be united, while isolating the reactionaries who long ago commandeered leadership.

These two components are the essence of the task of Communist unification and set the preconditions for advancing our movement to its next stage.

### **Our plan for Unity–Struggle–Unity**

True to its name, the overarching purpose of *Unity–Struggle–Unity* is to contribute towards this vital task, the realization of Communist unity, through immovably principled, dialogical ideological struggle — struggle *against* the revolution's enemies and *against* all liquidator-reactionaries lurking within our movement, comradely struggle *between* Communists, and struggle *for* the oppressed masses — in service of connecting the myriad local revolutionary

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struggles carrying on across the U.S. Empire. If we were asked to condense our "mission statement" into a single sentence, this would be it.

We have no illusions concerning the gravity and scope of the challenges our movement faces. The Communist movement in the U.S. Empire is only now beginning to recover from the systematic destruction wreaked upon it a few scant decades ago. This recovery will not be simple or easy. Our movement's decades-old fractures must be healed; it must be cured of the revisionist and chauvinist rot festering within it; it must advance ideologically and politically; it must develop a clear-sighted, scientific, and militant program, strategy, and arsenal of tactics; and, finally, it must be unified. Communist unity will be achieved not merely by wishing and pleading for it, nor merely by insisting upon and demanding it, but only by actively, dialogically, and cooperatively stitching together the great many revolutionary, but as yet dissociated and atomized, local formations into a single party; by absorbing the potentially revolutionary rank-and-file of the relatively large but unsalvageably revisionist and chauvinist parties; and by building a solidly democratic-centralist organizational infrastructure that is *both* well-centralized *and* genuinely democratic. We intend for *Unity-Struggle-Unity* to serve the advancement of this process, but we recognize that no single Communist press or publisher, however principled its editorial policy, however insightful its content, can conjure with mere words a reality of Communist unity. Moreover, while the task of Communist unification is certainly an urgent one, especially given the ongoing, unchecked deterioration of our Earth's ecosphere, suffering under the assault of global Capital, we anticipate that unification will, unfortunately, be a years-long, arduous process — constituting in itself an entire stage in the development of the revolutionary movement in North America — and we are attempting to prepare accordingly. We hope that *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will be only one of the first of many forces striving towards this goal.

So, how will *Unity-Struggle-Unity* contribute to creating the conditions for the achievement of Communist unity?

The task of Communist unification demands the advancement and refinement of our movement's theory and praxis. This in turn demands that we scientifically apply Marxism-Leninism, in our study and our revolutionary work, to the historical and present social conditions of and the class struggle unfolding throughout North America. Further, the task of Communist unification demands that we raise the Communist movement's consciousness and activity by engaging in comradely dialogue and debate, in criticism and self-criticism, with our comrades in the struggle, while defeating and isolating those who seek to liquidate the Communist movement, to pacify it, and to exploit it for personal gain. Therefore, generally speaking, *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will have two publishing focuses: First, advancing our movement's general *ideological* development, especially through study of theoretical and practical questions relevant to the revolutionary struggles unfolding across North America. Second, advancing our movement's *political* development, namely by facilitating comradely dialogue and debate between revolutionaries, thereby uniting what can be united, while, at the same time, where appropriate, engaging in polemic, thereby isolating the reactionaries within our movement; and, further, by developing practicable analyses of the major ideological, practical, and organizational challenges facing the present-day Communist movement in North America. An essential component of this second focus will be the establishment and careful curation of an all-U.S. forum, wherein locally organized Communists have the opportunity to communicate and to connect their local revolutionary struggles; the facilitation of such all-U.S. fora will serve to overcome our movement's present atomization and to advance us towards Communist unity.

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Towards the fulfillment of these aims, we have identified three publishing standards for *Unity-Struggle-Unity*, which we believe should be taken up by all Communist presses: accessibility, dialogical receptivity, and strict adherence to principles.

*Unity-Struggle-Unity* will be made *accessible* to the revolutionary masses and our comrades in the struggle in four major ways: First, access to the website will always be cost-free; and, when we are prepared to expand to print, all physical periodicals will also be cost-free, distributed on a "pay-what-you-can" basis. Second, USU's content will be pedagogically accessible to the revolutionary masses, by observing, as a matter of editorial policy, a clearness and precision of language, the use of illustration, and a balance between concision and rhetorical force. Third, USU's content will be, as a rule, relevant to the realities of social conditions and revolutionary struggles, so that its content is readily connected by the conscious masses to their experiences, and thus becomes actively, and not only passively, accessible to the intellect. Fourth, we will aim for wide approachability, without falling into the trap of "speaking down" to the masses with the condescending, patronizing tone that so often characterizes "popular" Communist publications.

To the first point, yes, we are aware that the costs of publishing and distributing materials are considerable. But we must absorb those operating costs ourselves, while defraying what we can through the donations of comrades who support our work, without attempting to offset the burden onto the masses we're serving. Communist propaganda and educational materials must be made *freely available* to the greater portion, the poorer contingents, of the revolutionary masses, as both a matter of principle and a strategic necessity: a "path of least resistance" by which the masses and our comrades in the struggle can most readily, clearly, and easily access revolutionary theory. This means that our materials must be made available to folks lacking regular Internet access, such as many unhoused people, prisoners, and the rural poor. This is why we do not accept the notion that the need for print publishing has been obviated by the radical changes in communications brought about by contemporary technological advancements; these advancements present us with new opportunities, as well as new challenges, to which our propaganda and educational work must adapt, but have hardly diminished the need for a "traditional" press. Therefore, we hold that incurring the costs of publishing on behalf of the poor is a basic responsibility for Communists and a pillar of consciousness-raising work.

*Unity-Struggle-Unity* will be made *receptive* and *open* to the revolutionary masses and our comrades in the struggle at the most immediate level: We will invite and welcome, and reply as efficiently as possible to, all well-intentioned letters, emails, and other replies, as well as externally hosted responses to our content, sent to us from fellow Communists, whether as collectives (parties, local formations, circles, etc.) or as individuals, from pro-Communist allies among the broader revolutionary Left, and from conscious workers and poor folks. Further, *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will invite and welcome, for publication on our website and, in the future, in our various periodicals, submissions from comrades, allies, and conscious workers and poor folks. From our locally organized comrades, we would especially encourage "on-the-ground" dispatches from and analyses of local revolutionary struggles, so that we can connect every possible locality at the "all-empire" level.

We want to make it very clear that we *will* accept comradely criticism of content we've published and of editorial positions *Unity-Struggle-Unity* has taken. Further, we do not intend to "tone-police" our comrades: Revolutionary criticism, even when it is "aggressive" in tone, harsh, and ruthless, is vital to building a vibrant Communist movement, capable of organically adapting its strategy and tactics to changing conditions, of responding to the

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expressed needs of the people, of practicing *genuinely democratic* centralism, of correcting its errors, of refining its praxis, and of ultimately leading the revolutionary movement to victory. Struggle among and between Communists, when done right, is both a general prerequisite for advancing our movement and an essential purgative, specifically for the U.S. movement. Struggle will serve as a tonic for a movement that has, for far too long, been plagued by every variety of chauvinism and paralyzed with liquidationism and reformism. We take seriously that Communists must always be prepared to openly participate in struggle with each other and with our allies, on a comradely basis, and that we must always be receptive to criticism from the conscious masses. To this end, while *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will necessarily maintain high standards, enforced by our Editorial Board, and while the editors may publish submissions with clarifying and critical notes, we will always offer an open forum. Such fora, as we've said, have the potential to serve as powerful tools for advancing towards Communist unity.

However, our goal is not merely to criticize the movement's errors and failures, nor to engage in the sort of uncomradely, self-righteous, and pragmatically destructive polemicizing against existing Communist parties and other formations that too often characterizes the publications of unaffiliated Communists. We understand that struggle between Communists must serve a revolutionary purpose: Struggle must serve to build up the movement.

Perhaps in no other country is the *intentional* practice of comradely struggle more desperately needed than it is by the U.S. Communist movement, which for decades has collectively failed to overcome the uniquely "American" liberalism that corrodes it. U.S.-based Communists are not immune to the prevailing ideology of the empire under which we live — to "Americanism" — and we must intentionally work through our socialization into "American" individualism. The fractured and weakened state of our movement demonstrates the results of this socialization in microcosm: U.S. Communists have proven ourselves unique in the world for our typical stalwart unwillingness to engage in comradely debate, and to submit ourselves to criticism and self-criticism, in a healthy, constructive manner — and that's when we're willing to engage at all. Allowed to go unchecked, our "American" attitudes have had deleterious effects on our movement, contributing to its present state of fracture and decay.

Our analysis has found that this Americanism manifests in the U.S. Communist movement as two opposite and complementary, major organizational problems: *aversion to criticism* and *obsession with criticism*. Both are manifestations of extreme liberal individualism and both trend towards the movement's greater fracturing, atomization, and dissolution. The latter, obsession with criticism, is the liberal-individualist's attempt at a domineering exertion and projection of their personal will, in service of inflating one's ego. The former, aversion to criticism, is, in contrast, the liberal-individualist's defense mechanism, an avoidance tactic that serves to protect one's fragile ego from shattering under pressure. Neither extreme is acceptable for a Communist and both attitudes must be overcome. Communists must learn to do the work of engaging in comradely, principled, and constructive debate.

We hope that *Unity-Struggle-Unity's* policy and standards of receptivity, once put into practice, will serve as a useful example for other Communist organizations and, in time, an example for the unified all-U.S. Communist Party.

Furthermore, we hope that *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will serve as an example of how Communists, not only as press organizations, but when organized generally, ought to engage with the conscious masses. When the Communist press fails to explicitly link its contents to the class struggle, it fails to lead the people. This owes not necessarily to the *subject* of published content, but rather to the *ideological framing* we use. The readers of a people's press will read it, if they read it, because the newspapers and magazines, leaflets



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and pamphlets, flyers and posters, etc., address *tangible*, “*real*” problems; because these problems are explained in a truly *clarifying* way, from a *genuinely revolutionary* perspective; and because the Communists are *really listening* to the masses, responding to their needs in a dialogical way, and not merely speaking *at* them. This is why we have planned for *Unity-Struggle-Unity* to operate with such a highly receptive and open model.

Finally, *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will strictly adhere to the political and organizational principles of responsible, professional, and comradely conduct that should be expected, at the bare minimum, of all Communists, while unwaveringly upholding the ideological principles of the organic, dynamic body of revolutionary theory and methodology we know as Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist movement in the U.S., lacking unity, has become inundated with reactionary deviations from Communism, drenched in chauvinism, and cast adrift by eclecticism. For its part, *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will not tolerate, and will subject to the harshest criticism, any and all forms of chauvinism that fester within our movement. We will work to demystify the myriad ideological confusions brought about by eclecticism. And we will never hesitate to criticize, struggle through, and excise from our movement any and all reactionary deviations from Communism. At the same time, we will take up the age-old Communist task of working to overcome reactionary ideas and attitudes embedded among the people. In this struggle, we look forward to working with comrades across the U.S. Empire and well beyond its borders.

### **Conclusion**

Through these efforts, our highest goal for *Unity-Struggle-Unity* is to contribute towards the formulation and accumulation of a scientifically coherent, practicable, and really revolutionary program and strategy for the liberation of North America — a program capable of uniting the Communist movement.

We must become as the storm that sets the trees and the grain to trembling, that causes the ripest of the fruit to fall; from all formations and half-built organizations and from the petrified corpses of formations that still bear green shoots, we aim to sort and sift, to winnow and combine, the most advanced, the most prepared, the most militant into a single ferment of revolutionary dialogue.

For those interested in working with us, please send an email to [USUEditorial@protonmail.com](mailto:USUEditorial@protonmail.com) or communicate directly with the person who distributed this letter; our detailed editorial plan for *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will soon follow.

# Editorial Plan and Guidelines

# Basic Structure

The production of *Unity–Struggle–Unity* will be an evolving process. Our initial team is small, our resources are very limited, and the project, as with all revolutionary projects, is a labor of love. USU will therefore evolve in step with our development as a team, improving as we learn and refine our skills and expanding as we become more efficient and acquire more resources. Here we will outline the basics of our plan for USU: How it's run, its distribution methods, its support arms, how we intend for collaboration with interested comrades to work, and our future plans for the press, such as expanding into non-English editions.

## Our Team

From its launch, *Unity–Struggle–Unity* will be managed by a rotating Editorial Board (EB), elected from our small circle. Currently, the USU EB has three seats; we might expand it in the future if more editorial labor is required.

Behind the Editorial Board is the rest of our team. All of us will contribute labor to *Unity–Struggle–Unity*, according to the best of our ability. As individuals, we all have different skills, areas of expertise, and interests, we're all at different levels of ideological and political development, and we all have different quantities of free time and underlying stress from our personal lives. Thus, the job of the Editorial Board is not only to edit content for publication, but also to organize our collective labor-process or workflow: to determine priorities and decide where attention is most needed from our team during a given period, to manage the stress that inevitably comes with taking on such an ambitious project and to thereby prevent burnout, and to ensure that every comrade is empowered to contribute labor in the form of tasks that fit their unique skill set, knowledge base, and (when possible) interests, to the extent they're able.

Currently, our team consists of a small circle of experienced Communists at varying levels of ideological development. We're all capable of writing articles for USU, albeit in different quantities and for different purposes. Additionally, a few of us have the equipment necessary to produce audiovisual content and one member of our team is a very talented artist.

We intend to solicit submissions from other organizations and individuals in the form of dispatches, articles, and essays. We currently do not have a budget that would enable us to compensate contributors, however, so any submissions will be unpaid at this time.

We will soon launch an affiliation program for organizations and individuals who wish to work closely with the *Unity–Struggle–Unity* team. In time, we also hope to take on new members and expand the USU team. However, in order to practice good opsec and maintain ideological consistency, we will need to carefully vet anyone who joins *Unity–Struggle–Unity*; we are not yet prepared to do this.

## Planned Distribution Methods

We have three distribution methods planned for *Unity–Struggle–Unity*: (1) an online component, (2) a digital file component, and (3) a print component.

We are planning to begin with a website. This is for two main reasons: First, of our three planned distribution methods, a website presents the lowest financial and labor cost. USU Online's rolling-basis output will put minimal stress on our team's collective labor capacity, minimizing the need for deadlines and "crunch time" and limiting overall organizational stress. Second, of these three distribution methods, a website offers, numerically speaking, the greatest potential audience, which will be vital for us to reach during the initial stage of USU's development.

We anticipate a lengthy initial period of exclusively online distribution, lasting at least until the end of 2022. During this initial period, our long-term goal will be to build up a substantial network of content contributors, a wealth of donors and patrons, and a consistent readership. We will work to gradually increase the rate of our publishing — in volume and frequency — until we reach a critical mass, viz., the point at which printing becomes viable. In the meantime, we intend to prepare estimates

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for print costs and circulation and prepare accordingly.

## **USU Online**

*Unity-Struggle-Unity* will begin with only its online component, USU Online, hosted at the domain <unity-struggle-unity.org>. USU Online, as one of three component parts of *Unity-Struggle-Unity*, will be coextensive with this website, until the launch of USU Digital (see below), at which point the website will consist of those two component parts.

The USU Online website will have four main divisions:

1. Periodical Content, which will form the bulk of content published for USU, both on the website and in general, and which will be further divided into three periodicals and corresponding website sections:
  - a. A general "current events" section, named the *Red Clarion Online*, dedicated to covering, for a general audience, various issues relevant to the revolutionary movement. This section will prefigure the print edition of the [Red Clarion \(see below\)](#).
  - b. A specialized section, named the *Crucible Online*, dedicated to analysis of the U.S. Communist movement, and aimed at a narrower audience of Communists and Communist-friendly revolutionaries. This section will prefigure the print edition, [Crucible Magazine \(see below\)](#).
  - c. A theoretical journal, under the eponymous title *Unity-Struggle-Unity*, dedicated to long-form theoretical essays that serve to advance Marxism-Leninism, especially by applying it to North American questions, and aimed at the narrowest audience of developed and learning Communists. This section, as you may have guessed, will prefigure the print edition of the [Unity-Struggle-Unity journal](#).
2. Standalone Content, a division of the website that will be added with the launch of [USU Digital, and which is detailed below](#).
3. Miscellaneous Content, which will consist of several distinct projects.
4. Official Statements, which will consist of positions and lines officially adopted and upheld by the *Unity-Struggle-Unity* team and Editorial Board.

