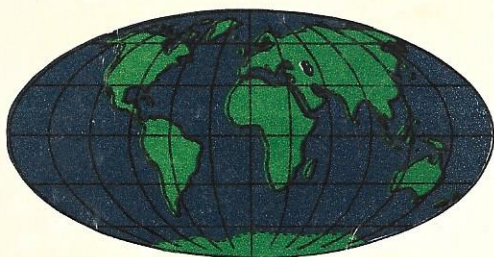


IVORY COAST



PUERTO RICO

UNITED STATES

International Correspondence

FRANCE

WEST GERMANY

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International Correspondence

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1

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

International Correspondence is a forum for the exchange of views and experience and the debate of differences between organizations from different countries who claim to be communist. It will be published in French, English and Spanish. The fact that an organization participates in *International Correspondence* does not imply any formal relations with any other participating organization. Nor does it imply any endorsement of any of the political positions taken by any of the participating organizations.

International Correspondence is being published at the initiative of the Bolshevik Union of Canada which made a proposal in September of last year to found this forum for discussion and debate between communists. (This proposal is reproduced following this introduction).

There are many organizations which call themselves communists. The Bolshevik Union did not invite all those who claim to be communists. Those "communists" who openly adhere to the positions of Russian and Chinese revisionism or Trotskyism are open supporters of imperialism and agents of imperialism. They were not invited to participate because they are counter revolutionary.

Because of the tremendous sabotage of the Russian and Chinese revisionists, as well as all of the modern revisionists of the once proud international communist movement, there no longer exists an international communist movement as it did before. There no longer exists a movement with clear unity firmly rooted in the international proletariat. There are many organizations that claim to oppose modern revisionism and trotskyism but there is little unity among them on ideological, political and organizational questions. This situation has been made much worse by the attempts of the revisionists to sabotage any discussion and debate internationally by confining international relations to the kind of secret diplomacy practiced by bourgeois governments. The traditions of international communism have been wide international discussion. But the tradition of revisionism is the promotion of nationalism and sabotage of proletarian internationalism. This combined with sectarianism and small circle spirit has led to a

situation where there is great ignorance of both the objective and subjective conditions in others countries. It is the duty of revolutionaries in each country to support the revolution in other countries; but how can this be done if virtually nothing is known about the proletariat of other countries and the organizations that aspire to lead the proletariat in revolution?

It has been proven to be totally unreliable to depend on the opinion of some so-called "socialist" country to determine who are the real communist revolutionaries. The movement that once accepted the general authority of the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania has now splintered into a variety of forces. Many of these forces are, in word, interested in recreating some kind of international debate and discussion and even international organization.

It is in this context that *International Correspondence* is appearing as a forum for international discussion and debate on the questions of importance for reconstructing a unified international communist movement.

The Bolshevik Union did not invite to participate in *International Correspondence* organizations it necessarily considers genuine communist organizations. The game of "formal recognition" played by the CPC and the PLA has only served to stifle any real international unity and has only fostered opportunist alliances. It is only through open discussion and debate that real communists throughout the world and all class-conscious proletarians can determine who are the real communists in other countries. What is proposed is not a debating society, but rather a debate that will help unite those who in word and deed struggle for the proletarian revolution. This forum is being put forward in the spirit of these words of Lenin:

The Socialist parties are not debating clubs, but organizations of the fighting proletariat. When a number of battalions have gone over to the enemy, we must call them by name and brand them as traitors, without allowing ourselves to be "captured" by hypocritical assertions to the effect that not all understand imperialism "in the same way," or that the chauvinist Kautsky and the chauvinist Cunow can write volumes about it, or that the question has not been "sufficiently discussed," and many other excuses of the same kind. (The Collapse of the Second International, 1915)

And Lenin advised us, saying:

Capitalism in all the manifestations of its plunder, and in all the minutest ramifications of its historical development and its national peculiarities, will never be completely and exhaustively studied. Scholars, particularly pedants, will never cease disputing details. To give up Socialist struggle against capitalism "on that account," TO GIVE UP OPPOSING THOSE WHO BECOME TRAITORS IN THIS STRUGGLE, WOULD BE RIDICULOUS, and is not this what Kautsky, Cunow, Axelrod, etc., propose? (Ibid.)

Today there are those who when they talk about international debate are calling for the kind of sterile debate Lenin criticised, a debate that comes to no conclusions, a debate that covers up the traitors instead of exposing them. They fear conclusions because they fear a split with the traitors. They do not want unity against the traitors, but unity with them. They fear those who want to have a debate which draws real lines of demarcation against the traitors more than the revisionism they claim to be uniting against.

The "Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada In Struggle" is one of these centrist forces that is parading around the world calling for open debate and international unity, but its appeals are hypocritical frauds. In Struggle has been promoting the organization of an international conference. In a letter about this proposed conference, which *In Struggle* was afraid to send to the *Bolshevik Union*, it states:

Some have objected that such an open attitude makes possible the participation of opportunist forces in the Conference. This is certainly a possibility, since opportunist forces are already active in the ICM. The serious with which counter-revolutionaries like CPC-ML and Bolshevik Union from Canada have been treated by some foreign Marxists-Leninists is a good example illustrating this reality. And we know that it is not only in Canada that such groups exist. But as we have pointed out before, we do not think that the activity of such opportunist forces can be properly exposed unless there is a real struggle against opportunism in the whole ICM. And we do not think that any of the "guarantees" that have been suggested to us to prevent (?! — BU) the participation of opportunists can resolve this problem. All of these guarantees in fact are nothing more than the same erroneous reduction of the ICM to those forces which agree on certain demarcations in relation to different communist leaders. *We are not afraid to debate with opportunists, whether they come from Canada or from other countries; and we are not prepared to reduce the composition of the conference to a narrow circle of groups in the name of eliminating the danger of debating with opportunists. We think that this is a correct attitude; and the only possible attitude under the current conditions that can be adopted by other Marxist-Leninists who are genuinely concerned about creating an open and collective debate. ("For a Conference on the Unity of the World Communist Movement," Jan. 8, 1980, emphasis added)*

What total and disgusting hypocrisy and dishonesty. In Struggle has never invited the Bolshevik Union to participate in its proposed conference nor has In Struggle sent the Bolshevik Union any of its "secret" letters. If In Struggle is "not afraid to debate with opportunists, whether they come from Canada or from other countries," why has In Struggle refused to invite the Bolshevik Union? Obviously, in reality, because In Struggle is "afraid to debate" with the Bolshevik Union in Canada and in other countries. In Struggle excludes the Bolshevik Union from all its activities and physically attacks Bolshevik distributors.

In Struggle does not only take this attitude to the Bolshevik Union, but to others as well. The

Bolshevik League of the United States sent an open letter to In Struggle criticising In Struggle for the totally unprincipled way In Struggle has dealt with the Bolshevik League and criticising In Struggle for a physical assault on Bolshevik Union cadres which a delegation of the Bolshevik League observed. (See *Bolshevik Revolution*, no. 2, pp. 8-10).

The Bolshevik Union did not invite In Struggle to participate in *International Correspondence* because In Struggle in practice refuses to participate in the debate in Canada. In Struggle would be welcome to participate if In Struggle committed itself to engage in the debate with the Bolshevik Union and others in *International Correspondence*, at In Struggle's proposed conference and in Canada at In Struggle's public meetings. In Struggle would be welcome to participate if it ceases its physical attacks and harassment of Bolshevik Union cadres. If In Struggle is really "not afraid to debate," it would be welcomed. It is not at all unreasonable that In Struggle agree to what is proposed. In Struggle's failure to agree will expose what a fraud its many pious appeals are.

In Struggle is so afraid of debate with the Bolshevik Union that in the face of collapsing interest in its conference project it has tried to pirate the proposal for *International Correspondence*. In Struggle is even afraid to mention the Bolshevik Union's proposal of September 1979; instead in January 1980 In Struggle states in its letter:

It is precisely because of the great importance that we attach to the development of a serious debate that our organization will be publishing in the next year an international publication whose main role will be to reflect and make known the most important debates taking place in the world movement. We are sure that with the co-operation of foreign comrades such a publication can become an important instrument to develop a principled debate which will serve the unification of the ICM.

If In Struggle sees the importance of such a publication, why does In Struggle not offer its cooperation to *International Correspondence*? This would give such a publication a wider basis of participation and distribution as well as both leading to its increased frequency and presenting possibilities for publication in more languages. Why does In Struggle insist that there be two such publications? It is obvious that whether it be an international conference or an international journal for debate, In Struggle wants to control who participates precisely because In Struggle is "afraid to debate" the Bolshevik Union and other organizations.

In Struggle is afraid of what it calls "the emergence in many countries of counter-revolutionary sects such as the Bolshevik Union in Canada." In talking about these forces and others, In Struggle condemns "their agreement that those who do not agree with the demarcation they have established in terms of certain communist parties and their leaders cannot be

treated as part of the world communist movement and do not have the right to participate in the struggles and debates to unify this movement." This is another of In Struggle's lies because *International Correspondence* has invited many organizations to participate which do not agree with the lines of demarcation the Bolshevik Union has drawn, as this issue of *International Correspondence* proves! In Struggle says the Bolshevik Union practices "complete sectarianism" when in reality it is In Struggle who does this in order to achieve their opportunist purpose.

The condition that is put on participating in *International Correspondence* is that participants respond to criticism. This is what terrifies In Struggle because an open debate with the Bolshevik Union would have the same result as it did in 1976, the disintegration of In Struggle and the disintegration of In Struggle's international conspiracy. This is why In Struggle is trying to "compete" with the Bolshevik Union and is unfortunately creating the impression internationally that some sort of "choice" has to be made between In Struggle and the Bolshevik Union. What we need is a debate between conflicting ideas on a truly open international basis that will allow communists and proletarians to choose between what is right and what is wrong, or as Lenin put it, "not with whom to go but where to go."

In order to accomplish this it is necessary to break with the kind of secret sectarian diplomacy that has characterized the past and characterizes the proposals of In Struggle. It is time for organizations to openly state their views, to allow others to criticise them and to respond to this criticism openly. Multilateral and bilateral meetings are very important, but it is time that groups openly state their ideological and political views in a forum that can be read by all. This is what *International Correspondence* is dedicated to accomplishing. We invite organizations who are not participating in the first issue to consider the proposal.

It is time to break with narrow national parochialism and remember what Lenin said: "The international unity of the workers is more important than the national" ("Letter to Inessa Armand," Nov. 20, 1916, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35).

Editorial Board
International Correspondence
March 21, 1980

NOTE:

It has not been possible to arrange for approved translations in all cases so any necessary erratum will be printed in issue no. 2. For polemical purposes the articles should, if possible, be consulted in their original language or at least an approved translation.

PROPOSAL FOR A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

The international communist movement is in grave crisis. Not only has it suffered the splitting and wrecking of, first, the Russian revisionists and then the Chinese revisionists, but it is now being threatened by some of those that claim to oppose this revisionism. We think this tragic situation has been, in part, caused and certainly made much worse by the application of erroneous norms about international relations. The stand of the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania on this question served to contribute to the rise of Khrushchevite revisionism. Whatever disagreements they may have had, these two parties kept them a virtual secret until long after the Russian revisionists had consolidated their power in the Soviet Union and long after their revisionist cohorts had established the hegemony of the Russian brand of modern revisionism in the overwhelming majority of the world's communist parties. One very important reason there was such a small split in these parties against Russian revisionism certainly is the unimpeded spread of revisionism because of the absence of an open polemic against it. The communist workers in the Soviet Union, in the countries of the people's democracies and in the communist parties in the world were not provided with a source of international leadership in the struggle against modern revisionism. The CPC and the PLA were carrying out "principled relationships" with the very revisionist cliques that had seized power against the genuine com-

munists. It is these very revisionist cliques that the communist workers needed to struggle against. The CPC and the PLA did not take up a consistent Marxist-Leninist struggle against these revisionists. The struggle they began long after the revisionists had seized power was inconsistent and marred by nationalism. They failed to continue the struggle against modern revisionism started by Stalin. The way to defeat revisionism does not lie in sending letters to revisionist leaders who have restored capitalism in the Soviet Union, telling them to stop being revisionists! They could just as well have sent letters to Eisenhower, De Gaulle and Adenauer telling them to become communists, with just as much effect.

The consequence was clearly that when the open split did come with the Russian revisionists, only a very small number of people split from the revisionist parties. This has weakened the international movement ever since, particularly because of the near total absence of the proletariat. This allowed the tremendous influx of petty bourgeois from the student movement in the sixties and seventies to cause tremendous ideological confusion and form a firm base from which the Chinese revisionists could operate.

Even when the CPC had clearly abandoned any pretense of Marxism-Leninism and were openly allying with imperialism, the PLA stood silent, allowing the Chinese revisionists to achieve hegemony over most of the movement. Once again these so-called norms were the pretext to not wage an open struggle against revisionism. Once again the revisionist cliques were well established in power and the theory of "three worlds" widely propagated long before a word of criticism was raised by the PLA. The result was that most of the movement was once again split off by the revisionists. The open polemic was not engaged in the name of unity and principle; the result has been disunity and the abandonment of principle replaced by diplomatic intrigue.

This has not only done great damage to the international communist movement, it has also greatly contributed to the rupture of the fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the international proletariat which had been accomplished under the leadership of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It allowed the unrestricted activity of revisionists for long periods of time to substitute reformism and social chauvinism for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. But thousands and thousands of workers who did not rally to the false flag of the revisionists became disillusioned with Marxism-Leninism because they equated it with the activities of the Russian and Chinese revisionists who enrich themselves at the expense of the class struggle of the international proletariat.

The absence of an open and frank polemic against revisionism has greatly weakened the international communist movement. The lack of open and frank discussion in the interna-

tional communist movement has contributed to a state of isolation and national parochialism and has allowed the Chinese revisionists and "centrists" of the PLA to isolate the real communists by promoting various opportunists against them. It also serves to keep the real communists in the world isolated from each other and substitutes for proletarian internationalism diplomatic intrigue in Peking or Tirana. In all our meetings with the PLA they never would tell us why they recognized and promoted a gang of opportunists like Bains and his so-called "CPC(ML)," or for that matter, on what basis they recognized anyone. Had we known the line of other "recognized" parties, had we known the criticisms that had been made of them in their own countries, it would have been much easier to solve this puzzle. The PLA's use of diplomatic intrigue allowed them to deliberately mislead us and try to isolate us. And we do not doubt that others have been the victims of the same manipulation. It has been enshrined as the "Leninist norm" since the fifties.

The norms that have been practiced have nothing to do with the real norms of the history of the international communist movement. Marx and Engels struggled openly and persistently against the opportunists before, during and after the First International, as did Engels and Lenin in the Second International. Lenin not only waged a polemic against the revisionists after their open alliance with imperialism, but, importantly, long before it. Lenin even openly criticized revolutionaries he considered to be making serious mistakes, such as Rosa Luxembourg. Even after the foundation of the Communist International there was open criticism of both those who made mistakes and those walking down the road of revisionism. The struggle against errors, the struggle against revisionism, was taken to the rank and file of the parties and to the proletariat through the public organs. It is this spirit, it is these norms, that must be reestablished against the schemes and intrigues of the opportunists.