Content published for our three planned periodicals will be standardized according to a set of distinct formats and overlapping genres/topics, which are explained in detail under the "Periodical Content" heading, below. The online editions of these periodicals will be updated with new content (somewhat misleadingly) on a continuous, rolling basis; actual periodical issues will be introduced with the launch of USU Digital (see below). We will attempt to maintain a robust, tight schedule for USU Online, because, in our view, effective consciousness-raising work demands regularity. Our planned content schedule for each periodical is detailed under the respective subheadings, [under "Periodical Content" below](#).

USU Online will also have the benefit of interconnectedness. Over time, we intend to build up a vast repository of Communist propaganda on a diverse array of topics, allowing us to link coverage of new developments in ongoing revolutionary struggles to coverage of earlier developments.

## **USU Digital**

USU Online will be followed by USU Digital. This second distribution method will consist of digital files (mainly PDFs, with corresponding HTML versions), hosted as free downloads on the USU Digital section of the website and as HTML pages.

Content released via USU Digital will comprise periodical and non-periodical (standalone) writing, as well as visual agitprop, produced by a talented artist on our team. We currently have two

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series of standalone content planned:

1. Popularized Theory Pamphlets — long-form, elementary theoretical works, written primarily for an audience of revolutionary-minded non-Communists and beginning Communists; intended to advance Marxist-Leninist education, to create new Communists, and to begin the ideological development of existing cadres.
2. Handbooks for Revolutionaries — small handbooks intended to be used by Communists "in the field" of praxis; intended to provide our comrades with effective instruction on a variety of practical questions.

These two series are detailed under "Standalone Content" below; more may be added as USU develops. We anticipate that these standalone materials will be highly labor-intensive and time-consuming for our team to produce, and as such they will not follow a set release schedule.

The bulk of *Unity-Struggle-Unity* content will instead be periodical. To this end, USU Digital will also provide the testing grounds for the launch of our printed periodicals, which are outlined in the following paragraph. The first few issues of these periodicals will be released as PDFs, allowing us to iron out the "bugs" before we take on the costs of expanding into print.

One major benefit of USU Digital over USU Online will be that our ready-made PDF documents will provide our comrades in distant localities, anywhere within the U.S. Empire or North America, with materials that they can easily print and distribute to the masses, for example, through Serve the People programs. Our hope is that, in this way, *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will help to centralize our movement's activity, and will thereby pave the way towards the achievement of greater Communist unity.

Digital issues can also be reproduced anywhere on the Internet. We don't care about copyright — we're Communists, after all. We encourage comrades to redistribute USU's digital materials anywhere the conscious masses, eager to engage with Communist ideas, can be found — on other websites, via emails, on personal storage, and so on. (Although we would appreciate credit.)

Our target launch date for USU Digital is early August 2022.

### **USU Print**

Finally, once we secure the means — namely, the funds for a reliable printing press and a substantially wide distribution network — we will launch USU Print. This third distribution method will consist of print editions of our three periodicals, which we intend to form the "backbone" of the press. Corresponding to the website sections outlined above, these are as follows:

1. *The Red Clarion*, a weekly, general-audience, current events newspaper;
2. *Crucible*, a monthly, specialized, Communist movement-focused magazine;
3. *Unity-Struggle-Unity*, a quarterly theoretical journal, sharing the name of the press.

In addition, we plan to publish print editions of our two series of standalone works — our Popularized Theory Pamphlets and Handbooks for Revolutionaries — and any series that follow.

At present, our goal is to stagger the launch of our USU Print periodicals, starting with the newspaper and ending with the theoretical journal, over the course of 2023. This is, however, assuming that no unforeseen and exceptionally unfortunate circumstances befall us in the meantime.

## **Supporting Arms**

### **Communications**

Those wishing to send our Editorial Board letters, questions, comments, criticisms, etc., concerning *Unity-Struggle-Unity*, its published content, its statements, etc., or wishing to pitch articles, are invited to use our email address: [USUEditorial@protonmail.com](mailto:USUEditorial@protonmail.com). This is the best way to reach us.

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Unfortunately, we are not yet prepared to receive or send mail by post. If email feels intimidating, inconvenient, or too involved, individuals and organizations wishing to communicate with the USU Editorial Board can alternatively send a DM to one of USU's official social media accounts (discussed below).

As we promised in our previously circulated *Statement of Editorial Intent*, the Editorial Board of *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will always be open to communications regarding our published content, sent from our comrades in the U.S. Communist movement (and those beyond the U.S.), allies in the broader revolutionary Left, and conscious workers and poor folks among our general readership. Questions, comments, and criticisms are welcome — assuming a basic level of good faith. As we've said, we do not intend to tone-police criticism from our comrades, but we also won't waste time entertaining committed reactionaries and we won't tolerate abuse.

## **Email List**

In addition to communications with comrades and readers, the official USU email will be used to circulate a regular email list. We will use this service to promote new articles and other content on the website, as well as to make announcements concerning the press.

We will start with a "weekly highlights" email list. Once we find our footing and have a high enough output to justify it, a similar "daily highlights" email service will be released. The email list will circulate on an "opt-in/out" basis and will remain, as with the rest of the press, cost-free and ad-free.

## **Social Media**

Our team will also maintain a presence on various social media, in order to promote the website and press. Currently, we plan to set up Twitter and Instagram accounts. We might also launch a YouTube channel, mainly in order to increase accessibility by releasing audio recordings of USU articles and other content, such as important works of Marxism-Leninism and other revolutionary theory.

Most of our official social media posts will be links to new articles and other content on the website, general announcements concerning the press, and official statements, such as expressions of solidarity with our allies and condemnations of our enemies, and brief news updates that we don't have the labor capacity to expand into proper articles. This is discussed in detail later on in the plan.

One important note: While we recognize the obviously great potential of social media, video sharing, streaming, and similar services as vehicles for agitprop, which have already been used to great effect by revolutionaries (and our enemies), we are entirely disinterested in using or allowing USU, as a press, to engage in the pointless, fruitless, repetitive, circular controversies engendered by platforms like Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Twitch, etc. We are convinced that these platforms have no constructive role whatsoever to play in facilitating discourse among Communists and between our movement and the broader Left. The correct place for debate — when debate is appropriate — is a dedicated platform *that we control*; the correct places for discourse, generally speaking, whether among Communists or between us and non-Communists, are, aside from in-person mass meetings and demonstrations, etc., our own propaganda organs. While we by no means wish to disparage those of our comrades who use social media (and etc.) this way, we hold that our movement has nothing to gain from "debate" on platforms that serve as fascist breeding grounds and are owned and controlled by our class enemies.

If and when USU does receive negative feedback on social media, we will professionally, if not always politely, remind our critics that they are welcome to send critiques to our Editorial Board, via our email, or to publish their views on their own platforms.

## **Fundraising**

*Unity-Struggle-Unity* is, as we've said, a labor of love. It is one way we've each decided to contribute to the advancement of the U.S. Communist movement and the revolutionization of the oppressed masses. Our team will never profit from USU, nor will we ever attempt to displace its operating costs onto the masses, i.e., by "selling newspapers". Instead, to the greatest extent we can collectively

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afford, we are already absorbing the costs of running USU.

But in order to expand *Unity–Struggle–Unity* beyond this initial, exclusively online stage, we will eventually — and hopefully sooner than later — need to procure donations, which we anticipate will come mainly from generous comrades. To that end, when we feel it is the appropriate time, we will set up a convenient means for comrades to send donations.

No definite decisions on which service or services to use have been reached yet, but we are currently considering Patreon, or a similar platform.

Aside from donations, we may sell some of our specialized printed materials, such as print editions of the *Unity–Struggle–Unity* theoretical journal, but at no more than the cost of printing. We will also accept “pay-what-you-can” donations, should that be a convenient way for comrades to support our project. We may also sell non-essential merchandise, such as posters and other prints of visual art produced by members of our team.

### ***Unity–Struggle–Unity* Affiliation and “Friends of the Press”**

Collaborating with our comrades across the U.S. Empire, and beyond its borders, is one of the main ways we believe *Unity–Struggle–Unity*, as a press, can contribute towards the unification of the U.S. Communist movement and the cooperation of the movement in this country with comrades in every country. We believe that this process must begin with the closer coordination of action across our movement’s forces, which are presently dissociated, atomized, and confined to local work, at the all-empire level. This closer coordination of action must include our movement’s propaganda and education work, and it is in this regard that a press — our press, we hope — holds the potential to become a point of coalescence.

We are currently designing a “Friends of the Press” program, which will formalize partnerships and affiliations with parties, local formations, and other organizations, as well as other Communist presses. We cannot yet estimate when this program will officially launch, as our designs will be based on the path taken by *Unity–Struggle–Unity* during its initial stage of development.

However, in the meantime, we want to actively foster cooperation between the press and the many principled Communist organizations, across the U.S. Empire, that are currently engaged in revolutionary work, at either the all-empire and local level. Toward that end, we will actively pursue informal working relationships with principled Communist formations and individuals. For now, the details of each of these informal partnerships will need to be negotiated on a case-by-case basis.

The following is a list of ways that interested Communist organizations and individual Communists can collaborate with *Unity–Struggle–Unity*.

- **Contributing to our periodicals.** USU's potential for growth will depend significantly on contributions to our periodicals from our comrades across the U.S. Empire and beyond. If you'd like to write articles for one of our periodicals, instructions for how to do so are provided in the “Guidelines for Contributors” section of this document. If you or your organization would like to *regularly* contribute articles for one of our periodicals, then please get in touch with our Editorial Board, so that we can figure out a lasting partnership. What we're especially looking to collaborate on with locally organized comrades is agitation, which is discussed further on in this document.
- **Joint one-time projects.** In the near future, we want to collaborate, as a press, with other Communist presses, with select all-U.S. party newspapers, with circles of propagandists and educators, and with local organizations on shared projects. We've identified two forms such collaboration might take:
  - Co-authoring, co-developing, and co-publishing propaganda and educational materials. This will be most useful for organizations who host reading groups and organize revolutionary education programs, and who wish to produce and distribute new educational materials.

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- Cross-posting articles, in order to mutually increase reach, and planning a simultaneous release of articles on the same topic, for maximal impact when developing and pushing a line on which we concur. This is most appropriate for organizations that already have well-developed media and propaganda organs, as the partner organization needs to have an identifiable publication for this to make sense.
- **Joint ongoing projects.** This is the closest form of affiliation we can currently offer. Collaborating with a partner organization on a continual basis would mean holding regular (likely weekly or twice-monthly) meetings between the USU Editorial Board and the partner organization, in which we plan *ongoing* joint projects. In effect, this would mean co-founding, co-managing, and co-publishing a joint periodical. This would be useful for organizations that already have a strongly developed media apparatus.
- **Distributing materials.** Should you and/or your organization want free, professionally finished, accessible, and principled Communist propaganda and educational materials to distribute to the masses in your locality, our team will produce PDF versions of much of the content we publish on our website. For now, the only cost we can't cover is that of printing, which will need to be done on your end. With the launch of USU Print, we'll also have a weekly, general-audience newspaper (the *Red Clarion*) and a series of Popularized Theory Pamphlets that can be distributed to the masses during actions by our partner organizations.
- **Mutual official recognition.** This option is meant for organizations that lack the labor capacity for more involved collaboration. This would mostly take the form of boosting each other's websites, periodicals, projects, and other content. While requiring minimal commitment between USU and the partner organization, this *would* imply that we broadly concur in ideology, political lines, approach to strategy, and so on. Even basic mutual recognition can play a small part in helping to create the conditions for the unification of our movement, namely by demonstrating a willingness of organizations within our movement to cooperate *as a movement*.

### **Future plans for non-English editions of USU**

The team behind *Unity-Struggle-Unity* presently lacks members who are fluent in languages other than English. This is unfortunate, as large segments of the oppressed masses living within the territorial boundaries of the U.S. Empire either lack English fluency or find other languages (their native languages) more comfortable, and therefore more approachable and accessible. We hope to rectify this deficiency as soon as possible, in two ways: First, some of us are actively learning languages, so that, given a few years, one or a few members of our circle will be able to translate some quantity of content. This alone will be insufficient. Second, and more importantly, as *Unity-Struggle-Unity* expands its work, we hope that our team will also expand, and in so doing take on members who are already fluent in one or more non-English languages. In the meantime, we would benefit greatly from and deeply appreciate any comrades who wish to volunteer occasional labor towards translating *Unity-Struggle-Unity* content into a non-English language.

We will always try to provide *Unity-Struggle-Unity* in the native language of an oppressed national community if we are able — which is to say, if comrades fluent in that language decide to join or volunteer for USU — and if that community requests it. This includes languages of the precolumbian indigenous peoples of North America, of indigenous African peoples, and of some oppressed nationalities within the settler population. We may also find that, for some nationally and colonially oppressed communities, what is really needed is not simply a direct translation of our standard USU into a new non-English edition, but a daughter publication (e.g., a newspaper) that serves to address the specific conditions, needs, and interests of that community. Whether we can embark on the endeavor of a specific publication under the USU imprint would depend on whether



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comrades from the oppressed nationality in question join our team and propose a specific publication for their community. Assuming we can, we certainly will.

# Standardized Formats

The Editorial Board of *Unity–Struggle–Unity* will use a set of formats to standardize the quantitative length and qualitative breadth of its various content.

Our standardized formats are intended to streamline the writing and editorial processes, serving as easy-to-follow guidelines for contributing comrades (as well as ourselves); to help establish a sense of familiarity with our readers; and to ensure that content can be definitely matched with and suitably reproduced in one of our periodicals, or published as standalone content. We view these formats as helpful baselines for things like word counts and intended average readership level, but not as an inviolable rubric. This is to say, we won't force contributing comrades to strictly adhere to this or that baseline.

Formats should not be confused for topics; a given format may be used for any number of topics. Formats are also not meant to be used as labels on content; they serve a purely "background" function in USU's writing and editorial process.

We can quickly list the standardized formats we've created. A code for each format is given in parentheses, while the publication in which each format will be used is given in brackets.

1. Agitation – local (Agit-L)
2. Agitation – broad (Agit-B)
3. Propaganda – standard (Prop.)
4. Variety (Var.)
5. Dispatches from comrades (Disp.)
6. Replies to questions from readers (Re.)
7. Struggle analysis essays (SAE)
8. Theoretical journal essays (TJE)
9. Popularized theory pamphlets (PTP)
10. Handbooks for revolutionaries (HBR)
11. Official communications (Comm.)

A different set of formats will be used for each periodical, with some overlap. For example, the *Red Clarion* will use a set of formats (1-6, above) designed for accessibility, approachability, and conciseness, while the *Unity–Struggle–Unity* journal's format (8, above) will facilitate long-form, advanced work. Formats 9 and 10 correspond, by name, to our two planned series of standalone content.

## **A note on agitation, propaganda, and theory**

Classically, at least since the time of Plekhanov's leadership of Russian Marxism, Marxist literature has fallen into one of three "types" or categories: agitation, propaganda, and theory.

Agitation, in the Marxist-Leninist sense, concerns specific, typically local and immediate, instances of a given issue — events in which a given contradiction manifests in a very clear way, often with acute, incendiary violence — which, in turn, expose deeper, structural problems. Opportunities for fruitful agitation appear whenever a definite, specific, immediately relevant, and acutely "felt" injustice has been inflicted upon persons within a community in such a way that naturally evokes that community's rage. Examples include an instance of police brutality, a series of evictions in a poor

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neighborhood, an acute ecological disaster, an unjust court ruling, a hate crime or an act of sexual violence, a premature death due to starvation, lack of shelter, and other deprivations of capitalist immiseration, and so on. Furthermore, agitation is most effective when it is promoted concurrently with definite, organized actions taken by Communists in response to the given injustice it addresses, such as a protest or mass meeting.

For this reason, the classic modes of agitation have been the speech and the leaflet, distributed in the immediate aftermath of the event (the same day or next few days), in the immediately affected and neighboring communities. We hold that agitation can and should also be conducted through a newspaper — and, in the present day, on news websites, as well as on social media, where agitation on any number of causes has taken on new life.

The question may be asked, “What is the point of featuring local agitation in an all-U.S. newspaper?”