The three worldists are organized internationally; the centrists are organized internationally; but the real communists are isolated. This situation must be reversed as quickly as possible. While there are many who realize this necessity, little has been done to break this isolation. More and more, certain steps are being taken, but this is generally restricted to a bilateral basis. On the other hand even though real communists realize the necessity of working towards the reestablishment of a Communist International, there does not now exist the ideological and political unity, nor the organizational base, to consider this any kind of immediate prospect. In fact, the organizational and political unity of the international movement is presently not possible; it must be preceded by a period of ideological and political struggle to determine on which basis it would be founded. For this debate to be successful, however, it must occur on an international

level. At this time there is no international forum in which it can occur; nor is there the political unity to create such a forum on a joint basis.

We do not think confining the debate to bilateral meetings is the only way to proceed. In fact, when only this means is available, it provides fertile ground for opportunist manoeuvring by unprincipled elements. We think that real communists should put forward their views internationally and be willing to criticize and be criticized by others openly, so everyone can decide the justness or unjustness of the views of the participants in the debate.

In the absence of any international forum at the present time in which this debate can occur, the Bolshevik Union of Canada proposes to publish a journal of *International Correspondence* which will provide a forum for this debate. *International Correspondence* will be published by the Bolshevik Union. However, it is not intended to be an organ of our group, but rather a vehicle for international debate which our organization will participate in on an equal basis with other organizations in the world.

We are inviting those parties and organizations to participate in this forum which we think will make a contribution to the international debate on the important questions of proletarian revolution. We have not invited open supporters of the Russian revisionists or the Chinese revisionists or adherents of Trotskyism. Their exclusion from the international communist movement is a settled question. The purpose of an international debate is not for the purpose of achieving unity with opportunists and revisionists; the purpose of international debate is to unite *against* opportunism and revisionism. We must demarcate in order to unite, not unite in order to demarcate. We have also not extended an invitation to forces who claim to uphold Marxism-Leninism, oppose Russian revisionism, Chinese revisionism or Trotskyism, but who have refused to participate in the debate, either internationally or in their own countries. These organizations collaborate in the international intrigue against open debate, and although we would not exclude publishing something from them, it would have to be accompanied with an open commitment to answer all criticism. Our invitation in no way implies on our part that we consider all of these organizations authentic Marxist-Leninist organizations. Nor does the participation of any organization in this forum imply any recognition or formal relations with the Bolshevik Union, or any other organization which participates in this forum. This will be clearly stated in every issue of *International Correspondence*. We are not only inviting organizations that we agree with, or those that we think we will agree with at some point. In fact, we are inviting organizations to participate that have definite disagreements with us, but we feel that debating these differences openly before the international movement and the international proletariat will contribute to the advancement of the

unity of the international communist movement, and the hastening of the international proletarian revolution. We do not see *International Correspondence* as the only, or necessarily the principal, means of carrying forward the international debate. We see it merely as a means to put it on a more international and open basis. The importance it acquires is entirely dependent on how useful it is found to be to the participants, certainly the debate and struggle will continue by other means as well.

We invite organizations to submit either positions that are written specifically for this forum, or positions that organizations have published elsewhere, positions they feel will make a contribution to the international debate. We also invite organizations to put forward criticisms of the positions of any of the other organizations. We expect organizations to respond to any criticism directed to them.

September 1979

IVORY COAST

THE SITUATION IN THE IVORY COAST

La Voie Ouvrière

A- BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE IVORY COAST (I.C.)

The Ivory Coast was founded as a colony of French colonial imperialism in 1893; that is, in a period when the transformation of competitive capitalism into monopoly capitalism had practically taken place.

But previously, about 1488, the first contacts between Europe and Africa including the Ivory Coast had been the work of Portuguese merchants and adventurers who had come to set up warehouses and factories all along the coast. They were later joined by the other fortune hunters from other European countries and established with the Natives a trade based on the exchange of tobacco, gold, ivory, etc., for the products of the metropolises. This was not yet colonization in the scientific sense of the word. At that time, capitalist accumulation in Europe was just starting. It was the prelude to capitalism. In fact

“the discovery of gold and silver deposits in America, the enslavement of the Native population, their entombment in mines of their extermination, the start of conquest and pillage in the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a commercial warren for the hunting of blackskins, these are the idyllic proceedings of primitive accumulation that marked the rosy dawn of the capitalist era” (Marx/Engels, Selected Works, Vol. 2, our translation).

Colonization in the scientific sense of the word was violent. To the violence of French colonial imperialism, the Ivory Coast people put up a sharp resistance, as was the case in the other countries coveted by the colonialists. Armed resistance developed in many regions to bar the way to colonization: in 1898, the colonial outpost of Assékasso was taken by assault by the Ashantis of the West; in 1898, the region of the North Tabou rose up. Trouble also broke out in the Bas-Cavally; the resistance of the Baoulé lasted until 1910; the Dan, the Gouro, the Bété and the Abbey d'Agboville unleashed a massive revolt in 1910.

All of this resistance finally collapsed temporarily, faced with the better organization and the more modern military equipment of the colonizer.

In 1910, French West Africa was constituted and marked the end of the colonial conquest of this part of Africa. Nevertheless, the colonizers did not succeed in completely taking over the Ivory Coast until 1916. From that period on, resistance was only local, contained by the colonizers. The colonizers relied during all of that period on the traditional chiefs, kings, priests, etc. to ensure their complete military, economic and political grasp.

From the end of the nineteenth century, they set up schools for the training of auxiliary representatives, of local civil servants to play the role of transmission belt between the colonial administration and the Natives. The setting up of the present social base on which French imperialism rests in the Ivory Coast goes back to this.

Many sons of the Ivory Coast people were forced to take part in the two great world wars at the side of French imperialism. Before the second world war, the Ivory Coast people often showed discontent with the fact of the situation of savage exploitation and oppression of colonialism. Nevertheless, until the second world war, no class or social stratum had really organized. Only the petty-bourgeoisie had a few impulses in this direction.

During the first colonial era (up to the second world war), the people had horrible living conditions: vandalism, forced labour, savage repression, etc., on the part of imperialism. With colonial economic development, class differentiation was revealing itself, although diffuse, for certain classes or social strata.

The working class, until the second world war, was very weak numerically (about 2% of the population) as well as ideologically, politically, and organizationally. The influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 had remained very weak, stifled as it was by imperialism. The working class started to develop in Lower Ivory Coast where the first works of infrastructure (roads, railways, ports, etc.) had started. Peasants torn by force from their land from all the regions of Ivory Coast and Upper Volta, and sent to these worksites, swelled the number of these workers.

The construction of the railway begun in 1904 in Abidjan gave birth to a body of railway workers who were subsequently great fighters in the anti-colonial struggle. The forest industry produced many workers (felling, shipment to the port of loading, etc.). The expropriation of the peasant, to the profit of the large colonial agricultural plantations mainly, contributed to the transformation of part of the peasantry into agricultural workers.

Large-scale capitalist industry had not yet made its appearance. French imperialism kept its colony in the role of a mere reservoir of raw materials and unskilled labour; all the activities of transformation were set up in the metropolis. Thus, imperialism was braking the development of the productive forces in the Ivory Coast.

The capital of the colonizer had only a usurious role. The division of investments by branch of activity brings out the mercantile and parasitic nature of French finance capital in Africa in general, in the Ivory Coast in particular: 63% of capital was invested in trade, 16% in the plantations and forests, 4% in industry and 7% in the mines (cf. Statistics on stock exchange capitalization in June 1945 for all of French Black Africa).