Beyond the first, obvious purpose of agitation, viz., raising consciousness by raising activity, publishing local agitation as articles in an all-empire newspaper has the goal of *consciously* linking, *in theory*, the many instances of any given revolutionary struggle, carrying on in numerous localities across the U.S. Empire, yet in an isolated fashion, in order to demonstrate the necessity of linking these struggles *in practice*. This goal has two aspects: On the one hand, to foster an empire-wide *class* consciousness among the masses broadly, to drive home the idea that “an injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.” On the other hand, to initiate an ideological and organizational struggle among U.S. Communists, towards the unification of our movement. To quote Lenin, we must “create a higher form of agitation by means of the newspaper, which must contain a regular record of workers’ grievances, workers’ strikes and other forms of proletarian struggle, [and] all manifestations of political tyranny in the whole of Russia” — except, in the 21st-Century U.S. Empire, rather than the 20th-Century Russian Empire.

The goals of agitation may be summarized as follows: First, to clearly identify the event not only as a tragedy, *but as an injustice*. Second, to connect the instance to the process; to reveal the contradiction behind its manifestation. Third, to raise the consciousness of the oppressed masses by heightening their activity, that is, by channeling their rage into action.

Propaganda, in contrast to agitation, is not bound to specific localities or to the immediacy of events as they happen, but is instead concerned with issues in their general scope — we might say, with the contradictions “in themselves” — and often explains a given issue by connecting an abundance of examples already furnished by agitational work into a unified theme. In this sense, propaganda may be thought of as the accumulation of agitational work to a higher stage: the stage of coordinating local demands and actions across an entire country (in some cases, beyond borders) and of subordinating mere tactics to strategy. (Simultaneously and conversely, agitation represents the distillation of a few curated ideas, already expounded in our propaganda, to talking points, suitable for a quick speech, a brief article or leaflet, or, more recently, a social media post, e.g., a Tweet.) Propaganda is typically beyond the scope of a speech or a small leaflet, and has instead classically been the province of mid-length and long-form newspaper articles.

We might carve out an intermediate category between “pure” agitation and propaganda, neither strictly confined to specifics nor fully generalized. A “current event” bearing relevance to revolutionary struggles carrying on at the level of nations, countries, empires, and broad regions, with sustained immediacy across a series of developments or a turning point in history; events that are not so isolated as to be confined to a locality, but not quite as extensive as would suit propaganda properly speaking — such would be the province of this intermediate category. Of course, there has never been a truly “pure” agitation, apart from propaganda, as agitation is made possible by propaganda and is subordinate to it, nor is there in all situations a really clear distinction between the two forms.

Due to its general scope, engaging in propaganda needs no specific impetus, i.e., an immediate event; however, propaganda is certainly better received at some moments than at others, and, outside of an already revolutionary situation, is most effective during moments of geographically widespread (in the U.S., we would say “empire-wide”), popular struggle, such as a general strike or a rebellion. For example, the Summer 2020 insurrections opened the minds of the conscious masses

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to the possibility and necessity of abolishing, if not the whole imperial State, then at least the most grotesquely inhumane and violent institutions among its repressive apparatuses, thereby ushering in a wave of unprecedented success for propaganda surrounding police and prison abolitionism. Still more recently, the 2022 SCOTUS ruling against abortion access rights (overturning Roe) and the coordinated, empire-wide protests launched in response, followed by a small wave of anarchistic, loosely coordinated terrorist attacks, have provided us with a great opportunity for propaganda against the Supreme Court as an institution of the enemy State, which in turn may now be illustrated as an instrument of class domination. The events precipitating these upsurges not only sparked momentary rage, and not only called forth lists of limited, shallow, reformist demands, but also raised the collective consciousness of the general populace, opened them to engaging with revolutionary ideas, and brought many people across the U.S. Empire to consider, for the first time, the possibility and necessity of revolutionary solutions — which, provided sufficient numbers of Communists, a capable vanguard, etc., is all we need to win.

The goals of propaganda can also be contrasted with those of agitation in terms of ephemerality: Whereas agitation serves to raise the collective level of consciousness in one place, during one moment (even as briefly as one day), propaganda allows us to harness and expand, both geographically and temporally, this rise. Propaganda provides us with a chance to “lock in” some degree of the revolutionary energy our agitation has awakened. When done right, propaganda achieves a degree of permanence and stability, a lasting expansion of that most conscious, pro-revolutionary stratum of the masses, that would be impossible if we stopped at mere agitation.

Although propaganda explains an issue in its general scope, it cannot explain any issue in its full depth. Likewise, while propaganda serves to expand the most conscious stratum of the oppressed masses, it cannot *in and of itself* create new revolutionaries. That is the work of education. Propaganda may pave the road to education, may lead an individual to such a high degree of consciousness that she decides to devote her life to serving the oppressed masses (to whom, in most cases, she belongs) and to building the revolution, but only through study, whether guided or autodidactic, or some combination of the two, and practice, does the conscious individual gradually step into the role of a committed revolutionary. Moreover, it is only after considerable study, political training, practical experience, etc. — only through their further ideological and political development — that many revolutionaries then become Communists. This process of revolutionary education and its result, the creation of new revolutionaries and the reproduction of the Communist movement, is one of the central purposes of *theory* and one of the key tasks of our movement's educators and theoreticians. Theory goes deeper than propaganda; it is concerned with “grasping at the roots” of a problem, of explaining the laws governing social-historical phenomena. Theoretical works range from highly abstract to concrete. Theoretical works also range, in intended readership level, from elementary to advanced.

For the purposes of *Unity-Struggle-Unity's* theory production, we have outlined three very roughly defined “levels” of theoretical content: popularized, technical, and advanced. We are currently planning to produce two series of standalone content for USU: a series of Popularized Theory Pamphlets, aimed at potential and new Communists, and a series of Handbooks for Revolutionaries, aimed at organized Communists, that will provide “technical” instruction concerning the methodology of praxis. Our theoretical journal (the eponymous *Unity-Struggle-Unity*) — which at the moment is our only planned theory-focused periodical — will feature “advanced” theoretical work.

Finally, we say “advanced” theory in two senses: First, theoretical work which is written for an audience of relatively advanced students of Marxism-Leninism — those who have at least a solid and well-rounded grasp of its principles. Second, theoretical work that seeks to advance Marxism-Leninism as a body of revolutionary theory, especially by applying this body to the social conditions of and problems facing us in North America. The main format for our advanced theory production will be long-form theoretical essays; the main forum will be the *Unity-Struggle-Unity* Journal. In time, we hope to expand to longer formats, such as advanced theoretical pamphlets and books, that allow for greater comprehensiveness, in order to further develop our ongoing theoretical investigations and to synthesize collections of previous theoretical work.

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## **Format Definitions**

Here we will describe in detail each of the standardized formats we've created for USU. These descriptions have been written to provide guidelines for ourselves and contributing comrades. Please note that all word counts (highlighted in bold) are, by necessity, hypothetical at this stage, meaning that they need to be tested and will likely be adjusted as we experiment and learn what "works" in practice.

### **(1) Agitation – local**

Since agitation is classically conducted through speeches and leaflets, we want our "newspaper agitation" to conform — in length, breadth, and complexity — to what we could reasonably aim to articulate in a few minutes of public speaking or in the pages of a small leaflet. A short speech, say, 5-10 minutes, at roughly 120-150 WPM, gives us 600-1,500 words; a leaflet of, say, 6-12 sides (utilizing 4-10), with around 150 words/side, gives us the same. **We suggest a word count of 600-1,500, preferably on the lower end, for local agitation articles.**

Our suggested outline for agitation pieces is (1) description, (2) explanation and recontextualization, and (3) provocation to heightened activity. If a given local agitation piece has 750 words, following our outline, this could allow for three 250-word sections (description, explanation, and provocation); a 1,200-word piece might have three 400-word sections. (Sections need not be uniform.) For instance, a piece on a recent spate of evictions in a poor neighborhood might spend ~300 words describing the neighborhood's residents and their conditions; ~500 words recontextualizing this situation in terms of class struggle, i.e., as an injustice against the dispossessed; and ~200 words voicing tenant demands and directing readers to a local tenants union — and the article would come to ~1,000 words.

Keep in mind that agitation is *not* meant to explain an issue in its general scope. The agitator should rely on concise, easy-to-follow, and memorable talking points that clearly link the event to the underlying contradiction and reinforce our line, but *without distracting the reader* — who, we must remember, will likely be feeling rage and grief — from the immediate injustice.

Local agitation articles will be coded "Agit-L" for internal use. The format will be used exclusively for the *Red Clarion*, with one exception: We may also reproduce Agit-L articles as timely standalone (PDF) leaflets that can be downloaded, printed, and circulated by Communists within the affected community, for the duration of the organized local response to a given injustice. These leaflets will formally be a part of USU Digital, but we may begin experimenting with producing leaflets before that component of the press officially launches.

We've provided an example Agit-L article, written by current members of the USU Editorial Board, in the appendices to this document, should our comrades find this helpful.

### **(2) Agitation – broad**

Broad agitation occupies the aforementioned "intermediate category" between local agitation and propaganda. Articles employing this format should concern a development at the regional or empire-wide level, rather than within a locality, taking place over a marginally longer period, e.g., several days, as opposed to one, than would be covered by the "local agitation" format. Otherwise, broad agitation has the same purpose as local agitation; broad agitation articles should accordingly be concise, easy to follow and understand, and memorable, and serve to heighten activity. Broad agitation need not have greater depth than a local agitational article, only a wider geography. Moreover, we want broad agitation to be concretely rooted in local examples and to link those examples.

Of course, whether a small state, e.g., Massachusetts or Delaware, or large conurbation, e.g., the Northeast Corridor, or another small "region" is considered "local" or "broad" is somewhat arbitrary; the determination might depend on the period of the event's currency, the size of the affected population, etc. But, as we've stated, these formats are only meant to serve as helpful starting points, not as a strict rubric, and in most cases we will be happy to leave this determination up to the contributing comrade, trusting their judgment.

**The same suggested word count of 600-1,500, except with a preference for the higher end,**

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**therefore seems reasonable.**

Broad agitation articles will be coded "Agit-B" for internal use. The format will, as with local agitation, be used exclusively for the *Red Clarion*, with the same exception: timely, limited-run, standalone, freely downloadable PDF leaflets via USU Digital.

### **(3) Propaganda – standard**

A standard propaganda article should concisely, yet conversationally, explain an issue (a contradiction) in its general scope, that is, in its broadest geography and as a process, not merely a series of isolated events. This is not to say that propaganda should *ignore* current events — an exceptionally impactful event that reverberates throughout the U.S. Empire may serve as the optimal launchpad for propaganda — but that propaganda cannot be so limited in relevance. While analysis in a standard propaganda article should rely on and invoke deeper theory, it should stay focused on the issue at hand; it should not become so bloated with theoretical abstractions that it becomes a "theoretical" work (properly speaking) in and of itself.

It seems reasonable to assume that, if a reader wants to understand an issue at this level, in its general scope, then they'll be willing to spend a full sitting reading a propaganda article. Thus, if we allow for 20-30 minutes of reading, then, assuming 150 words per minute as a low-average reading speed, a length of 3,000-4,500 words seems reasonable. But there is no reason to demand upwards of, say, 2,000 words, if the issue at hand can be explained in its general scope so concisely. Moreover, if we want to factor in re-reading — and we should, given that many readers will be encountering Marxist concepts for the first time — then we might halve our 3,000-4,500 words, arriving at 1,500-2,250.

**Therefore, a suggested word count of 1,500-3,000, with a preference for the middle of the range, that allows in some cases for significant overshooting (say, up to 5,000 words), seems reasonable for propaganda articles.**

Standard propaganda articles will be coded "Prop." for internal use. The format will be used for the *Red Clarion* and *Crucible*.

### **(4) Variety**

Aside from agitation and propaganda, we want to allow for less intense discussions in the *Red Clarion* — "variety" content, on topics such as arts and entertainment, mass media, sports, popular science, etc., lacking *immediate* pertinence to the revolutionary movement. While a socialist perspective should emerge in "variety" articles, and while these aspects of social life should be consciously connected to the class struggle, they don't need to fulfill all the usual tasks of propaganda, which is why we've separated out this format.

We could accept "variety" format articles of almost any length, so long as the article fits into a newspaper; we could serialize articles that go beyond this. Prose guidelines that apply to our propaganda and agitation — clarity, approachability, accessibility, etc. — should still be followed, but conciseness can be sacrificed for the sake of conversationality. **Thus, this format has no suggested word count.**

Variety articles will be coded "Var." for internal use. The format will be used exclusively for the *Red Clarion*.

### **(5) Dispatches from locally organized comrades**

For this format, we have in mind on-the-ground "reports" from locally organized comrades concerning ongoing struggles in their localities. A dispatch should answer four sets of questions: First, what are the conditions of the oppressed masses in your locality? Second, what are locally organized revolutionaries doing to serve the people? Third, what challenges have you encountered? What victories and defeats have you experienced? Fourth, what difference has your praxis made in raising consciousness among the masses in your locality?

Similarly to our interest in publishing local agitation as articles in an all-U.S. newspaper, the "point" of soliciting these dispatches is to consciously link the myriad local struggles, already carrying on across the country, yet in an isolated fashion, to a broader geographical context: the entire U.S.

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Empire. Our hope is that these dispatches will help broaden our collective thinking; to overcome isolated, local narrowness; to illustrate the potential for local formations to become cells in a greater, all-empire body, or as trees in a forest; to demonstrate the necessity of uniting our movement. The point is not, however, propaganda or agitation in the immediate sense. A dispatch need not include recontextualization or provocation, as with agitation, nor generalizing analysis, as with propaganda. The point is, rather, to reveal that the class struggle carries on across the U.S. Empire, even during the "quiet" periods between the tremors of rebellion.

This renders standardization much less important, so that definite guidelines on, e.g., word count for dispatches seems impractical. A volunteer journalist sharing updates through *Unity-Struggle-Unity* on their ongoing local struggles might have very much or very little to report, and any amount of detail (assuming good opsec) should be fine. **We suggest a length of 300-500 words (a few short paragraphs) for very brief dispatches. There is no upper limit; if necessary, we can serialize a very long dispatch.**

Our policy on anonymity for comrades who send us dispatches (and in general) is as follows: All personal names, addresses, etc. will be changed and/or redacted, so that only public-facing organizations *wanting to be identified* can be positively identified. This policy will be strictly maintained by the Editorial Board.

Dispatches from locally organized comrades will be coded "Disp." for internal use. The format will be used for the *Red Clarion* and *Crucible*.

### **(6) Replies to questions and criticisms from readers**

We look forward to receiving emails and other communications from readers — whether fellow Communists, allies within the broader Left, opponents within our movement, or conscious workers and poor folks. If and when we receive questions and criticisms from our readers, it will be the Editorial Board's job to respond in as timely a fashion as possible. If the question or criticism and our response are of any interest to the general public, or specifically to the U.S. Communist movement, then the exchange will be published in the appropriate periodical and the corresponding section of the website.

Furthermore, organizations and individuals wishing to reply, in turn, to letters from readers we've published, e.g., to concur with or argue against a criticism or our reply to it, to offer examples and counterexamples, etc., are encouraged to do so.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to add explanatory and critical notes to any such communications we publish. But if we do publish a question or criticism, we will not *alter* any content, except with the sender's permission.

Replies to questions from readers will be coded "Re." for internal use. The format will be used for each of our periodicals: the *Red Clarion*, *Crucible Magazine*, and the *Unity-Struggle-Unity* journal.

### **(7) Struggle analysis essays**

We created this format to serve as a baseline for a certain genre of articles that will be intermediate (in complexity, depth, etc.) between standard propaganda (format 3) and theoretical journal essays (format 8). This format applies to a specific subject matter, namely the ideological, political, practical, and organizational problems concerning the Communist movement in the U.S., and long-term developments in our movement, and thus also applies specifically to *Crucible Magazine*.

Concerning readership level, because Communists, as well as the broader pro-Communist and revolutionary Left, rather than the general public, are the primary audience for the content for which this format will be employed, it will take for granted at least a basic familiarity with and a commitment to (or, at least, sympathy for) the basic principles of Communism.

**We expect that the standard length of struggle analysis essays will be 2,000-6,000 words, but this may be exceeded in exceptional cases.**

From time to time, we may also publish standalone pamphlets, for which we can carve out a subcategory of this format, that further develop our analysis of a problem, especially when we have gained sufficient evidence from practical experience to elevate our analysis to theory proper. Owing to their scope, such pamphlets will be rarely and irregularly published.