In tropical Africa, to be precise, it comes out that 39% of investments were made in trade, and almost half in the non-productive sectors, if one adds banks and real estate investments to trade. In the final analysis "unlike English colonial imperialism, French imperialism might be termed usury imperialism" (Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, International Publishers, 1939, p. 65).

This policy of French imperialism reaped enormous profits from the exploitation of the labour power in the colony. The capital invested in the colony "is... able to make the rate of profit higher since, because of the lesser development, the rate of profit is generally higher, and also higher because of the use of slaves, coolies, etc.... (In Ivory Coast, thanks to the various forms of forced labour, plunder... L.V.O.) is the exploitation of labour" (Marx, *Capital*, Book III, our translation).

In the main, this French colonial policy retarded the development of the working class. The workers, scattered throughout the country on workings and construction sites separated from each other, were already fighting against the French colonial bourgeoisie in various ways and in different stages. These struggles remained scattered, isolated because of the notorious inadequacy of the means of communication. These struggles did not have the scope of a struggle that was co-ordinated at the level of the entire colony, in spite of the existence of the Ivory Coast section of the General Union of Workers of Black Africa (UGTAN) which was nevertheless very active in the fifties in the anti-colonial struggle.

The ideological and political weakness of the working class tied essentially to the absence of the party of the vanguard of the working-class — the Marxist-Leninist Party — made of this

class a mere assistant of the national bourgeoisie in the anti-colonial struggle.

As far as the peasantry is concerned, it was numerically the largest during the colonial period (95% of the total population). It existed before the colonization and even waged a struggle of resistance against the colonizers. It suffered terribly from the forced labour, compulsory tax payments, labour assessments and the other effects of colonization in the countryside. It was a mass which was basically illiterate, with primitive instruments of production. In certain regions it endured the practice of slavery and certain other forms of the exploitation of the labour of others. It was also the victim of the obscurantist power of the clergy. And finally, it produced the city-dwellers of the first towns of the country.

The essential distinguishing feature of the national bourgeoisie of the Ivory Coast is that it was not born of a feudal society against which it waged a struggle to shatter the existing social order. It was born under the colonization and the conditions of its development were objectively traced by the historical epoch, which is that of imperialist domination. In other words the conditions of its development were tied to the possibility of associating itself with the world capitalist market and with international finance capital. It could no longer benefit from the historical conditions which allowed the European bourgeoisies to realize primitive accumulation. There was born first a petty-bourgeoisie coming mainly from the ranks of the first educated elements. These elements, once their studies were over, entered into either the colonial administration as civil servants, or the commercial sector as go-betweens between the native producers and the large colonial companies. They often moved from the status of employees in business to that of merchants on their own account.

Part of this petty-bourgeoisie (sometimes the same people) went into the creation of plantations about 1927 with the setting up of the first large Ivory planters of coffee and cocoa. This stratum had a rapid development in the thirties, the process continuing until the second world war. It was re-inforced by the upper stratum of the peasantry (the rich peasantry) above all at the time of the African Agricultural Union (S.A.A.).

Contrary to the other strata of the petty-bourgeoisie (civil servants, small merchants), it was sensitive to the misdeeds of colonization. Further, its ambitions to develop its plantations came into contradiction with the interests of the settlers, while the civil servants, free of forced labour, and the business agents of the large colonial trading companies (C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A.) still had limited ambitions. Moreover, they could only operate as sub-dealers or in areas vacated by the colonial companies. These two strata accommodated themselves to a certain extent to the presence of the settler, as did the other social strata.

That is why, after the Brazzaville Conference, during which there had been some question of

modifying the form of colonial domination, that stratum of the petty-bourgeoisie which held plantations and since that time present in real estate — which had acquired a very solid economic base — organized itself on 10/07/1944 into the African Agricultural Union (S.A.A.).

At the start, this union had aims that were essentially claims centered on the following points:

- the problem of manpower for the plantations of its members;
- the claim of the right of its members to assistance by means of agricultural credit and their supply with agricultural equipment and technical assistance;
- the struggle to have their products quoted regularly on the export market without being obliged, as was the case, to sell their products at a poor price to a settler-planter who had access to this market.

The aim of the S.A.A. was the establishment of free labour to allow the native planters to find workers to hire, and the free sale of their produce. The fundamental goal of the S.A.A. was the access of its members to the capitalist market.

At the beginning, membership in the S.A.A. was discriminatory since it was necessary to own a plantation of at least 25 hectares and to pay in annual membership dues the sum of 100 francs. As the struggle of the union developed, it took on more and more a political orientation because it appeared to the bourgeoisie that its claims could not be realized if it did not fight at the same time for political rights. In fact, against them there was arrayed a hostile body of colonists supported by the colonial administration. So the bourgeoisie felt the need to enlarge the ranks of the S.A.A. by accepting into it other less rich peasants. In 1946, the S.A.A. had become a vast mass movement, counting 20,000 members at the time of the creation of the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (P.D.C.I.) on April 1946.

The creation of the P.D.C.I. marked a turning point for the Ivory Coast bourgeoisie. The struggle became overtly political. At the creation of the African Democratic Movement (R.D.A.) on the 18, 19, 21 October 1946 only the P.D.C.I. was a strong party with its 55,000 members composed of civil servants and "developed persons" who alone had the right to vote. At the constituent congress of the R.D.A. at Bamako the program adopted was, essentially, that of the P.D.C.I. This program can be summarized as follows:

- equality of social political rights;
- individual and cultural liberty;
- democratic local assemblies;
- freely agreed union with France;
- rejection of assimilation for the fulfillment of the economic and political personality of all the territories.

In this program it is a question of asserting the claims relative to political independence, to the creation of a distinct national state.

This national bourgeoisie was asking only to be able to develop itself economically and politically. Because it could not accede to the same rights as the French colonial bourgeoisie (which constituted an obstacle to its economic and political development) it was interested in the struggle to conquer these rights, to break the colonial hindrances to its economic and political emancipation; it had been suppressed in its aspirations to increase its economic base so as to constitute itself into an autonomous bourgeoisie; it also had been in its aspiration to have a national market or at least to participate in the exploitation of such. It could not do otherwise than rebel against the foreign occupant for its own emancipation.

As any bourgeoisie in the national liberation revolution, the Ivory bourgeoisie vacillated in the struggle between the tendency to fight and the tendency to compromise, that is, between alliance with the popular masses and alliance with imperialism against the masses. These two tendencies showed themselves clearly during the struggle of the P.D.C.I.-R.D.A..

From 1946 to 1951 the tendency to alliance with the masses was shown. If during this period the P.D.C.I.-R.D.A. opted for the national-revolutionary path, this was due to the hostility of the colonizer who was furiously opposed to the appearance of economic competitors. Also, the colonizer considered the P.D.C.I.-R.D.A. as a "communist" party as regards the "relation of the R.D.A. with the French communist party" and repressed it brutally. This was the period of the refusal of the French colonialist bourgeoisie to collaborate with the Ivory bourgeoisie. However, drawing lessons from its failures in this matter (the experience in Vietnam where it did not want to collaborate with the native bourgeoisie), French imperialism created the conditions for alliance with the national bourgeoisie of the Ivory Coast.