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**We anticipate that most self-contained pamphlets will stand at upwards of 10,000 words, but we can't be sure until we've published a few.**

Struggle analysis essays will be coded "SAE" for internal use. The format will be used exclusively for *Crucible*.

### **(8) Theoretical journal essays**

This format will be employed in our forthcoming theoretical journal and entails our guidelines for submissions to the journal. Generally speaking, what we're looking for are essays in which a given area of Marxism-Leninism or other revolutionary theory is advanced; each issue will have focus on a certain topic, [as detailed under the "Periodical Content" section, below.](#)

**A suitable standard length for journal essays would be 6,000-12,000 (or, ~15-30 pages, at ~400 words/page), but much longer essays could be accepted, if appropriate.**

We may also publish responses we receive from readers to essays published in our theoretical journal. Responses may be of any length, i.e., much shorter or essay-length in themselves, depending on the nature of the response. We have no suggested word count to offer for response articles, but we would usually ask that the response not exceed the length of the original essay, unless really necessary.

We may also publish criticism — e.g., responses to articles published in/on other journals/websites, book reviews, and so on — in the theoretical journal. **For such articles, we suggest a word count of 2,000-5,000, but much longer criticism articles could also be accepted.**

Theoretical journal essays will be coded "TJE" for internal use. The format will be used exclusively for the *Unity-Struggle-Unity* journal.

### **(9) Popularized Theory Pamphlets**

This format pertains specifically to our planned series of standalone Popularized Theory Pamphlets, outlined above, the content of which is discussed in detail under [the section on "Standalone Content" below.](#) We're not currently soliciting contributions to this series from outside the *Unity-Struggle-Unity* team, but we will be interested in collaborating with comrades on Popularized Theory Pamphlets in the future, once we gain more experience. In the meantime, we would be happy to hear suggestions from our comrades on topics our pamphlets should cover. We may eventually consider working on book-length popularized theory publications, but for now we do not have the labor capacity required for such projects.

**We anticipate a very wide range in length — likely between 10,000 and 20,000 words — for our Popularized Theory Pamphlets.** The length will depend largely on the scope of the pamphlet and the complexity and intricacy of the subject matter. By comparison, Marx's *Wage Labor and Capital* stands at around 11,000 words (15,000 when Engels' introduction is counted), divided into a few chapters; thus, if we assume a reading speed of ~150 words/minute, and halve this to account for passages that must be re-read and pauses to think through concepts that are novel to the reader, we might expect that within 4 hours of serious study, a reader could begin to grasp the essentials of the Marxist theory of capitalism and to understand the nature of *her own exploitation* as a worker. For another example, Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach* is around 17,500 words; thus the reader could begin to grasp the essentials of dialectical materialism and become familiar with the philosophy's early development within 4 or so hours of serious study.

As for readership level, the Popularized Theory Pamphlet series will be aimed at nascent revolutionaries, by which we mean conscious workers, poor folks, and intellectuals, who are just beginning, or are prepared to begin, their education in Marxism, as well as new Communists. These pamphlets will be written to serve as educational materials, with maximal accessibility in mind. That said, as with Marx, we "presuppose a reader who is willing to learn something new and therefore to think for himself." Some degree of challenge is inevitable for any new student of Marxism — every science is at first "inaccessible" to some degree, before its first principles are really grasped — and considerable time must be devoted by all Communists, at all levels of development, to study. Study sessions of a few hours, spent reading and learning the concepts presented in a pamphlet, represent, in our view, reasonable time investments to expect of individuals who are actively studying to become

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Communists. At the same time, we'll have shorter materials (viz., the newspaper) available for the broader conscious masses who are not yet ready to make that leap.

Popularized Theory Pamphlets will be coded "PTP" for internal use. The format will be used for our series of standalone pamphlets of the same name and will be made available as free PDF downloads via USU Digital. We plan to release official print editions of the Popularized Theory Pamphlets series with the launch of USU Print; in the meantime, we encourage our comrades to print out these pamphlets and distribute them in-person, especially in reading groups.

### **(10) Handbooks for Revolutionaries**

This format pertains specifically to our planned series of standalone Handbooks for Revolutionaries, outlined above, the content of which is discussed in detail under [the section on "Standalone Content" below](#). In sum, the Handbooks will offer basic instruction on various areas of Communist praxis.

**We anticipate a range of 6,000-12,000 words for entries in our Handbooks for Revolutionaries series.**

Handbooks for Revolutionaries will be coded "HBR" for internal use. The format will be used for our series of standalone pamphlets of the same name and will be made available as free PDF downloads via USU Digital. We plan to release official print editions of the "Handbooks" series with the launch of USU Print.

### **(11) Official Communications**

This "format" covers the various communications the Editorial Board will make on behalf of the press, in an official capacity, and can be divided into the following set of subcategories: (A) Announcements, (B) Updates, and (C) Position Statements.

Announcements concerning the press, such as the release of new issues of our periodicals and new volumes of our standalone publications, changes and additions to the website, etc., will be made by the Editorial Board on the USU website, as well as on USU's official social media accounts. This will also cover links posted on our official social media accounts to new articles on the website.

Updates on economic and political developments, for which we lack the labor time needed to write a full article for the *Red Clarion*, but which we still want to cover in an official capacity, will be posted on USU's social media accounts and on the website. These will be very brief, typically fitting the length of a short Twitter thread. In particular, so far, we plan to post Updates on, among other topics, the developing capitalist crisis and imminent depression, worsening legislative and judicial assaults on civil rights (e.g., laws passed by state governments, Supreme Court cases, etc.), continual instances of police brutality and other violent methods of repression carried out by the enemy State, civilian-fascist activity and antifascist action, and crimes committed by the forces (and allies) of U.S. imperialism abroad.

Position Statements on definite developments, once officially adopted by the USU Editorial Board, will be posted to the website and on USU's social media accounts, and also (once USU Digital launches) reproduced in the *Red Clarion* and *Crucible Magazine*. A position adopted by the USU Editorial Board may be as straightforward as an expression of solidarity with our comrades and allies or a condemnation of our enemies; more complicated or nuanced positions will be adopted sparingly, as we want to ensure that the press remains immovably principled, and that we do not speak before we investigate.

## **Periodical Content**

To briefly reiterate, *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will comprise three main periodicals, with three corresponding website sections. These are as follows:

1. The *Red Clarion*, a weekly "current events" newspaper, aimed at a general audience of conscious workers and poor folks.
2. *Crucible*, a specialized monthly magazine on the U.S. Communist movement, aimed at an



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audience of Communists and our allies among the Left.

3. *Unity–Struggle–Unity*, a quarterly theoretical journal for the advancement of Marxism-Leninism, especially its application to North America.

Here, we will explain our plan for each periodical in detail: We will summarize its purpose and scope, provide a thorough but nonexhaustive list of topics we want to cover in it, and outline its planned output schedule.

From the outset, however, we wish to explain our rationale for dividing our content into three separate periodicals.

Our plan for USU began with the rather unoriginal and unambitious idea to publish a Marxist-Leninist newspaper. The initial concept was a single periodical that would be, all at once, a general newspaper, aimed at the masses, a forum for struggle between Communists, and an advanced theoretical journal. However, we soon decided that this “classic” model would be untenable.

First, we unanimously agreed that a general newspaper and a theoretical journal, being aimed at very different audiences, at drastically different levels of consciousness and ideological development, would need to be split into separate periodicals. Otherwise, on the one hand, the newspaper would be bogged down with long-form, complex theoretical essays, inaccessible and of little immediate relevance, ergo of little interest, to the conscious masses generally, while, on the other hand, any “theory” would be forced into the suffocating dimensions of a newspaper, and end up doing very little, if anything, to advance Marxism-Leninism or the U.S. Communist movement’s collective ideological development. Most of our current *Unity–Struggle–Unity* team have recent experience with working on a failing Communist newspaper (which shall go unnamed), and it was exactly this error — not allowing a newspaper to serve, simply and unpretentiously, as a newspaper, while also attempting to saw down “theory” and “analysis” to fit into procrustean newspaper dimensions — that sunk said paper. We may at least disclaim that this error was made *over* our continual objections, and certainly won’t be repeated by *Unity–Struggle–Unity*.

Second, after some debate, we decided that a general newspaper would be — and has been in the U.S. Communist movement’s past — an inappropriate forum for struggle between Communists, comradely or otherwise. In particular, having studied the errors of the New Communist Movement, we considered the corrosive effect this exact practice had back then: Communist newspapers during that period tended to serve mainly as platforms for the most bitter and pointless controversies between Communists, fractured into small, typically local formations that rarely amounted to more than a few dozen members. Their newspapers, thus inundated with highly specific debates between Communists, with no practicable significance beyond internal struggle and development, were thereby rendered irrelevant to the conscious masses generally — and, for that matter, irrelevant to anyone who wasn’t already a Communist. It didn’t matter how “principled” one side or another in these debates was; it was simply inappropriate to inundate a newspaper with highly specialized, intra-Communist-movement debate and expect the conscious masses — the folks we’re meant to be serving — to read it, gain anything from it, and (in most cases) *pay money* for it. Indeed, there is a sort of clueless arrogance in the tendency to occupy a large portion of a “popular” periodical with what are, from the general public’s perspective, esoteric, dry, and often very petty disputes between Communists. This would be analogous to a popular science magazine occupying half its space with obscenely dry polemics between specialists over research methods, only for its editors to then wonder why they’ve failed to attract readers.

We must learn from and correct the errors of our predecessors. Therefore, while we would never attempt to “hide” debates and controversies within our movement from the conscious masses — this would be a very cowardly type of liberalism — and while we accept that struggle between Communists is at times characterized by severity and bitterness, we must also recognize that shoving our specialized debates and controversies into every aspect of our work, as if such content has general relevance, only serves to alienate the conscious masses from our movement and to distract us from our priorities. Every section of the USU website and all of our periodicals will, of course, always be

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made available to interested readers among the masses generally. But this aspect of our work — struggle within the Communist movement — will need to be cleanly separated from the general newspaper and theoretical journal.

Thus, our team arrived at a plan to diversify *Unity-Struggle-Unity's* output into three main periodicals: the *Red Clarion* newspaper, *Crucible Magazine*, and the *Unity-Struggle-Unity* journal.

### **The Red Clarion**

Our newspaper the *Red Clarion* and the corresponding website section will feature propaganda and agitation, from a Marxist-Leninist perspective, on a wide variety of topics bearing relevance to revolutionary struggles carrying on across North America. We plan to cover developments at every geographical level: local, regional, empire-wide, and global.

The first aim of the *Clarion* will be to raise consciousness. In our view, our movement's consciousness-raising work must have one *central* task, around which all other tasks revolve: Connecting, in the popular consciousness, all the myriad revolutionary struggles, carrying on across the U.S. Empire, that find their roots in the same structural complex of oppression, known to us as class society. These struggles, waged, at present, in a disconnected fashion, must be united into one revolutionary movement — a revolutionary movement that, from a diversity of struggles, forges one great force, demanding a liberation total and universal — within and against the U.S. Empire, with the Communist movement at its helm. The advanced and intermediately conscious contingents of the masses must be delivered propaganda on *every struggle* — from the anti-colonial struggles waged by Indigenous peoples for decolonization and self-determination, to the struggles for women's and LGBT civil rights, to the internationalist struggle against imperialism, to the revolutionary-democratic Movement for Black Lives and the contemporary abolitionist struggle, to the struggle to rebuild trade unions and to reorganize the industrial proletariat, to the struggles of the sub-proletarian and the criminalized masses for their fundamental rights, to the struggle to save our Earth from the ongoing ecological catastrophe — and *every struggle* must be consciously interwoven, first in the pages of a single newspaper, then in the reader's mind.

To this end, the *Clarion* and its web section will be aimed at the most general audience: the relatively advanced and intermediate (in terms of consciousness and activity) contingent of the oppressed masses.

A second goal for the *Clarion* is to modernize and revitalize Communist propaganda in the U.S. and broader Anglophone world. While considerable work has been dedicated by some Communists, in the U.S. and elsewhere, to "modernizing" our means and methods, by taking advantage of new technologies and platforms, such as social media and video streaming services, the "classic" medium, that of the newspaper, has been neglected, leaving it outdated, amateurish, and stale. This is unfortunate, as written propaganda occupies a critical niche that other media cannot alone fulfill. Revitalizing the medium will be an experimental process of finding out where a newspaper "fits" into 21st-Century Communist propaganda work.

The *Clarion* and the *Clarion* Online will feature formats 1-6, as listed and described above: [\(1\) Agit-L](#), [\(2\) Agit-B](#), [\(3\) Prop.](#), [\(4\) Var.](#), [\(5\) Disp.](#), and [\(6\) Re.](#)

### **Topics**

We will focus our efforts on areas that need, and presently suffer from a deficiency in, consistent and coherent Marxist-Leninist propaganda. Therefore, with some exceptions, if we have nothing "new" to say on a given topic, we will likely instead share analysis from comrades and allies in the struggle, whose propaganda already adequately covers it. In particular, we have identified the following "current events" topics as areas of focus for our team:

#### **(1) The U.S. and global economic situation**

One major deficiency we've noticed in the U.S. Communist movement is its lack of competent economic analysis. Most of our comrades can explain, at some level, the basic concepts of Marxist political economy — labor-power, commodities and money, capital, wages, exploitation, etc. — but

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applying the science to the realities of present-day social life is something else entirely, an analytical task, requiring advanced study, that very few of our comrades in the U.S. are *yet* capable of performing. We plan to rectify this deficiency in our movement, inasmuch as a small press like ours can help to do so, by publishing regular analysis, in the form of newspaper propaganda, on the economic situation in the U.S. and on the world stage. Our analysis will focus, in particular, on explaining the imperialist world economy, the relationship between the metropolises and the colonies, dependents, and vassals, and the imminent decline of U.S. global hegemony and the U.S.-led imperialist axis in economic terms. Furthermore, all economic analysis will be conducted vis-a-vis analysis of the class struggle, both within the U.S. Empire and around the globe.

We will also post brief economic updates ([see the "official communications" format](#)) on economic developments — e.g., wide-scale speculative purchasing of housing units, Federal Reserve rates, forgiveness of large corporate debt, major shifts in the stock market, changes in the Consumer Price Index, and so on. In these updates, we will generally avoid making short-term forecasts, but by consistently posting updates that expose the inexorable rot in the financial institutions and markets of the capitalist-imperialist economic world order, over time, we can demonstrate the inevitable, long-term decay of Capital, our great enemy.

### **(2) Labor organizing and the spontaneous proletarian struggle**

The spontaneous working-class movement, centered on trade and labor unions and similar, classic vehicles of struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, is, on the whole, with a few notable exceptions, uniquely and historically weak in the U.S. Empire, compared to the rest of the world's advanced capitalist economies. Its nadir has roughly coincided with that of the Communist movement, i.e., in the last few decades of fascist consolidation and neoliberalism that followed the defeat of worldwide Communism in the Cold War. But, as with the Communist movement in the U.S., and the world over, the working-class movement is gradually, and with increasing force, emerging from a long period of comatose recovery. New unions, adapted to "new" configurations of industrial capital — ascendant, monopolizing corporations such as Amazon, Uber, Starbucks, Google, etc. — are forming and rising, and taking on a quasi-socialist, if still reformist, consciousness, markedly distinct from the opportunist and staunchly anti-Communist trade-unionism of recent generations. This revived working-class movement is rising, with and without *conscious* aid from Communists and other revolutionary socialists; it is, as it always has been, primarily spontaneous. So, what is the role of Communists? The same as it ever was: It is our duty to integrate the Communist movement with the spontaneous struggle of the industrial proletariat, to agitate and propagandize within the trade unions and other vehicles of industrial proletarian struggle, and to imbue that struggle with a *revolutionary* socialist consciousness. Although an all-U.S., actually revolutionary Communist Party would be required to carry out this work effectively, across the whole country at once, and under a unified program, we must nonetheless begin the work now, even at this fractured stage in the U.S. Communist movement's recovery.

The U.S. Communist movement's lack of integration with, let alone leadership in, the trade unions and other vehicles of the industrial proletariat's economic struggle renders agitation less effective than it would be if we could provoke and lead organized labor action. We therefore anticipate that our coverage of the labor struggle in the newspaper will be primarily *propagandistic*. However, agitation on this topic may become more fruitful, ergo more frequent, as our movement progresses towards unification and begins to integrate with the trade unions and other vehicles of the spontaneous struggle of the workers. Furthermore, our limited labor capacity means that our propaganda on this topic will, for now, be less frequent than we would like.

### **(3) The enemy State's repressive apparatuses**

Here we refer to the police, criminal courts, jails and prisons, psychiatric institutions, and all other institutions of the enemy State tasked with repressing the will of the oppressed to struggle by perpetrating violence, restricting movement, and instilling terror. As we've discussed previously, the unprecedented popularization of what we might characterize as radical-liberal abolitionist ideas — their reformist logic and reformist proponents notwithstanding — has heightened the general public's

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consciousness to such a degree that it is now no longer unheard of, and no longer met with blank incredulity, to suggest that these institutions cannot be redeemed and must be abolished. Thus, notwithstanding its underlying logic, liberal abolitionism has played a conditionally revolutionary role: The massive energy and widespread activity produced by the Movement for Black Lives has been channeled into consciousness-raising, resulting in a qualitative leap forward, particularly during and following the Summer 2020 Uprisings.

What this means for us, as pertains to our work for USU, is that revolutionary, if not specifically Marxist-Leninist, propaganda on this topic is already being carried out. Our work must therefore proceed in two directions: First, it must go deeper; it must set the stage for another qualitative leap, this time from the lukewarm waters of liberal abolitionism to the roaring fire of decolonization and revolutionary socialism. This task of deepening the popular consciousness will require theoretical work. Second, we must seize the initiative, provided by the groundwork of abolitionist propaganda, to launch into heightened campaigns of agitation. Every injustice is now an opportunity to reify the necessity, grasped in the abstract, of abolishing the perpetrator institution, as well as the whole enemy State. Every injustice perpetrated by the police against the colonially and nationally oppressed peoples within the U.S. Empire is a potential harbinger of revolutionary upsurge.

The rate of murders by cops across the U.S. Empire is high enough that it would be possible to include at least one article on this topic every week; during some weeks, several articles. But this should be avoided, if only for now, for two reasons: First, to prevent potential desensitization to and/or despair at the violence continuously enacted by the colonial police upon colonized communities. Second, so that we can distribute our available labor more evenly and cover as many struggles as possible, as consistently as possible, and thereby consciously connect the struggles against the enemy State's repressive apparatuses to every other revolutionary struggle being waged across the U.S. Empire.

Where, geographically speaking, will we agitate? Almost everywhere across the U.S. Empire; every locality in which the conscious masses are prepared to demonstrate — not merely to protest, but to riot, provided sufficient provocation — against the repressive institutions of the enemy State, and at times against the enemy State itself. This particularly holds true of the New Afrikan people, in their national territory and in their North American diaspora communities, in cities and towns across the U.S. Empire. We will engage in local agitation wherever, across the U.S. Empire, we have comrades who are organized and prepared to *competently* lead the oppressed masses into definite actions. Our agitation will drive home ideas already furnished by propaganda — encouraging oppressed communities to take action, practice mutual aid, divest from police, and participate in collective, neighborly community self-defense programs. On the other hand, where our movement lacks a ground presence, our reporting will be limited to updates via our Official Communications format.

### **(4) The political system of the U.S. Empire**

Developments in the "normal" course of the U.S. Empire's political system, in the normal "democratic" functioning of the enemy State, such as debates in the U.S. Congress, the enactment of laws by the federal and state governments, periodic elections, etc., are, although far outside the arena revolutionary struggle at this stage, nevertheless relevant to the U.S. Communist movement. How so?

If we asked the CPUSA, their leaders would tell us that the relevance of the country's (they wouldn't call it an "empire") political system to "our" movement begins and ends with the supposedly paramount necessity of voting for, and volunteering on behalf of, the Democrats. The PSL, meanwhile, would tell us that running wasteful, dead-end "third-party" campaigns, while also, paradoxically, endorsing the left-wing of the Democratic Party, is a winning (or, at least, not an utterly losing) strategy.

We, on the other hand, hold that the only correct way, in principle and in strategy, to engage with the enemy State's political system *is to expose it as an instrument of class dictatorship*: the dictatorship of the imperialists, the other big capitalists, and the whole array of propertied settler classes over the laboring and dispossessed classes and over a diversity of colonially oppressed and imprisoned peoples.

And how do we expose this instrumentality? Do we vote for Democrats? Do we waste a literal

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fortune on a hopeless "third-party" ticket every four years?

No, the correct strategy is not electoralism. We can't build the revolution by investing in the enemy State, by tailing the "left-wing" Democrats, by shamelessly begging for favorable reforms. We must reject opportunism, divest from the enemy State, and encourage the oppressed masses to totally abandon it. For, as with Lenin, "if we desire to be front-rank democrats, we must ... *direct* the thoughts of those who are dissatisfied only with conditions at the university, or in the Zemstvo, etc., to the idea that *the entire political system is worthless.*" In this regard, the majority of the oppressed masses, who have already become apathetic to the U.S. Empire's political system, who show no interest in elections whatsoever, are already prepared to accept that the whole enemy State is worthless; now, they must be convinced that it can be replaced, and that it must be replaced. We expose the enemy State as altogether worthless by demonstrating that *it cannot be reformed*, that it is *irredeemable*, and that it must be overthrown — not only for the sake of progress, of emancipation, of liberation, etc., but for the very survival of our species and the habitability of our planet for future generations.

The correct tactics for Communists to adopt with regard to the enemy State will be explored in [Crucible](#), but the work of exposure itself is the province of our general newspaper, the *Clarion*.

The *Clarion* will feature *propaganda* that explains various aspects of the enemy State, e.g., elections, the Congress, etc., in their general scope. Furthermore, as the forces of reaction consolidate, and the U.S. Empire marches ever further into fascism, each next unjust law passed by Congress, or by a state legislature, or even at the local level, will provide yet another fruitful opportunity for *agitation*, local or broad: Each provides yet another example that we can use to demonstrate, to the oppressed masses, the worthlessness of the whole political system, while at the same time keeping our movement appraised of fascist consolidation. As with other topics we plan to cover, when we lack the available labor time to write a full article, we will cover noteworthy developments (new laws, etc.) through Official Communications channels.

### **(5) Legal Analysis**

We're planning a trial run of a "Red Legal Analysis" column, written by a lawyer on our team; we have yet to determine whether such a column will prove fruitful. The column will feature brief updates (and corresponding social media posts) on the "legal" aspects of new and ongoing developments in the enemy State and its apparatuses, as well as propaganda explaining the institutions and (dis)function of the U.S. legal system and relevant laws in both objective and subjective terms.

### **(6) U.S. imperialism and emerging multipolarity**

One of the current standbys of the red presses still operational in the U.S. is the analysis of U.S. actions on the world stage and the denunciation of U.S. imperialism. A veritable chorus of condemnation rings out against every act of aggression and provocation launched by the U.S. Empire, its allies, and its clients and vassals from a large contingent of the Left in the U.S. — the anti-imperialist Left. (Although, not large enough, and not without meeting a shameless, reprobate, pro-imperialist counter-chorus at every turn.)

Yet for all the clamor of this chorus, which Marxist-Leninists are always, without fail, the first to join, there is a severe lack of analysis concerning the political economy of imperialism, in general, and of a declining U.S. Empire, amid an emerging global multipolarity, in particular. It is necessary, but alone insufficient, that we, as Communists, know what is and isn't imperialism and condemn actors on the world stage accordingly; it isn't enough that we've read Lenin and can define capitalist imperialism. We must, on the one hand, be able to demonstrate the laws governing the development of imperialism to the conscious masses, as those laws manifest in new developments *in real time*, and we must thereby imbue the nascently reawakening revolutionary movement in the U.S. with an anti-imperialist and internationalist consciousness, one that sees clearly the interrelation between settler-colonial oppression within the U.S. Empire and neocolonial oppression without its territorial boundaries. On the other hand, we cannot be content to merely tail the broader anti-imperialist Left in exposing and denouncing the endless war crimes committed by the U.S. Empire abroad. Our task as Communists will be to go further: to really explain and demystify the structure and dynamics of imperialism, as a global mode of circulation, and to reveal the relations between the U.S., as hegemon, and the other

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imperialist powers, the neocolonies, the dependencies, etc., as well as between the U.S. axis and the non-aligned (or otherwise-aligned) States. Imperialism and "international relations" are, much like political economy in general, extensively wrapped up in the mystifications of liberal academia, and are so poorly and vulgarly understood, both by the general public and by the Left, that what will really be required of Communists is not mere tailing denunciations, but sharp, timely analysis.

To this end, our coverage of U.S. imperialism and an emerging multipolarity of global power in the *Red Clarion* will consist mainly of *propaganda*. This is to say that it will rarely suffice to do the work of *agitation*, i.e., of merely exposing the injustice of new atrocities committed by the U.S. and of provoking the masses to definite actions. The crimes of the U.S. are obvious among the anti-imperialist Left, which decries the global hegemon at every turn, but the U.S. anti-imperialist Left is, at this stage, a very small and weak force, even in its broadest definition. Were this level of anti-imperialist consciousness widespread, such that every advanced worker or poor person was, by social osmosis, a committed anti-imperialist, then anti-imperialist agitation would be more effective. But because the nature of imperialism is so extensively mystified, we cannot take for granted that any crime committed by the U.S., which is so obvious to us, will also be obvious to, or even really understood *as imperialism* by, our readers. What the revolutionary movement needs, and what the *Red Clarion* will be tasked with producing, is sustained anti-imperialist *propaganda*.

Having said that, we will not turn away agitation articles offered to us by our comrades. For example, if a contributing comrade is a member of a local formation, and that formation is organizing a demonstration in their community to protest an act of U.S. imperialist aggression, and wishes to publicize the action through USU, then we would gratefully accept a local agitation (Agit-L) article from them. Dispatches from locally organized comrades (format 5, above) regarding local anti-imperialist organizing will also be welcomed.

### **(7) The global class struggle**

In order to foster an internationalist consciousness in the oppressed masses within the U.S. Empire, it will be necessary to report on current events in countries beyond North America, and to interpret developments in the global class struggle, taking place beyond this continent, from a Marxist-Leninist perspective. In particular, we want to cover, explain, and express solidarity with (or, at least, critical support for), anti-colonial, anti-feudal, anti-slavery, anti-imperialist, national liberation, and other such struggles carrying on across the world; we don't want to limit the newspaper to covering *only* the "classic" arena of industrial proletarian struggle. We also want to popularize the great, progressive achievements of ongoing socialist revolutions, e.g., in Cuba, the People's Republic of China, and other Marxist-Leninist states, as well as Latin American democratic socialism, e.g., in Venezuela and Bolivia.

As there is little we can do to *agitate* on developments in other countries, where we obviously have no organized base, the *Clarion's* coverage of developments in the global class struggle beyond North America will be split between two formats: standard propaganda (3) and official communications (11). If possible, for the time being, we want to propagandize on at least a few developments in the global class struggle every month; this should be a significant portion of the newspaper's total output. Wherever possible, as USU gains traction, we will reach out to our contacts in various countries and regions (Germany, China, Viet Nam, etc.) for more detailed on-the-ground reporting. In any case, our propaganda on developments in other countries will necessarily follow the lead of Communist and other revolutionary organizations in the countries and regions we're covering; we will take instruction from official statements released by our comrades abroad, for instance, statements posted on *Solidnet*. Our official communications channels (and format) will be used to express solidarity with and critical support for movements, parties, states, etc., when we don't have the available labor time to write a full article.

### **(8) Cultural Criticism and Guerrilla Semiotics**

One last genre we want to include in the newspaper is cultural criticism and guerrilla semiotics. We will welcome analysis and interpretation of media — films, books, etc. — as well as cultural practices, institutions, movements, and artifacts (e.g., professional sports), from a Marxist-Leninist, or at least a revolutionary socialist, perspective.



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We want to offer occasional “breaks” in the newspaper, which will, for the most part, focus on very serious, and often very grim, aspects of the class struggle — breaks that offer uplifting material and curiosities. We must recognize that the oppressed masses are not a mere object of suffering, nor an inert, lifeless body that must be worked upon, nor an empty vessel, into which we revolutionaries must pour our propaganda, but instead a *subject* (or, a mass of subjects) with their own collective desires and interests. Hosting guerrilla semiotics will also provide training for our readers in critically interpreting, *for themselves*, as independent thinkers, equipped with a socialist consciousness, the dominant ideology — the ideology of capitalism — and its cultural products.

This last genre will employ [the “variety” format \(described above\)](#).

### **Schedule**

The *Red Clarion* will be a weekly periodical. And, because the schedule for the website's *Red Clarion Online* section will prefigure our print newspaper, its content will be planned on a weekly basis. That said, to reiterate, all content for USU Online will be released on a rolling basis, uploaded to the website as soon as it's finished and ready for publication, rather than at periodical (i.e., once-weekly) intervals. The *Red Clarion*'s actual periodical schedule will begin with the launch of USU Digital.

The quantity of articles we can write, edit, and publish is constrained by our team's size and its resulting collective labor capacity, plus the size of our network of contributing comrades. For the time being, our target output is as follows:

- We will aim to publish new agitation articles daily or every other day. Our team will write at least 4 agitation articles per week (this is local and broad agitation combined), to serve as a baseline. We may publish a few or several more agitation articles than this in a given week, depending on the number contributed by our comrades. The format's brevity should allow for same-day or next-day publishing; at the very most, we want to publish an agitation article (and associated leaflets, etc.) within 5 days of the event to which it corresponds.
- Our team will aim to produce 2-3 propaganda articles per week on its own; at least 2 per week will be necessary as a baseline during this initial stage in USU's development, in order to establish basic regularity. As a short-term goal, we hope to publish as many as 5-7 propaganda articles per issue (i.e., per week) by the time our print newspaper launches; this will depend on the volume of contributions we receive from our comrades and the extent to which our team grows in the meantime.
- We have no planned schedule for variety content, but probably won't publish more than 1 or 2 such articles per newspaper issue (ergo per week).
- Dispatches from comrades will be published in whatever volume we receive them. If we receive too many to publish in one issue of the *Clarion*, then we will publish the remainder in the following issue; all dispatches will be posted to the website upon finalization. The same goes for questions, criticisms, and other communications meant for publication we receive from our readers.
- Official Communications (i.e., Updates and Position Statements) directly from the Editorial Board will be posted on a daily basis, and reproduced in the weekly *Clarion* whenever appropriate.

Our schedule will attempt to closely tie together the works of propaganda and agitation: We will attempt to respond to events with agitation articles within a few days, and then, when we have the available labor capacity and find it advantageous, we will follow up on that agitation with propaganda analyzing the issue in general, linking the manifestations of a contradiction to the contradiction itself. We are, however, launching USU with a very small team, which means that *consistently* tying propaganda to agitation in this way will, for now, be difficult.

We anticipate that the *Red Clarion* and the *Red Clarion Online* — divided between agitation and

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propaganda, dispatches, communications from and replies to readers, occasional "culture" articles, and official communications — will amount to about two-thirds of our team's *total* output. Moreover, we anticipate that the outright majority of articles published in the *Red Clarion* will be agitational, of both local and broad scope, and that the outright majority of the remainder will be propagandistic, unless we receive an unexpectedly high volume of dispatches from comrades and/or reader communications.

### ***Crucible***

Our magazine *Crucible* and its corresponding website section will feature analysis of the U.S. Communist movement. Content for *Crucible Magazine* will be aimed primarily, but not exclusively, at a specialized audience of organized Communists in the U.S., and secondarily at a broader audience of our allies in the pro-Communist, revolutionary Left. The purpose of *Crucible Magazine* is to identify, analyze, and overcome, through comradely struggle, the major ideological, political, practical, and organizational problems facing our movement, as our movement develops in real time, and to help advance our movement towards its next stage — namely, towards unification. To this end, *Crucible* will also serve as a carefully moderated forum for debate (including polemic), between Communists.

We expect some degree of "crossover" between *Crucible Magazine* and the *Red Clarion*. This will occur whenever a development we cover has significance for both the Communist movement specifically and the conscious masses generally; such articles will appear in both periodicals (and in both corresponding website sections). One example of such an occurrence would be an article covering a major direct confrontation between our comrades or allies and the enemy State.