From 1951 onward, the P."D."I.C.-R."D."A. openly undertook to collaborate with French imperialism. This corresponds to the period of the "tactical retreat" of the R."D."A. whose orientation was fundamentally shared by its Ivory section, the P."D."I.C. Colonialism had understood that its strategic interests were tied to its close collaboration with the Ivory bourgeoisie and its party, the P."D."C.I.-R."D."A. which had wished this for a long time, so that its leaders had done their utmost to explain that they had nothing to do with communism. Also, as the Communist International stated at its second congress "the imperialist bourgeoisie is trying with all its might to implant the reformist movement also among the oppressed nations. A certain rapprochement has been brought about between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and those of the colonial countries, so that very often, even in the majority of cases, perhaps, where the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries does support the national movement, it simultaneously works in harmony with the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., it joins the latter in fighting against all revolutionary movements and rev-

olutionary classes." (Lenin, "The Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions at the Second Congress of the Communist International," *Selected Works X*, International Publishers, 1943, p. 241). Since then, it has been necessary to replace the expression "bourgeois democratic movement" with that of "national-revolutionary movement." However "there is not the least doubt that every national movement can only be bourgeois democratic, since the great mass of the population of the backward countries is made up of peasants, who represent bourgeois and capitalist relations." (Lenin, Report of the National and Colonial Commission, our translation).

It is from this period onward that the uprisings of the people, notably those of Dimbokoro in 1951 were termed provocations by the P."D."I.C.-R."D."M. The bourgeois national democratic movement had thus exhausted its revolutionary content. It was no longer historically on the agenda. The national bourgeois movement and the movement of a proletarian character from then on are antagonistic.

The convergence of the national liberation struggle, with the struggle of the other oppressed peoples and the international proletariat, mainly French, linked with the unyielding struggle of the socialist countries under the leadership of the first socialist state — the U.S.S.R. of Lenin and Stalin — against imperialism for the self-determination of the colonial countries, on the one hand, the weakening by the imperialist war and the inter-imperialist contradictions on the other hand, led in 1960 to the *political independence* of the Ivory Coast.

French imperialism conceded this political independence because for it "it is not only achievable from the point of view of finance capital, but (...) even profitable for the trusts, for their imperialist policy, for their imperialist war, to allow individual small nations as much freedom as they can, right down to political independence, so as not to risk damaging their 'own' military operations." (LCW 23:51, emphasis in original).

Political independence, as the right to secession, to the constitution of an independent Ivory "national" state, is a democratic right. It is a democratic right which "under capitalism... as all other democratic rights without exception, is conditional, restricted, formal, narrow and extremely difficult of realization. Yet no self-respecting Social-Democrat (read communist: L.V.O.) will consider anyone opposing the right... a democrat, let alone a socialist (LCW 23:74, emphasis by L.V.O.).

Otherwise, to deny such a democratic right means that one's revolutionary struggle is not founded on Marxism-Leninism, on the revolutionary science of the proletariat. And this "absence of theory removes from a revolutionary tendency the right to exist and necessarily condemns it sooner or later to *political bankruptcy*." (Lenin, emphasis by the L.V.O., our translation.)

In the national liberation struggle aimed directly against French colonial imperialism, the national bourgeoisie played the leading role. The peasantry, as the main force, only played the role of main reserve of this bourgeoisie; the working class, characterized by its lack of organization as an independent class, was only an auxiliary force. This revolution of national liberation, which was an open and direct class struggle against French colonial imperialism brought the accession of the national bourgeoisie to state power.

It was an "incomplete" revolution. "On what does the revolution depend for its completion?"

When effective domination passes out of the hands of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie into the hands of the people." (Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," our translation).

B - THE PRESENT SITUATION

The passage of a strategic nature from colonialism to neo-colonialism has made of the Ivory Coast a "State which is politically independent, but which in reality remains a vassal of international imperialism (mainly French) from the economic, financial and military points of view." (Our translation)

The Ivory Coast is an agricultural-industrial country where capitalist relations are the dominant relations.

The present tendency is the increase of industrial production and the decrease of agricultural production in total production, on the one hand; that of the industrial population to the detriment of the rural population, although the latter remains higher, on the other. (See table no. 1)

Table no. 1: Proportion of industrial production and agricultural production in the gross internal production; development of the rural population, the industrial population in the total population (in %age of the total).

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1977
industry	15.2	19	23.8	24.7	21.7
agriculture	46.8	39.4	30.2	32.1	28
industrial population	1	2	-	32	38
rural population	80	77	-	66	60

Sources:

1. Ivory Coast in Figures 1976, 77, 78, 79.
2. Information Bulletin: French ministry of co-operation.
3. "Abidjan-Matin" and "Fraternité-Matin."

The fundamental differentiation between the cities and the countryside is becoming more and more marked.

From now on, the State bureaucratic machine is in the hands of the national bourgeoisie and the traditional social strata. Opposite the proletariat at the head of the non-possessors, the national bourgeoisie and these strata constitute one, and only one single class: the class of possessors. That is why, when we speak of the

national bourgeoisie and these strata constitute one, and only one single class: the class of possessors. That is why, when we speak of the national bourgeoisie, we include at the same time these strata since, as Engels wrote "compared with the privilege of property, all other privileges disappear." (Engels, "Situation of the Working Class in England," our translation).

The Ivory Coast national bourgeoisie — whose main social strata are agricultural, commercial, industrial (most of the time the same ones) — is closely dependent on finance capital. Imperialism, in its search for the maximum profit by the exploitation of the working class, grants money-capital in the form of loans to this bourgeoisie (210.2 billion francs C.F.A. in 1973, 326.8 in 1975, 528 in 1976, 927,275 in 1977) which is employed in foreign enterprises in which it holds a small part of the capital. (See table no. 2: participation of the national bourgeoisie in the registered capital of the main foreign industries in the Ivory Coast — 19/4/75 —.)

Table no. 2: in %age of the total registered capital

Industrial Enterprises	National Bourgeoisie	International Imperialism	French Imperialism
1. Extractive industry:		100	90.5
2. Foodstuff industry:			
a- grains and flours	3	85.8	19.8
b- preserves and prepared foods	16.5	60	40
c- beverages and jellies	2.9	93.8	68.6
3. Textile industry:			
a- clothing	20.9	61.9	31.0
b- industrial and shoes	3.6	96.4	53
4. Chemical industry:			
a- oil (refining)	1.40	89.9	34.9
b- chemical products	11.3	74.5	58.3
5. Construction industry	2.6	71.1	42
6. Mechanical and Electrical industry:			
a- steel	60	-	-
b- construction and repair of transport equipment	3.4	83	80.4
c- miscellaneous industries	15.70	75.2	34.4
7. Paper pulp	15.70	34	19.6
8. Water and energy	19.8	29.7	29.6

The present tendency is the concentration of capital in the hands of a minority. Expropriation, whether direct, whether by competition against the mass of middle strata on the part of the international imperialist bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, is evident.

Among the national bourgeoisie, the acceleration of accumulation entails the concentration of capital and its centralization through the dispossession of smaller bourgeois. Thus, statistical studies show that about a hundred, that is, less than 8% of the constituents of this bourgeoisie, control an overwhelming proportion of the registered capital owned by the whole of the national bourgeoisie, in the registered capital of foreign enterprises in the Ivory Coast. (See table no. 3)

Table no. 3: Share of less than 8% of the members of the national bourgeoisie in the registered capital owned by this class (in %age of the total); September 1978.

Enterprises	National Bourgeoisie	Imperialist Bourgeoisie	Share of %
1. Textile (listing on stock exchange)	39,6	45,2	21,8/39,6
2. Banks			
- S.G.B.C.I. (listing on stock exchange)	26,4	65	24,8/26,4
- B.I.C.I.C.I. (listing on stock exchange)	-	49	25,5
3. Other food Industries			
- S I T A B (listing on stock exchange)	-	44,2	23,1
S O T R O P A L	-	60	-
S A H O (Konankro II.) (Hôtellerie)	50	-	50
C I C O T R A	67,5	-	67,5
4. Lumber industry	65,7	-	48,8/65,7
5. Trade	64,7	-	49,1/64,7

The creation of the securities exchange in Abidjan in 1976 allows the international imperialist bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie to accelerate the concentration in the hands of the money-men of all of the industrial and agricultural production, all of the communications, as well as the means of transportation and the organs of exchange, so that this exchange is becoming the foremost representative of capitalist production.