*Crucible Magazine* will primarily employ the ["standard propaganda" \(3\)](#) and ["struggle analysis essay" \(7\)](#) formats. It will also feature some [dispatches from locally organized comrades \(5\)](#).

Propaganda articles in *Crucible* will analyze general, but short-term, developments in our movement at the empire-wide level. A series of propaganda articles will, over time, with consistent coverage, provide an "arch" to long-term developments. We will rarely, if ever, analyze developments at the local level, simply because it would be impossible for our small team to examine, in a disconnected fashion, the cellular minutiae of localities. However, we will gladly publish dispatches from comrades (format 5) on struggles carrying on in their localities in *Crucible*, provided these dispatches bear relevance to the U.S. Communist movement at the empire-wide level.

Lastly, at the heart of *Crucible Magazine* will be its long-form analysis of the major ideological, political, practical, and organizational problems facing the U.S. Communist movement, as well as long-term developments in our movement (as opposed to short-term, which will be covered by standard propaganda); this long-form analysis will employ the ["struggle analysis essay" \(SAE\) format \(7\)](#), listed and detailed above. Struggle may be thought of as the experimental procedure by which Communists, as scientific socialists, "test", in practice, hypothetical means of building the revolutionary movement. Means which prove successful time and again, under definite conditions, in definite situations, become elevated over time to theory; theory can then be applied and adapted to the conditions of other places and times. The heart of *Crucible Magazine* will be analysis of this experimentation, preliminary to the development of "theory" properly so called, that examines the evidence furnished by our movement's practical experience.

Analysis of our movement may be general, discussing the "state of the movement" as a whole, but will most often be focused on specific questions and problems, developments, etc., as detailed below.

### **Topics**

#### **(1) Developments in all-U.S. Communist and Left formations**

*Crucible* will feature analysis of developments within all-U.S. organizations within, and adjacent to, the U.S. Communist movement, as well as organizations at the same scale in Canada. (The most prominent of these organizations are currently the CPUSA and PSL, in the U.S., and the CPC, in Canada.) From time to time, major organizations in our movement will undergo transformations, mergers, splits, etc.



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that may be worth analyzing; we may also analyze the rise and fall of organizations, viewed holistically, as a process. Indeed, we anticipate that there will be numerous mergers and splits of great moment (and many of no moment) in the coming months and years, as the U.S. Communist movement (and the closely related movement in Canada) endure the unavoidable pains of recovery and regrowth.

The point of conducting such analysis is to examine the major problems facing our movement by looking at how those problems manifest, in practice, in our movement's largest organizations; to thereby learn what lessons we can, to adapt, and to apply what we've learned to the advancement of our movement. The point is also, of course, to demonstrate that the unsalvageably revisionist parties are, indeed, unsalvageable, and to implore our comrades within those parties to struggle, not for the necromantic preservation of dead organizations, but for the rebirth and gradual reunification of the Communist movement. This means that our coverage of these major organizations in *Crucible* will often be unkind. However, we need to make clear that we do not intend for such coverage to be *mainly* polemical in orientation, because the goal will not be a sustained, focused attack on the organization, so much as an honest appraisal of developments within it.

We will analyze both short-term and long-term developments in our movement's all-U.S. organizations. As stated above, the standard Prop. format (3) will be employed for articles covering short-term developments, while in-depth analyses of long-term developments will employ the SAE format (7).

### **(2) Tactics, towards Strategy**

The victory of the revolutionary movement is, and always has been, contingent on the scientific formulation and well-organized execution of strategy by the vanguard of the revolution. However, the U.S. Communist movement will be incapable of formulating and executing a strategy for the liberation of North America until it achieves unity across the U.S. Empire, in the form of a refounded all-empire Communist Party. We therefore lack, at this stage in the recovery of our movement, the preconditions for the development of strategy. Where, then, can we begin?

A winning strategy relies on the unification, under the Party's program and plan, of a well-equipped and diverse arsenal of experience-proven tactics. We can begin to work towards the formulation of a revolutionary strategy now, during this early, fractured stage in the development of the U.S. Communist movement, by building this arsenal of tactics, in preparation for our movement's unification. This will require experimentation with a diverse array of tactics, the results of which will need to be rigorously analyzed. Where should this work begin?

A diverse array of tactics have already been put into action across the U.S. Empire. On the one hand, the relatively large revisionist parties, such as the CPUSA and PSL, are interested mainly in the stale, losing, tailing tactics of electoralism and sporadic, entropic protests. Other Communists, such as those lingering within the DSA, have stated that they are interested mainly in the economic struggle of the industrial proletariat, and believe that our tactical focus should be on rebuilding unions and other vehicles of industrial proletarian struggle. Still others, who, until earlier this year, had coalesced in the now-dissolved Marxist Center, were mainly interested in "base-building" tactics, towards the construction of "dual power" — which are not, according to most of Marxist Center affiliates, just a "socialist" attempt at establishing NGOs. Our comrades in both the DSA and the former Marxist Center seem to believe that their tactics can achieve any degree of success absent a party, the results of this working hypothesis, as tested over the past few years, notwithstanding. Meanwhile, hundreds of small, dissociated, atomized local formations, some Communist and others broadly Left, have sprung up across the U.S. Empire in the past few years, especially since the Summer 2020 Uprisings. These atomized local formations mostly center tactics of "mutual aid" (which usually means charity), serve-the-people initiatives, tenant unions, and protest mobilization; often, these formations form around one or a few tactics, and are quick to dissolve once the energy for those tactics wears thin. What we have, in sum, is not a well-stocked arsenal of tactics, but a dissociated array of tactics, put into practice by differing contingents of a dissociated movement. We have a cluttered mess.

Much of the experimentation has already been performed by our movement, but our movement has failed to analyze its own experimentation. Our work must therefore begin with analyzing the

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practical results of the array of tactics already in action, as well as the formations utilizing dissociated parts of this array.

Our analysis of tactics, towards the development of strategy, in *Crucible* will mainly concern the application of definite tactics to definite problems in definite situations, as well as the potential agreement between a great variety of experience-proven tactics, which may be collected as a coherently organized arsenal, towards the formulation of a scientific revolutionary strategy. Plainly speaking, our analysis will look at what's been tried, what's worked and what hasn't, and what we believe, from our study of the problems at hand, should be tried next. The goal of this work is not to prescribe a set of unjustified commands, but to explain, as scientific socialists, "We've observed a problem, analyzed the results of various tactics applied to it, and think we should try so and so next."

### **(3) Confrontations with the State**

Repression of Communist and allied Left formations by the enemy State and by civilian-fascist paramilitaries, and open conflict between our movement and our enemies — the small victories we achieve, the defeats and setbacks we suffer — will carry vital lessons, and must be carefully analyzed. The simmering cauldron of reaction, brought to a boil over the past 6 years, has far from expended its potential for the violence; indeed, the forces of fascism are even now approaching further consolidation. Our movement must be prepared to respond and adapt to all state and auxiliary repression against the organized Left, even the liberal elements, and against the spontaneous struggle of the oppressed masses, to instill greater militancy among ourselves and our pro-Communist allies, to assist those suffering the brunt of reactionary violence, and to welcome those disillusioned with reform into the revolutionary movement.

### **(4) Polemic**

From time to time, the USU Editorial Board will issue polemics in *Crucible* against reactionary elements within the U.S. Communist movement, usually with regard to specific developments. For the foreseeable future, polemic will exclusively target the unsalvageably revisionist all-U.S. "Marxist" parties and organizations (or branches thereof), as these are the main source of rot within our movement.

We will also be willing to publish some polemics issued by our comrades. However, due to the potential for unchecked controversy to spiral out of control, the USU Editorial Board's standards for accepting a polemic for publication will be very strict — much more so than our standards for almost any other contributions.

To be accepted for publication, a polemic must meet *all* of the following criteria: (1) the target is a *major* organization (or one of its branches) that holds a position of considerable and widespread influence within our movement (e.g., the CPUSA or the PSL), such that the polemic will have a general relevance to Communists in the U.S.; (2) the polemic is directed primarily against the *entrenched leadership* of these elements (e.g., the leaders of the CPUSA or the PSL); (3) the target of the polemic is staunchly committed to upholding reactionary positions and actions that do harm to our movement as a whole; (4) our polemic is directed against a definite error that can be corrected through definite steps, taken either by the target of the polemic (i.e., through self-criticism) or our comrades in proximity to the target (i.e., through internal struggle); (5) the polemic will contribute to the advancement of our movement towards unification, not towards greater fracturing. These criteria will be strictly maintained and will apply to both contributing comrades and to ourselves (the members of the USU team).

Comrades holding membership in these unsalvageable parties, who wish to instigate internal struggle from within, are welcome to submit polemics for *Crucible*, and have our promise that the utmost care will be taken to protect the contributing comrade from unjust repercussions within their organization. Such measures would be unnecessary for comrades in parties that actually practice democratic centralism, but then again, if a party practiced democratic centralism, then its members would have no need to publish anonymous exposes in outside publications, such as *Crucible*, because in that case the party would be capable of undergoing internal struggle and reform. For those comrades in undemocratic organizations, who wish to offer exposes, we will take every possible step to anonymize you and protect your identity.

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The goal of controversy, when it becomes necessary, is not to degrade or shame our opponents — this is true even when our polemics take on a “mean-spirited” tone — but to identify an error, explain why it’s wrong, and urge our comrades to correct themselves. To this end, *Crucible* (and USU broadly) will also accept and engage with responses from those we’ve criticized and polemicized against; in order to allow our comrades (and our opponents, as the case may be) time to respond, we will refrain from publishing more than one polemic against a given party (or branch of a large party), organization, or other Communist or Left formation per monthly issue of the magazine.

### **(5) General analysis of the U.S. Communist movement**

As previously stated, general analysis of the U.S. Communist movement, in which we examine the major problems, challenges, direction, etc., of the movement as a whole, rather than examining specific formations, tactics, etc., will be pretty rare. At most, we might publish a general analysis of our movement once every six months, but owing to how labor-intensive such overviews will be to develop, once per year is more realistic. Due to their scope, we can expect that such general analyses will be much longer than other *Crucible* articles (perhaps 12,000-15,000 words), and therefore may be published as standalone pamphlets.

### **Schedule**

*Crucible Magazine* will be a monthly periodical. Thus, while content for the *Crucible Online* will be published on the USU website on a rolling basis, it will be planned on a monthly basis. For the time being, our target output for *Crucible* is as follows:

- We will aim for 2-4 long-form analysis pieces (employing the SAE format) per magazine issue (ergo per month);
- We will aim for 4-6 short-form analysis pieces (employing the Prop. format) per magazine issue (ergo per month);
- We will publish any dispatches from comrades (format 5) we receive as highlights in the magazine, allowing for up to a dozen such articles per magazine issue, but potentially more on the website.

A note on the frequency of polemics in *Crucible* is necessary: To avoid the error of transforming the magazine — and the whole press — into a debased source of hostile controversy, we plan to publish no more than 3 polemical pieces per magazine issue (out of 6-10 articles total, not counting dispatches). *Crucible's* output will instead be heavily weighted toward analyses of developments in our movement's major organizations, tactics-towards-strategy, and confrontations with the State (topics 1-3, above). Despite the rot that festers within our movement, the threats which we face from without, i.e., from the enemy State and its foot soldiers, are of incomparably greater gravity.

### ***The Unity–Struggle–Unity Journal***

It is only armed with the correct, scientific, understanding of the world and its conditions that the revolutionist can proceed from planning to action, from action to victory, and from victory to liberation. The great unconscious strivings of history have reached for liberation, but never grasped it; the unconscious and spontaneous movement must try out every avenue until it stumbles upon success, and until then it is subject to reversals, counterrevolution, and deviation. This is why we are publishing our theoretical journal, and why it bears the name of our press: *Unity–Struggle–Unity*.

In order to advance the science of revolution, we must study the real conditions of North America, conduct long-term and rigorous investigations, and adapt the living science of Marxism-Leninism to our current needs. The purpose of this journal is to publish long-form theoretical essays that will help the movement accomplish this task. The journal will be aimed at the narrowest audience of both learning and ideologically developed Communists and will speak in the language of Marxism to Marxists. It is only through such study and investigation that the movement can avoid simply

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iterating past strategies and tactics; new strategies and tactics are needed, to fit the present moment.

We intend the journal to become a forum for the discussion of these pressing questions. From the most basic theoretical concerns grounded in social investigation to the most minute and arcane aspects of the important questions confronting the Communist movement in North America today, *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will provide a place to work out these ideas in collective struggle. In so doing, of course, those engaged in that struggle will be drawn together, strengthened, and ultimately form the considered basis for a new form of all-Empire organization.

We are interested in publishing work across a wide variety of areas of revolutionary theory, but no wider than is demanded by the revolutionary movement in North America. This is not to say that essays on abstract areas of theory are unwanted; for example, an essay that reexamines the labor theory of value might eventually, through a few degrees of separation, prove relevant to developing a class analysis of North America, which might in turn help us formulate coherent lines on the various classes we identify. Even relatively obscure subjects, if properly connected to the present, might prove relevant. What Communists need at this moment is revolutionary theory for the revolutionary movement. The question, then, becomes not one of subject, but one of *framing*. All submissions to the theoretical journal should be clear on the *connection* between the subject and the present moment. Articles in *Unity-Struggle-Unity* will help to serve as the lantern with which the movement banishes the darkness of reaction and with which we light our steps into revolution.

We will accept submissions with which the Editorial Board does not necessarily agree; however, we reserve the right to reject submissions that we find theoretically incoherent, practically irrelevant, and/or reactionary. We may also publish submissions but prepend to them our own critical editorial remarks.

The theoretical journal will carry works employing only format (8) above.

### **Topics**

We could list and describe any number of areas of revolutionary theory that we are interested in advancing in the *Unity-Struggle-Unity* journal. However, we feel that it will here be sufficient to provide a very brief, nonexhaustive outline of topics:

#### **1. The national and colonial questions, particularly concerning:**

- a. The New Afrikan nation and the Black Belt region
- b. Precolumbian indigenous peoples
- c. Hawaii
- d. The Chicana question
- e. The Puerto Rican question
- f. Oppressed nationalities within the settler population

#### **2. Materialist feminist inquiries, especially:**

- a. Social reproduction theory and the gendered division of labor
- b. The sex trade
- c. Subproletarian women's issues
- d. LGBT issues, including more specific issues, e.g., transmisogyny, and LGBT emancipation

#### **3. Structural Disability**

#### **4. Ideology, consciousness, and the State**

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### 5. Ecosocialism

### 6. Political economy, focusing on

- a. Imperialism
- b. The sub-proletariat
- c. Gender as structural (see matfem)
- d. The agrarian question (by region)
- e. Historical questions and their legacies, such as the plantation economy

### **A Note on Structural Disability**

Ability is a property relation, constructed by the advent of class society; *disability* is oppression. Disability is structured by a society's mode of existence; its boundaries are determined by the requirements of the prevailing mode of production, and are reconstructed by every next social revolution. One *becomes* disabled by the existing conditions of dispossession, by the inability of some persons among the propertyless classes to secure their means of subsistence by laboring — whether by selling their labor-power to a capitalist, by getting sold to a slaver, by working upon a parcel of land to which they are tied, or by contributing within an extended family of neolithic farmers.

With the advent of industrial capitalism, social ability and disability took on new, calculating dimensions: the gradual standardization of production meant that persons, specifically among the propertyless classes, whose embodiment of labor-power fell below a certain average range of productivity, ergo of usefulness to the capitalists, or whose bodies lacked the capacity to labor within capitalist production at all — within mines, in factories and sweatshops, on farms, etc. — became *disabled against* securing their subsistence through the sale of their labor-power to a capitalist, barred from joining that new class of waged laborers, the modern proletariat, and relegated to a caste of undesirability. As capitalism developed, and as the modern colonial empires upon which it was built expanded across the globe, so developed its ideology. Eugenics, the misanthropic and racist pseudoscience that begins from the metaphysical presupposition of a hierarchy of "races" within humanity, set out on a quest for the formulation and realization of the anatomically "perfect" human being; the capitalists, meanwhile, eagerly endorsed and patronized the representatives of a "science" which sought to create the "perfect" worker (an impossible task, as the forms taken by labor are constantly adapting in lockstep with the means of production), while at the same time justifying the abandonment and social murder of the disabled and the enslavement of the colonially oppressed peoples.

At its root, ability and disability, being a question of labor, is a question of oppression and liberation. The academic literature on disability as a social structure is relatively new and underdeveloped; organized Communists, meanwhile, while recognizing the oppression suffered by disabled persons, have only in a few, isolated places, and only to the most elementary degree, worked to advance our theoretical understanding of disability and of liberation therefrom. What is ability and what is disability? Why do the disabled suffer? What are the conditions of their liberation? These fundamental questions have barely been touched upon by Communists. We hope to rectify this deficiency in our movement through our work for *Unity-Struggle-Unity*. Pushing the boundaries of historical materialism by developing it in this direction, advancing a theory of disability that recognizes it as structural and as oppression, strikes directly at one of the great and horrible pillars not only of capitalism, but of the whole cumulative history of class society.

The injustices perpetrated against disabled persons by the enemy State, its institutions, and its foot soldiers for the benefit of the capitalists, for the sake of profit, should be subject to rigorous study, to extensive theoretical investigation, and to propaganda and agitation, and should be a major focus of Communist praxis. More particularly, the COVID-19 pandemic, the U.S. empire's vast program of social murder, to which over a million of its own citizens, as of June 2022, have succumbed, and the

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swelling of disability, sure to follow in the form of "long COVID" and related complications, must be analyzed and made the subject of a prolonged propaganda campaign.

### **Schedule**

*Unity-Struggle-Unity* will be a quarterly journal. Our plan is to prepare (write and revise) a set of articles over the course of each three-month interval leading up to successive issues of the journal, and to then publish that quarter's set on the website, in a staggered fashion, over the course of a "theory week" in the immediate lead-up to the new issue's release. Issues of the theoretical journal will be released via USU Digital as PDFs and, once it launches, via USU Print as physical copies.

We intend to begin work on the first issue of the *Unity-Struggle-Unity* journal in the third or fourth quarter of 2022, for publication in either December 2022 or March 2023. In the meantime, we encourage comrades to submit proposals for journal articles, as receiving proposals will help us decide on the genre of focus for our first issue.

## **Guidelines for Contributors**

Our small team can only take *Unity-Struggle-Unity* so far. Being a labor of love for our movement's advancement, and being an endeavor that stands atop the local revolutionary work each of our members is already engaged in, our labor capacity will be strained during this initial phase of developing the press. The rate at which USU expands, and the upper limits of its potential expansion, will be determined by the extent to which our team and our larger network expand. We hope to take on new members of the USU team in the near future; in the meantime, we are already prepared to accept contributions from our comrades, across the U.S. Empire and abroad, who are interested in building organs of Marxist-Leninist propaganda and agitation, intra-movement struggle, theory production, ideological and political development, and mass education for the U.S. Communist movement.

In this part of our *Editorial Plan*, we will outline guidelines for comrades who wish to contribute writing for *Unity-Struggle-Unity*. We will start from basic and general guidelines, before moving onto guidelines concerning specific periodicals and specific formats.

### **USU's Ideology**

*Unity-Struggle-Unity* is a Marxist-Leninist press. As Marxist-Leninists, our priorities are serving the people and building the revolutionary movement; all of our work for the press is predicated on these priorities. Building the revolutionary movement, in turn, requires that we build its vanguard: the Communist movement. Our goal for USU will therefore be to contribute to the ideological, political, practical, and organizational development of the Communist movement and to the advancement of our movement's unification.

Our commitments as Marxist-Leninists to the Communist movement mean that we will prioritize analysis from comrades who are fellow Marxist-Leninists. We will accept propaganda articles for the *Red Clarion* from non-Leninist revolutionary Marxists and other Communist-aligned revolutionary socialists on a case by case basis. On the other hand, analysis and theory published in the *Crucible Magazine* and the *Unity-Struggle-Unity* theoretical journal will be exclusively Marxist-Leninist.

However, much of the content published through USU, particularly in the *Red Clarion*, will not be "analysis" properly speaking, but "journalism" in the form of agitation and dispatches from comrades in the struggle. We welcome agitational contributions and dispatches from *all revolutionary socialists* active across North America, both in an individual and organizational capacity, so long as the contributor is politically aligned with the Communist movement, is active in some revolutionary struggles in some capacity, and does not stand as an enemy of any contingent of the oppressed masses (isn't, e.g., homophobic, transphobic, etc.).

Assuming that a submission could at least be considered "Left" and is not blatantly reactionary, it will most likely be published. However, be advised that the Editorial Board reserves the to include critical notes alongside contributions we publish, and may redact certain information for political and

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operational-security reasons.

There is one exception to the above rules: As we discussed earlier in this document, the Editorial Board will be tasked with replying to communications, such as questions and criticisms, we receive from our readers, and may publish these communications and replies in the appropriate periodical and website section. As our newspaper, in particular, will be aimed at a general audience of the advanced and intermediately conscious masses, such communications and replies may be published in the *Red Clarion* and on the corresponding website section *even when the sender is not a socialist*; because the very purpose of the newspaper is to reach the broadest audience, it would be counterproductive to limit these exchanges to our comrades and allies within the Left. For that matter, although we will rarely platform *anti-Communists* (as opposed to mere *non-Communists*), we may also sometimes respond to committed reactionaries who've happened upon our website or periodicals, on a case-by-case basis, should there be a compelling reason to do so, e.g., an opportunity to clearly explain, to the masses, why a specific reactionary idea is wrong.

### **How to pitch articles to the Editorial Board**

If you'd like to contribute articles for *Unity–Struggle–Unity*, the place to start is with your pitch. You can send a pitch to our Editorial Board for consideration by email, at [USUEditorial@protonmail.com](mailto:USUEditorial@protonmail.com), by sending us a DM through one of our official social media accounts, or by filling out the "Submissions" form on the USU website.

You can follow these steps to compose your pitch:

First, tell us a bit about the topic you want to cover in your article. Some of the topics we're interested in covering in our various periodicals are listed under each periodical's respective heading, above. It's no problem if your article doesn't fit any of the topics we've listed; we can always expand.

Second, write a brief abstract — it can be as short as a few sentences — to tell us what your article is (or will be) about. Your abstract should identify the issue or problem you're discussing and provide a thesis statement.

Third, select one of our standardized formats. Consult the list provided in this document to determine which format applies to and should be employed for the article you want to write. Remember, these formats are meant to streamline the process by providing helpful guidelines for things like word counts, but aren't a strict rubric and won't be strictly enforced by the Editorial Board.

Fourth, tell us which periodical your contribution best fits: the *Red Clarion* newspaper, *Crucible Magazine*, or the *Unity–Struggle–Unity* theoretical journal. If you're not sure, then we can help you decide based on your stated topic, your abstract, and the format you've selected.

Fifth, and lastly, set yourself a target deadline. This self-imposed deadline may be as soon as the same day you send your pitch, or it may be months away; it will depend on the scale and depth of your article and, of course, the labor you're able to devote to writing. We ask you to set yourself a reasonable deadline so that we can adjust our planned output schedules for our periodicals, but we understand that circumstances can change and that deadlines may need to be shifted.

### **Style Guidelines**

We're developing our own in-house style manual for *Unity–Struggle–Unity*, largely adapted from the Chicago Manual of Style. Our manual will be available as a free PDF download on the website, as soon as it's completed.

Concerning references, our guidelines are as follows: The *Red Clarion* will use neither footnotes nor in-text citations. Sources should be cited directly in the prose. *Crucible Magazine* and the *Unity–Struggle–Unity* theoretical journal will use footnotes, rather than endnotes, and will not include bibliographies. Sources should be cited in conformity with the Chicago Manual of Style.

Terminology will conform to normal Marxist-Leninist conventions, which in places differ from everyday usage, while some other peculiarities in speech may be based on our own USU Style Manual. (For example, for propagandist purposes, we usually refer to the U.S., as a polity, as "the U.S. Empire").

If you find style guides intimidating, don't worry too much about conforming to the guidelines

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laid out in our USU Style Manual. It's the Editorial Board's job to "clean up" articles submitted by our contributors, and as long as your contribution is comprehensible, we can work with it.

### **Step-by-step Walkthroughs**

We have appended a sample agitation article to this plan, and will publish additional sample articles in the following days, to provide contributors with helpful examples. Further, we are available for consultation directly over VOIP or other platforms, and, when labor becomes less scarce, we intend to run classes in Communist writing.

Our suggestions as to content and word count are not absolute laws, but merely that: suggestions. That being said, we have carefully considered the ideological and organizational purpose of each type of article and plotted out what we believe is a workable standard in each case; although these will be subject to revision, if submissions depart from these standards in major ways, it will likely impact our ability to publish them, or at the very least slow down the process while we suggest revisions. That is not to say that we will not publish material which falls outside these boundaries, but that we believe it will not be a common occasion.

#### **Agitation – local (Agit-L)**

**Step 1.** Observe an event in your community, locality, or in a nearby area, especially an injustice committed against the oppressed masses by our enemies, that you believe has the potential to spark outrage and serve as the impetus for heightening revolutionary activity.

**Step 2.** Gather all the relevant facts concerning the event: Who has been directly and indirectly affected by the injustice? What is the class composition of the affected community? Who perpetrated the injustice? And so on.

**Step 3.** Analyze the situation and determine the nature of the event and the injustice. What are the underlying contradictions at play? How does this injustice represent the manifestation of a definite contradiction? What greater issue is the event an instance of? Who stands to benefit from this injustice? How does this injustice pertain to the class struggle? And so on.

**Step 4.** Formulate a list of definite, clearly stated demands — for justice and for popular power and autonomy — that represent the desires of the oppressed masses in the affected community.

**Step 5.** Work with your comrades, in your local formation, and comrades and political allies in other local formations, as well as branches of larger organizations, to plan a definite course of action (e.g., a protest, a mass meeting, etc.) in response to the event. These actions must provide the oppressed masses in the affected community with a means of actively resisting and fighting back, of not merely petitioning for certain demands, but of struggling for those demands; if coupled with effective agitation (and, if possible, propaganda), this heightening of activity will, in turn, heighten consciousness.

**Step 6.** You're now ready to write the article. It should be published and circulated, either in the form of a self-contained leaflet or as shared links to the website (or both), in the *immediate aftermath* of the injustice (at most, a few days following it) and on the eve of your actions. In it, you'll need to describe the event, explain why it is an injustice, issue calls to actions, and list the demands you've formulated. Keep in mind that an agitational article is aimed primarily at the oppressed masses in the affected community, not at your comrades and political allies, and needs to speak to the masses directly. Make sure to consult our detailed description of [the Agit-L format, above](#), for further instruction.

#### **Agitation – broad (Agit-B)**

**Step 1.** In a similar fashion to local agitation, start by observing a short-term development in your region, especially an injustice, that may serve as the impetus for a regional heightening of activity.

**Step 2.** Gather all the relevant facts.

**Step 3.** Analyze the situation.

**Step 4.** Hold a discussion within your local formation on how to coordinate with comrades and



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political allies across the affected region to (1) formulate and uphold a common list of demands and (2) to organize a regional (or, if possible, empire-wide) campaign of mass action in response to the development. If this is impossible, then you'll need to make do with

**Step 5.** You're now ready to write the article. The same guidelines regarding the article's content, its time-sensitivity, and its audience that apply to Agit-L also apply to Agit-B. Please consult our detailed description of the [Agit-B format, above](#), for further instruction.

### **Propaganda – standard (Prop.)**

**Step 1.** Identify a definite social issue — any issue — that stands out to you. It might help if you have some lived experience with the problem you're addressing, but this isn't absolutely necessary; it may also help if you're actively engaged in organized revolutionary work around this issue in question, as your practical experience is likely to augment your analysis. The issue should be specific enough that *concrete* (as opposed to abstracted) analysis of it is possible in the space of several hundred to a few thousand words. For example, rather than choosing a very general and vague problem, such as "the oppression and struggle of LGBT people", choose a specific aspect of that oppression and struggle that takes the form of a definite issue, such as a recent wave of anti-trans legislation in state governments and the struggle of transgender people for basic civil rights.

**Step 2.** Now identify the *contradictions* at work, underlying the issue at hand. If we keep to our example of anti-trans legislation, then we might identify the contradiction as one between, on the one hand, various reactionary institutions and movements that serve to maintain the heterosexual social contract in the U.S. by enforcing gender norms (e.g., Evangelical Protestantism, Western medicine, collaborationist cis-feminism, etc.) and, on the other hand, transgender people. Go further by considering how these contradictions go from latent to manifest in the course of struggle, and tie the contradictions to the greater structure. In our example, consider how the struggle of transgender people for basic civil rights has revealed not only the abysmal conditions suffered by transgender persons in the U.S. Empire, but also, moreover, certain underlying contradictions in the structure of patriarchal oppression itself.

**Step 3.** Study the history of the issue and struggle you're writing about and root the present in its historical antecedents. You'll want to provide readers with some historical background, to show that this isn't a "new" problem; at the same time, we don't want to get lost in a discourse on history. Taking our example, you might discuss the history of anti-trans laws and of state and institutional violence against transgender persons in the U.S. Empire, as well as the history of the struggle of transgender persons, spontaneous and conscious, anarchistic and organized, reformist and revolutionary, etc., for civil rights.

**Step 4.** Make the issue tangible by naming both our political enemies and allies. Rebuke the forces of reaction, while also praising the organizations and movements that have taken a leading role in advancing the struggle. Taking our example, you may want to name the anti-trans platforms (and historical platforms) of Republican and Democratic parties, the anti-trans proposals of various legislators within those parties, certain anti-trans hate groups, etc., as our enemies, while lauding the work of certain trans advocacy organizations. It's fine to identify certain radical-liberal organizations as our political allies, but only when and insofar as they're taking (even unintentionally) a conditionally revolutionary role in a given struggle, so long as in doing so we also explain where our politics differ, i.e., the limits of reformism and the need for revolutionary solutions. If applicable, you may *briefly* polemicize against reactionary forces within the Left, including, more narrowly, within the U.S. Communist movement, but please remember that the *Clarion* is a general-audience newspaper, and consider the extent to which such a focused attack will bear relevance to the conscious masses generally. We should never be afraid to reveal controversies within our movement to the masses, but we also need to remember that the masses might be less interested in our internal struggles than we care to admit.

**Step 5.** Outline your article before writing it. As a suggestion, you might want to open your piece with a description and harsh condemnation of a recent reactionary assault on the oppressed, as

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this can catch the reader's attention and set the stage for your analysis; this might be the right place to name and condemn our enemies. Next, discuss the actions taken by our comrades and political allies, as well as by the oppressed masses themselves, spontaneously, to fight back. Then, move on to your analysis of the issue in general and the contradictions at work, while tying this analysis to the greater structure (without getting lost in abstractions); this is also where you might discuss the issue's history. (Again, this is only a suggested outline, and it won't best suit every article.) Taking our example, an article on anti-trans legislation and the struggle for trans civil rights might open with a summary of legislation recently passed in state governments across the U.S. Empire (and related legislation) and a harsh condemnation of this assault by our enemies on trans rights; it would then discuss the ongoing organized Left response; from there, it would proceed to a discussion of the contradiction itself, and explain how transphobia is rooted in the structure of patriarchal oppression; throughout, the article would also discuss the history of the struggle for trans rights in the U.S. Empire.

**Step 6.** Conclude your article with revolutionary optimism. It's likely that the subject of your article is grim, but we cannot give into despair, nor can we lead the conscious masses to despair. Celebrate our heroes and martyrs. Proclaim that we are living through the final epoch of class society; remind the reader that we are fast approaching the eve of the revolution. Summarize the essential points of a revolutionary line and program on the issue at hand, to illustrate the transformations of society that only a revolution can bring about, and that the revolution *will* bring about.

## Standalone Content

While our periodicals will carry the bulk of *Unity-Struggle-Unity's* total output, we're also planning non-periodical publications, or standalone content.

We currently have two series of standalone publications planned: our previously discussed Popularized Theory Pamphlets series and our Handbooks for Revolutionaries series. These will be major, long-term projects, requiring substantial labor and time to produce. Both series are discussed in detail below.

In addition, we plan to release standalone versions of some of the agitation and propaganda articles we publish in the *Red Clarion*, made available as free PDF downloads via USU Digital. These projects will also be discussed below.