We are witnessing the increased concentration and centralization of finance capital by means of the securities exchange at the level not only of the Ivory Coast, but also of the neo-colonies of West Africa. They go together with the development of industrial monopolies on the scale of the sub-continent: Chimie of West Africa, Renault of West Africa, etc... At the same time, this exchange is therefore a place where the capitalists take from each other the accumulated capital. The accumulation thus realized increases the mass of rentiers, "people who, weary of the constant tension of the business world, only want to enjoy themselves or to take peaceful positions, directors or company administrators." (Engels, our translation.)

It is mainly by the channel of this exchange that Yankee imperialism is stepping up its penetration. This exchange "only interests the workers as an additional proof of the general demoralizing activity of the capitalist economy and as confirmation of the thesis of Calvin observing that pre-destination, in other words fate, already decides, either in the way of good fortune or damnation, *about wealth, which is enjoyment and power, and poverty, which is privation and servitude.*" (Engels, our translation)

On the other hand, the weight of French imperialism in the external and internal trade of the Ivory Coast is dominant in spite of the breakthrough of the other imperialist powers:

- in 1976, 27% of the exports of the Ivory Coast were directed to France, 24% in the first quarter of 1977.
- The Ivory Coast received from it, in imports, 39% in 1976, 41% in the first quarter of 1977.

The internal trade is for the most part dominated by the large houses of Bordeaux and Marseilles and to a lesser degree by Lebanese merchants

and a fraction of the national bourgeoisie.

The share of the other imperialist powers in exports: Japanese 8.6% in 1971, 11.2% in 1973; Germany 9.6% in 1971, 10.8% in 1973; etc.

It is thus illusory to believe that the present tendency leads to the development of an autonomous national capitalism. The economic financial and military domination of imperialism constitutes the main counter-tendency to this.

The Ivory Coast, being part of the world capitalist system, suffers the repercussions of the present crisis which is wracking the capitalist and revisionist system (inflation, galloping unemployment, shortage of foodstuffs, etc.).

It is a country which is prey to the inter-imperialist rivalries on the economic and political level. In spite of the breakthrough of U.S., Japanese, German imperialism, France remains the dominant imperialism.

The national bourgeoisie is linked to international imperialism, mainly French, by economic, financial and military agreements:

- the code for investment;
- operating account for the franc area;
- agreements for military intervention by French

imperialism for the safeguard of its interests against other imperialists, and against any popular movement. Part of the French army (the 4th BIMA) is present for this purpose.

In the present historical period, in the framework of the "national" State, "the proletariat must first and foremost do away with" this national bourgeoisie. It is in this that its struggle is national as to "its form," as the Communist Manifesto said, and not "in its content." Contrary to the colonial historical period, during which the working class was only an auxiliary force for the national bourgeoisie in its national liberation struggle, at the present time the working class is the leading force of the revolution. It is "the vanguard class of all the oppressed, the home and the center of all the hopes of the oppressed of all kinds and categories, for enfranchisement" (Lenin, our translation).

The working class will no longer fight under the banner of bourgeois nationalism of the present historical period but rather under that of consistent democratism, of proletarian internationalism and will unite around this banner the oppressed of all categories and kinds.

The working class is the class of the future. "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product." (Marx, Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, International Publishers, 1932, p. 19).

It grows with large-scale capitalist industry. In the Ivory Coast, the number of workers went from 16,150 in 1962 to 26,210 in 1972, then 79,180 in 1973. Today, the workers number about 110,000. Their occurrence varies according to industrial sector. In 1975, in terms of the population active in each sector, there were for example, in extractive industry 38.5% of workers, of whom

38% were labourers; in the energy and water sector 57.5% of workers of whom 20% were labourers. Finally in construction and public works, there were 87% workers of whom 37.7% were labourers.

This distribution of workers is also a function of the geographic implantation of industries on the national soil; this latter being tied to the economic advantages likely to be drawn from them by external finance capital.

The exploitation of the workers by the bourgeoisie is only founded on the competition of the workers among themselves, that is, on the infinite division of the proletariat, on the possibility of opposing against them the various categories of workers. The bourgeoisie strives to maintain and to aggravate this opposition between the various categories of workers and between the workers of different nationalities.

On the economic level, the bourgeoisie accentuates the significant salary inequalities among the workers:

- in the category of skilled workers, the gaps vary on average from 2.7 to 4.6; among the specialized workers from 1 to 1.6; at the level of labourers from 1 to 1.1;

- in the sector of the lumber and textile industries, for example, the salaries paid to the workers of Abidjan and Bouaké are on average 50% to 70% higher than those of the workers in the rural zone.

The bourgeoisie, with petty-bourgeois elements, uses nationalism to set against each other the workers of different nationalities. This tactic of developing nationalism in the workers' movement takes place on the basis of the differentiation between the workers of the Ivory Coast and the workers of other countries (Dahomey, Ghana, Upper Volta) working there, on the one hand, and between the workers of different Ivory nationalities, on the other hand. This is the ideological form taken by the accentuation of the competition between the workers to perpetuate their exploitation.

In 1971, a worker of the Ivory nationality earned 31,666 francs CFA monthly as against 30,000 for another worker from other African countries working in the Ivory Coast. This difference is legalized in the labour code. Let us note that workers of the other nationalities represent 14% of the working class.

"Let competition between the workers be suppressed, let all the workers firmly resolve not to let themselves be exploited by the bourgeoisie, and the reign of property is over. It is so true that wages are only decided by the relation between supply and demand and the possible situation of the labour market because up until now, the workers have let themselves be treated as an object that is bought and sold" (Engels, our translation).

It goes without saying that all the workers of the Ivory Coast have common enemies, common interests, a common historical mission which are also those of the exploited and oppressed workers of the other countries.

Their common enemy is capitalism, the source of their exploitation, their pauperization, their misery. The workers are only there to be exploited by the possessors and to die of hunger when the possessors can no longer use them. For the bourgeoisie, the only decisive factor remains private interest and especially that of money.

The bourgeoisie could not care less whether or not the workers are dying of hunger, so long as it obtains wealth. All the living conditions are subjected to the criteria of profit, and everything that does not procure wealth is idiotic, unrealizable, utopian. The bourgeois cannot understand that he can have relations with the workers other than those of the buying and selling of labour power, and he does not see in them men, but "a commodity, an article for sale like any other; they are consequently exposed to all the changes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market." The workers "only live on the condition that they can find work and they only find it if their labour increases capital."

The workers must find a way out of this situation of salaried slaves, of misery, which reduces them to the status of an animal, of an object; to create for themselves a better, more human existence. They can only do so by taking up the struggle against the interests of the bourgeoisie as such, interests which reside precisely in the exploitation of the workers. The bourgeoisie which defends its interests with all the might that it is able to deploy, thanks to the State property it has at its disposal, is the avowed enemy of the worker.

The historical mission which devolves on the working class is thus the suppression of class exploitation and oppression, the setting up of a society without classes, communist society. In this historical mission, the working class will solidly base itself on this master concept of Marx:

"The workers have no country."

"The working men have no country" — this means that (a) his economic position (wage-earner) is not national but international; (b) his class enemy is international; (c) the conditions of his emancipation also; (d) the international unity of the workers is more important than national." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, "Letter to Inessa Armand," p. 247.)

At the present time, the struggle of the working class in the Ivory Coast is still an economic struggle. It has not yet left the economic ground to spill over onto political ground. It takes the form of strikes and distribution of tracts. In enterprises, in the regions, these struggles are still isolated. The present situation results in the fact that the practical movement of the masses proceeds quickly, while the subjective factor, their acquiring of consciousness, their organization and consistent leadership lags somewhat behind, does not answer to the tasks of the moment. The bourgeoisie, through the channel of its yellow union — the General Union of Workers of the Ivory Coast (UGTAN), through police repression

of all types, through firings, etc., tries in vain to channel the practical movement so as to perpetuate its system of exploitation and oppression.

Our task, as communists, is to make political consciousness penetrate among the working class of the Ivory Coast. For, as Lenin said, "The workers can acquire class political consciousness *only from without*, that is, only outside of the economic struggle, outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships between all classes and the state and the government — the sphere of the inter-relations between all classes" (Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?*, International Publishers, 1929, p. 76).

Our task is to assist the development of the class consciousness of the proletariat, show it the necessity of the struggle against the national bourgeoisie and its imperialist allies, develop in its midst the feeling of belonging to a class, help it to carry its struggle from the economic ground to the vast and revolutionary political ground.

In a word, our immediate aim is to work so that the working class becomes truly a conscious class, "a class for itself," endowed with its Marxist-Leninist party.

The proletariat, to lead, in the present historical conditions, the democratic revolution must first of all have an ally which is interested in the decisive victory over the bourgeoisie and is likely to accept the leadership of the proletariat. This allied class is the peasantry which, from a reserve force of the national bourgeoisie in the past historical period, is to-day the closest, surest ally of the proletariat. Secondly, the class which covets the leadership of the revolutionary struggle from the proletariat, that is, the liberal bourgeoisie, must be pushed aside. For:

"only the proletariat can methodically fight for democracy. But it can only triumph in this fight if the mass of peasants rallies to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat." (Lenin, our translation).

The peasantry lives in an economic and social milieu dominated by the trading economy. It depends on the market, as much for individual consumption as for its exploitation of this market. It is tied to it by the tax brought in by imperialism, since colonization, and which plays a role in the introduction of the "money economy" in the countryside. Today, the peasantry pays a tax rate of the order of 25 to 26% maximum and the indirect taxes on the peasantry constitute 80% of the budget.

In this economic and social milieu are found all the contradictions inherent in a trading economy: competition, the struggle for economic independence, the grabbing up of land, the concentration of production in the hands of a minority, the proletarianization of the majority and its exploitation by the minority which has commercial capital and which employs agricultural workers.

As for the rest, "economic phenomena existing among the peasantry, all present, without

exception, the contradictory form that is characteristic of the capitalist system; that is, they all express a struggle and a conflict of interests, all mean an advantage for some and a drawback for others." (Lenin, our translation).

The rural milieu is characterized by a petty-bourgeois system. The Ivory peasantry is not the antagonist of capitalism; it is on the contrary the deepest, the most solid base. It is the deepest base in the sense that it is within this rural sector that we see the formation of capitalists. It is the most solid since it is on agriculture in general and on the peasantry in particular that the traditions of past times weigh most heavy, and so it is there that are seen the traditions of the pre-capitalist system and, consequently, it is there that the transforming action of capitalism (development of the productive forces, change of social relations, etc.) shows itself most slowly and in a very gradual way.

The decomposition of the peasantry brings, at the expense of the middle "peasantry," the formation of polar groups, the creation of types of rural population which have in common the commercial, monetary nature of exploitation. It is a question of

1) the rural bourgeoisie or well-to-do peasantry. It includes the independent farmers who practice commercial farming in all its forms; the owners of industrial and commercial establishments, commercial enterprises, etc. This peasantry combines commercial agriculture and industrial activities; and this combination of agriculture and other occupations constitutes its specific character.

This well-to-do peasantry buys in all 70% of the tractors and holds 67% of the farms. 34% to 36% of these tractors belong to the European imperialist bourgeoisie.

The distribution of these tractors is 9 tractors in the forest zone (south, northwest), against 4 tractors for the savannah (north, part of the center). It is clear that the use of machinery in agriculture brings concentration and the application of capitalist co-operation. The extent of exploitation, of course, goes beyond the labour power of the family.

"Capitalism is the force that evokes and spreads the use of machines in agriculture on the one hand, and the introduction of machinery into agriculture takes on a capitalist nature, that is, it causes capitalist relations which develop constantly, on the other" (Lenin, our translation).

2) Thus, the formation of a contingent of agricultural workers and still more of day labourers is the indispensable condition for the existence of the well-to-do peasantry (Table no. 4).

This rural proletariat is reduced to salaried status. They are salaried workers in the same way as the workers of industry.

	1966-70	1971-75	1976-78
1. agricultural workers	700	7200	4800
2. day labourers	7800	200	9400
3. labourers	400	1900	2300

Sources:

1. Ivory Coast in figures 1976, 77, 78/79.
2. Five-year plans (1971/75), (1976/80).
3. Statistical information (Ministry of co-operation).

The rural proletariat is characterized by the phenomenon of the migration of agricultural workers since migration brings "purely economic" advantages to the workers who go to places where the salaries are higher and where they can sell their labour power on better terms. On the other hand, these "migrations" provoke the destruction of servile forms of salaried work. These two aspects of migration mean that, on the whole, it is a progressive phenomenon. The migration of agricultural workers to the cities where there are industries brings the swelling of the number of industrial workers but also of unemployed people in the shanty-towns of these urban centers.

Migration, with the massive introduction of agricultural machinery and modern instruments which turns out the workers, has a tendency to increase with the years.

The increase of the number of agricultural day-labourers proves that the employment of day-labourers is a characteristic sign of the agricultural bourgeoisie.

The transformation of the peasantry into a rural proletariat creates a market essentially for the consumer goods, and its transformation into a rural bourgeoisie, a minority but economically solid, creates a market essentially for the means of production. Which means that in the groups below the peasantry, there is a conversion of labour power into a commodity, and in the groups above, conversion of the means of production into capital. Thus the process of the creation of the internal market is determined by the decomposition of the peasantry.

The formation of the well-to-do peasantry (the class of entrepreneurs, bourgeoisie of the countryside) and the increase in the number of rural proletarians are two interdependent phenomena.

In the rural milieu the development of capitalism takes place in two directions: the development of capitalism in depth, that is, the development of a capitalist agriculture and industry in the old regions (such as the south, certain places in the center of the country); and the development of capitalism in breadth, that is, the extension of its sphere of domination over "new lands" (certain places in the north, northwest with the creation of sugar cane transformation industries).

The present progressive historical role of capitalism in the rural milieu in the Ivory Coast is the "development of the productive forces of social labour and the collectivization of this labour." And

"there is absolutely nothing incompatible between the fact of admitting the progressive nature of this role and the denunciation of all the dark and negative sides of capitalism, of all the deep and widespread contradictions that are inherent in it and take on a transitional historical nature." (Lenin, our translation).

The intermediate category between the rich peasantry and the proletariat is the middle peasantry. It is in this category that the trading economy is less developed. It is tied to small production. With the insertion of industrial units, the introduction of agricultural machinery, bad harvests, masses of middle peasants are thrown out into the ranks of the rural proletariat. By its social relations, the middle peasantry vacillates between the upper group — around which it gravitates and where only a small minority of the favored manage to enter — and the lower group (the rural proletariat) where the whole social development is pushing it.

The rural bourgeoisie compresses not only the rural proletariat, but also the middle group of the proletariat. What is a phenomenon specific to capitalism, is, moreover, the elimination of the middle categories and the strengthening of the extremes (bourgeoisie, proletariat).