This means, in sum, that all the standalone content projects we've planned for *Unity-Struggle-Unity* (so far) consist of five formats: [Agit-L \(1\)](#), [Agit-B \(2\)](#), [Prop. \(3\)](#), [PTP \(9\)](#), and [HBR \(10\)](#).

As discussed at the beginning of this document, our standalone content will initially be released via USU Digital, mainly as PDFs, with corresponding HTML webpages; we plan to launch USU Digital in early August 2022. In the meantime, we will seek printing solutions and partnerships. Our goal is to launch USU Print early in 2023. In addition to print editions of our periodicals — starting with the *Red Clarion*, followed by *Crucible Magazine*, followed by the *Unity-Struggle-Unity* theoretical journal — USU Print will also feature print editions of our standalone publications.

### Standalone Agitation Leaflets

For Communists, the primary purpose of agitation is to heighten consciousness by heightening activity. We discussed earlier in this document our reasons for elevating agitation from its "classic" modes — viz., speeches at public demonstrations and leaflets distributed in the immediate aftermath of an event — to an all-U.S. general newspaper. But in elevating agitation in this way, we don't wish, at the same time, to *limit* it to the newspaper. At times, it will be advantageous to "revert" so to speak to the "classic" mode of agitation: to reproduce agitation articles that first appear on the website (under the *Red Clarion Online* section) as standalone leaflets, for limited-time distribution to the oppressed masses in the affected community.

When will reproducing agitation articles, originally written for the *Red Clarion*, as standalone agitation leaflets be advantageous? When our comrades in a given locality are prepared to circulate these leaflets — especially in the lead-up to an action or set of actions, such as a protest or series

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of protests, a mass meeting, a strike, etc. — within the affected community, to persons whom our agitation would otherwise not reach. We know it will be a long time before *Unity–Struggle–Unity* builds up a substantial readership, and even once it does, there will still be millions of persons among the oppressed masses in the U.S. Empire who've never heard of the press, its website, and its periodicals. When our comrades in a given town or city are organizing actions in response to, and in the immediate aftermath of, an acute injustice, and want to agitate *directly* to the oppressed masses in the affected community, in most places, for the foreseeable future, leaflets and speeches will remain the most effective means. The newspaper, then, will serve to expand that agitational work from the immediacy of the affected community to the oppressed masses across the U.S. Empire — from a local struggle to the *class* struggle.

Agitation leaflets will be produced by our team in cooperation with our locally organized comrades. In other words, leaflets will be produced on demand; if there's no one to circulate a leaflet, then there's no use in reproducing a newspaper article as a leaflet.

### **Standalone Propaganda Pamphlets**

On a case-by-case basis certain propaganda articles may be selected or specially written to serve as short-form pamphlets for printing and distribution by local organizations. As opposed to the more detailed theory pamphlets (detailed below), these propaganda pamphlets will have, as their target audience, those on the less-developed end of the scale; those who do not have much Marxist vocabulary, if any, and should serve as the opening salvo in a propaganda campaign to raise consciousness on certain issues.

These pamphlets will be shorter than the theory pamphlets and thus cost less overhead to print and distribute; they will be more approachable than the theory pamphlets, and demand less of the readership because they will be less thorough, lengthy, and complex, but will address pressing topics. For instance: should an organization be attempting to raise consciousness toward an anti-war movement, it may be advantageous to have simple, direct, and straightforward pamphlets that can raise the level of consciousness around anti-imperialist struggle.

This will stand out from the short-run articles in the *Red Clarion*; if we were to run an anti-imperialist propaganda piece in a single issue of the *Clarion*, for instance, that would not have the same sustained impact as a distribution campaign of detailed flyers.

In the absence of good agitational events, propaganda pamphlets will help “prepare the ground” for agitation by raising the general level of consciousness. If there are propaganda pieces running in the *Clarion* that readers would like to see prepared as a standalone pamphlet, the Editorial Board will take efforts to make that article available. We should thus consider the standalone propaganda pamphlets to be the fertilizer; agitational pamphlets and the *Clarion* are our seeds that sprout toward action. Popularized theory pamphlets are the nutrients needed to help those seedlings grow and bloom into fully-actualized revolutionaries.

### **Popularized Theory Pamphlets**

Popularized theory is aimed at a broad audience of the relatively conscious and active contingents of the masses: those who are not yet revolutionaries, but who show an interest in Communist ideas, a desire to actively struggle, and an awakening revolutionary potential. The ultimate goal of popularizing theory is to create new revolutionaries.

Here it must be stressed that by popularized theory, we do not mean “dumbed down” and clipped theory, nor can we think of “popularization” as the reduction of a theoretical discussion to a handful of abstracted, poorly defined Marxist concepts. In fact, in many cases, popularizing a discussion means lengthening it, because we cannot skip past much of the background that we take for granted in discussions with fellow Communists, and because illustration that a Communist might find extraneous or repetitive becomes a necessity.

How should our popularized theory pamphlets be distributed? It has always been the case that, absent a vanguard, and absent cadres who go and teach the conscious masses, some individuals

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among these contingents will, independently, become inspired and begin the autodidact's quest for a revolutionary education. Through their own great efforts, a small handful of individuals from among the oppressed masses thereby become self-taught Communists. (On this point, some of our team speak from experience.) But building the revolutionary movement cannot be left up to chance autodidacticism. Our job, as Communists, is not merely to polish the stepping stones walked by autodidactic revolutionaries, and to then sit by, passively observe, and hold out hope that more autodidacts succeed in their journey towards Marxism. Instead, our job is to seek out potential revolutionaries among the masses; to find those who would already be Communists, if not for the conditions of capitalist immiseration, if not for the impoverishment, undereducation, overworking, stress, trauma, and deprivation they suffer; to provide these potential revolutionaries with a comprehensive Marxist education, that is, with the materials for which they're already searching, as well as with the material support necessary for these comrades-in-embryo to flourish; to helpfully guide our learning comrades along those stepping stones; and to thereby inaugurate new Communists in the ranks of our movement. This work, the work of reproducing our movement, is vital not only to building and replenishing our numbers, but also to carrying forward our movement from one "generation" (for lack of a better word) to the next. In sum, it is not enough for us to merely *produce* popularized theory. Our pamphlets and other materials would amount to nothing but ethereal online resources, happenstance curiosities to be stumbled upon by wayward autodidacts, if we failed to do the work of popularly *teaching* theory.

We view this series of Popularized Theory Pamphlets as teaching materials, meant to be distributed by Communists, particularly in the course of serving the people, as well as in reading groups, etc., to those highly conscious persons among the masses who are prepared to make the enormous leap from nebulous pro-revolutionary consciousness to Marxism, and to thereby become new Communists. From the time of Marx to the present, the popular pamphlet has classically been the most effective means of beginning this revolutionary education process. There's no reason to think we can't replicate this potential, and renew it for a contemporary audience, with popular pamphlets of our own.

This series of pamphlets will employ the PTP format (g), which was specially designed for it. New entries will be made available on the website upon release, as free PDF downloads.

## **Handbooks for Revolutionaries**

Our Handbooks for Revolutionaries series is aimed at organized Communists. Its purpose is to provide "technical" instruction on the major political, practical, and organizational questions of the Communist movement. By "technical" we mean the distillation of those areas of revolutionary theory, concerned with political and organizational praxis, into their essential principles, and the application of those principles to method (or, "technique").

For example, one of our Handbooks, currently in active development, is a *Guide to Struggle*, which will serve as a comprehensive, but condensed, guide for organized Communists on how to conduct struggle — ideological and line struggle, debate, criticism and self-criticism, etc. — between Communists in a comradely and constructive fashion. Among our other Handbooks, currently in the early, conceptual stage, are a *Guide to Serving the People* and a *Handbook of Democratic Centralism*. There is a large body of theoretical work on each of these topics, and while it is necessary for Communists to study these areas of theory, it can also be difficult to apply such a wealth of information to the immediate questions and problems likely to be encountered in the actual course of praxis.

This series of handbooks is intended for an audience of currently organized Communists, as its entries deal with specialized questions and problems directly relevant to the internal workings of the Communist movement, and will be of interest to non-Communists. That said, and to reiterate, all of our publications will be made freely available to the general public, regardless of intended audience. Due to its specialized nature, entries in our series of Handbooks for Revolutionaries will likely also, though not by design, prove less accessible than those in our Popularized Theory Pamphlets series. However, every effort will be made to render the Guides as approachable and accessible as possible

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to comrades at all levels of ideological and political development, from the newest to the most experienced Communists.

This series of handbooks will employ the HBR format (10), which was specially designed for it. New entries will be made available on the website upon release, as free PDF downloads.

# Appendix I: Sample Article (Agit-L)

## New England Nazis Active in Connecticut

Hartford, Connecticut

### New England neo-Nazis on the march

In the past several weeks, the openly neo-Nazi organization "NSC-131" has stepped up its activities in Connecticut. The organization appears to have recently initiated a recruitment, visibility, and terror campaign across the state. Its members have so far flyer around Bristol, Hartford, West Hartford, and Southington, spreading their Nazi propaganda and seeking like-minded fascist militants.

Connecticut, as with other states in New England, has become a breeding ground for a new wave of fascist recruitment. For instance, one of the leaders of the Patriot Front, Alex Beilman, is a Meriden resident originally from Wallingford. And this isn't the first time that NSC-131 has taken action in Connecticut: In May, for instance, NSC-131 members hung a Nazi banner from a Hartford overpass. The organization was

founded in Massachusetts in 2019 and has been rapidly growing in numbers, expanding into new states and counties, and forming connections with other fascist organizations since then.

The basis of NSC-131's ideology is white supremacy, with particular emphases on anti-blackness and antisemitism. The organization absurdly claims that white settlers in New England and the U.S. generally are "under attack" and must be "defended" from such "threats" as civil rights organizations (they name Black Lives Matter), Black and Latino street gangs, anti-fascists in general and Communists in particular, an elaborate (and fictitious) Jewish conspiracy, and the other usual targets of Nazi conspiracy theories and violence. "NSC" stands for "National Social Club", which refers to the "National Socialism" of the Nazi Party, while 131 is a code for "Anti-Communist Action" (ACA).

NSC-131's leader, a man named Chris Hood, came out of the "libertarian" fascist Three Percenter and Patriot Front organizations and is widely suspected by anti-fascist activists to be an FBI informant, as are many leading figures in civilian-fascist movements across the U.S. Other known members of NSC-131, whose identities were revealed in a doxxing campaign carried out by anti-fascist activists, include men by the names of Liam MacNeil, Andrew Hazelton, Harrison Fournier, Jeremiah Shivers, and Tyler Moody.

### The forces of fascism at work in America

Who is Hood and who are his Nazi followers? White suburbanite psychopaths; the spoiled, dead-eyed sons of wealthy small business owners, landlords, real estate developers, white-collar professionals, and cops; silver spoon-fed university students at UMass Lowell; "security experts", NRA-certified firearms instructors, members and ex-members of white-power militias, such as the III%ers; undercover cops and undisguised klansmen. NSC-131 is a club for future mass-shooters and fascist insurrectionists of the type who carried out last year's January 6th pro-Trump coup attempt. These neo-Nazi civilian fascists are the shock troops, the unofficial brownshirts, and the state-sanctioned terrorists of the settler-capitalist ruling classes, and they will only become more violent and better organized as the accelerating periodic crises of capitalism jolt the imperialists and lesser capitalists into heightened panic and frenzied reaction against the oppressed masses.

Nazism is not new or foreign to this country, nor is it an aberration in American history. American neo-Nazism is nothing but the U.S. Empire's founding principles taken to their extreme, yet logical, conclusions. This not-so-unique variety of fascism is the purest expression, unbridled by "liberal"

This article is **1332 words** long and divided into three sections:

The **summary**, which is **332 words** and lays out the situation or injustice, in this instance the appearance of neo-Nazi recruitment materials in New England.

**Explanation and recontextualization**, which details the background of the organization and how it is related to wider theoretical and organizational questions, which is **559 words**.

The **call to action**, which urges local communities to begin organizing for self-defense, which is **435 words**.

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sensibility and decorum, of the class interests of our propertied-settler enemies. In past decades, this American-made fascism has been taken up by Know-Nothings, Klansmen, Eugenicists, and Hitlerites, and represented by such captains of American expansion as Andrew Jackson, Henry Ford, and Ronald Reagan. A manifestly fascist America — the America represented by a president like Donald Trump, a ruthless billionaire like Jeff Bezos, and a reactionary jurist like Clarence Thomas — is the inevitable result of economic processes that began with the landing of English settlers in New England, their genocidal extirpation of the Native peoples, their enslavement of Africans in the Carolinas, and their militant expansion west. This is America.

### **Anti-fascist tactics and fascist reaction**

Unfortunately, some of our anti-fascist comrades (and some long-time grifters operating in online anti-fascist spaces) have “taken the bait” and retaliated against this fascist upsurge from a weak and unprepared position. Uncensored images of NSC-131’s posters, flyers, and other promotional materials circulated online, going viral thanks to (rightfully) angry shares, effectively providing our enemies with free advertising. Without carefully censoring contact info, well-meaning but unthinking anti-fascist activists have all but ensured that NSC-131 will reach its intended audience of “disaffected” neo-Nazi youths. Meanwhile, the recent doxxing campaign against NSC-131 has, very predictably, provoked a violent reaction, against which we are unprepared to defend ourselves and oppressed communities in New England.

While we of course support any and all *effective* anti-fascist action, we implore our comrades to think as strategists, not as adventurers. Exposing, inconveniencing, intimidating, and street-fighting with fascists might offer catharsis to some, but such actions must be planned to inflict maximum damage with minimum repercussions, and self-defense against the inevitable fascist reaction must be prepared ahead of time. We must strike *only* once we can achieve a *total, decisive, conclusive* victory over our enemies, only once we can effectively *end* them. We must utterly destroy our enemies without getting destroyed in turn, and without allowing the oppressed masses to suffer the brunt of fascist reaction. We cannot sacrifice the safety of our comrades, our allies, and vulnerable persons among the oppressed masses for the fleeting dopamine rushes provided by the sort of ephemeral, ultimately meaningless “victories” against a handful of opponents we saw this week.

### **Community self-defense is urgently needed!**

Fascist violence is almost never punished by the state. In fact, FBI operatives often groom and set loose mass shooters; the horrific mass shooting carried out in Buffalo this May is the most recent example of such operations. Aside from this, warning signs of violence from angry, anti-social white men are routinely “overlooked” and “ignored”, if not actively fostered, by the police and other agents of the State. That’s one of many reasons why we can’t trust the government, local or federal, to end the problem of rising fascism. And this *is* a problem — one that’s not going away.

So, what’s the alternative?

Community self-defense. The State will not defend oppressed communities; it is up to us to keep ourselves, our loved ones, our neighbors, and our communities safe from fascist violence. We must organize and defend one another.

So, what should you do?

Talk to your friends and family today. Talk about what’s happening with your neighbors tomorrow, and promise to look out for one another. Hold a community meeting this week. Go to your community centers, churches, mosques, synagogues; meet in libraries, public parks, and people’s homes. Learn self-defense and first-aid skills with your loved ones and neighbors. Organize a neighborhood watch and carry out patrols to keep the most vulnerable folks in your community safe. Calmly follow and intimidate civilian fascists and cops until they leave your streets.

Do not trust the police. Do not talk to the police. Do not rely on the police. The police support fascist violence. Cops and klan go hand-in-hand.

To our anti-fascist comrades:

We call on all anti-fascists in New England to go out and serve the oppressed communities targeted by the forces of fascism — civilian and State alike. Bring the masses education, raise their consciousness, hold mass meetings, learn from them and attempt to meet their needs, and organize and equip them with skills and tools in preparation for practicing community self-defense. Create the conditions that will allow us to victoriously and permanently expel NSC-131, Patriot Front, and all other

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civilian fascist organizations from our cities and counties.

We cannot win through superior arms — not yet. We cannot win through superior violence. Early clashes and confrontations, amateurishly instigated from a position of weakness, will only embolden, harden, and serve to expand NSC-131 and their larger network of fascist organizations; do not make the most vulnerable persons among the oppressed masses suffer the wrath of fascist reaction at this stage, when we lack the means to fight back *and win*. We can only win, long-term, through superior organization and superior strategy.