The middle peasantry remains dominated by the traditional mode of production, the isolation of its farms, their falling back into themselves: the misery and debasement of this dependent peasantry reduces considerably any possibility of modernization. Because of the fact that this category is tied to the mode of production, to the remnants of the pre-capitalist society and to the penetration of commercial and usurers' capital (bank loans, loans from Ivory and Lebano-Syrian usurers, etc.), all of this means that the penetration of agricultural machinery and the implantation of industries deals it a sharp blow. It is expropriated. Furthermore, the generalization of agricultural machinery and of modern equipment and the expropriation of the peasantry are closely linked phenomena.

The rate of growth of this middle peasantry is dropping sharply: 20% in 1966-70, 14% in 1971-75, 10% in 1976-78.

In the final analysis, we are witnessing a decomposition of the peasantry into two diametrically opposed types:

- on the one hand, the rural proletariat which leaves the land and sell its labour power. This is the class of salaried workers that includes the poor peasantry, including that which is deprived of land; but the typical representative of the rural proletariat in the Ivory Coast is the agricultural wage-earner, the day-labourer, the labourer and any worker who has a patch of land;

- on the other hand, the agricultural bourgeoisie grabs up the land, has vast mechanized plantations, modernizes its method of working, employs workers and day-labourers and runs industrial and commercial enterprises at the same time as agriculture. It is this bourgeoisie that holds all the threads of commercial and usurers' capital

(money loans, mortgage guarantees, hoarding of various products, etc.) as well as industrial capital (commercial farming by means of salaried labour, etc.). It represents, therefore, commercial and usurers' capital. It is composed of the national bourgeoisie and the international-imperialist bourgeoisie, mainly French. It is this latter which holds the overwhelming part of the commercial and usurers' capital, as well as industrial capital.

It is certain, as Lenin said, that

"The peasantry includes a great number of semi-proletarian as well as petty-bourgeois elements. This makes it also unstable, compelling the proletariat to rally in a strictly class party. However the instability of the peasantry differs radically from that of the bourgeoisie, for at present the peasantry is interested not so much in the absolute preservation of private property as in the confiscation of the landed estates, one of the principle forms of private property. Without thereby becoming socialist, or ceasing to be petty-bourgeois, the peasantry is capable of becoming a whole hearted and most radical adherent of the democratic revolution. The peasantry will inevitably become such if only the course of revolutionary events, which brings it enlightenment, is not prematurely cut short by the treachery of the bourgeoisie and the defeat of the proletariat. Subject to this condition the peasantry will inevitably become a bulwark of the revolution and the republic, for only a completely victorious revolution can give the peasantry *everything* in the sphere of agrarian reforms — *everything* that the peasants desire, dream of, and truly need..." (Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" in V.I. Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 492).

C- THE STAGE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN THE IVORY COAST: ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND POPULAR DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION (A.I.P.D.R.) OR POPULAR DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION (P.D.R.)

The revolutionary struggle of the Ivory people of national form will have an international content under the leadership of the Vanguard Party of the proletariat. The targets of this revolution are such that in the epoch of imperialism "the liberation of oppressed nations is inconceivable without a break with imperialism, without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations, without the transfer of power into the hands of the labouring masses of these nationalities." (J.V. Stalin, "Marxism and the National-Colonial Question", our translation).

It is a democratic revolution, that is, bourgeois in its economic and social content. It removes the national bourgeoisie and its State machine "thus freeing the bourgeois regime to satisfy the claims of all classes of bourgeois society, it is in this sense a revolution of the entire people. It

does not follow naturally from this that our revolution is not a class revolution. But it is directed against the classes and castes which, from the point of view of bourgeois society, belong to the past, are foreign to bourgeois society whose development they hinder." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 10, our translation)

As to the tasks this revolution must solve, as to the claims on the agenda, "it will easily be seen," writes Lenin, "that they are in a certain sense mostly cases of claims relating purely to 'civilization' if I may express myself thus. I mean that they are not specifically class demands, that they are elementary juridical claims which, far from destroying capitalism, direct it onto the path of European civilization, remove it from barbarianism, from savagery, from corruption, and other relics of the present regime" of the Ivory Coast (L.V.O., our translation).

In this revolution there are the democratic claims of the workers on the political level, and, on the economic level, their economic claims within the framework of capitalism. The proletariat makes the revolution, in a sense, within the limits of the minimum program and not those of the maximum program.

"The demands of the proletariat themselves can be reduced for the most part to forms that are perfectly realizable within the limits of capitalism. The proletariat...demands at the present time, immediately, not what injures capitalism, but that which purifies it, strengthens it, and speeds up its development." (Our translation)

"The socialist demands are yet to come." (Lenin, our translation)

This revolution is necessary since "The more democratic the system of government, the clearer will the workers see that the root evil is capitalism, not lack of rights" (LCW 23:73)

The conscious and organized proletariat will lead this revolution knowing that democracy *does not* eliminate class oppression, but makes the class struggle clearer, larger, and more pronounced. It will wage it consistently because it knows that "socialism is impossible without democracy because: (1) the proletariat cannot perform the socialist revolution unless it prepares for it by the struggle for democracy; (2) victorious socialism cannot consolidate its victory and bring humanity to the withering away of the state without implementing full democracy" (LCW 23:74).

But also and *especially*, in this revolution,

"the proletariat attaches the struggle for democracy to the struggle for socialism by *sub-ordinating* the first to the second. It is there that the difficulty rests, that the heart of the matter resides...Do not let the *main thing* escape, submit it, co-ordinate with it, make all the democratic claims depend on it." (Lenin, our translation).

What is to be said of the peasantry? "Its

maximum program", its ultimate aims do not go beyond the limits of capitalism "which would develop more widely, still more magnificently, if all the land passed to the peasants, to the whole people. The peasant revolution is today a bourgeois revolution" (Lenin, our translation).

This revolution will have as a fundamental social base the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry led by the Marxist-Leninist Party of the proletariat.

Only the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry under the political and ideological hegemony of the proletariat can ensure the decisive victory over the national bourgeoisie and imperialism.

"The revolution's decisive victory over tsarism (the national bourgeoisie, L.V.O.)," writes Lenin, "means the establishment of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry... And such a victory will be precisely a dictatorship, i.e., it must inevitably rely on military force, on the arming of the masses, on an insurrection, and not on institutions of one kind or another established in a 'lawful' or 'peaceful' way. It can be only a dictatorship, for realization of the changes urgently and absolutely indispensable to the proletariat and the peasantry will evoke desperate resistance from the landlords, the big bourgeoisie, and tsarism. Without a dictatorship it is impossible to break down that resistance and repel counter-revolutionary attempts. But of course it will be a democratic, not a socialist dictatorship. It will be unable (without a series of intermediate stages of revolutionary development) to affect the foundations of capitalism. At best it may bring about a radical redistribution of landed property in favor of the peasantry, establish consistent and full democracy, including the formation of a republic, eradicate all the oppressive features of Asiatic bondage, not only in rural but also in factory life, lay the foundation for a thorough improvement in the conditions of the workers and for a rise in their standard of living, and — last but not least — carry the revolutionary conflagration into Europe. Such a victory will not yet by any means transform our bourgeois revolution into a socialist revolution; the democratic revolution will not immediately overstep the bounds of bourgeois social and economic relationships; nevertheless the significance of such a victory for the future development of Russia and of the whole world will be immense. Nothing will raise the revolutionary energy of the world proletariat so much, nothing will shorten the path leading to its complete victory to such an extent, as this decisive victory of the revolution that has now started in Russia" (Lenin, "Two Tactics...", p. 457).

Once the democratic revolution is done, the Marxist-Leninist party will proceed to a regrouping

of forces around the socialist proletariat to implement the transformation of the bourgeois revolution into a socialist revolution.

"The democratic revolution accomplished," teaches Lenin, "we shall pass immediately, — and to the extent of our strength, the strength of the conscious and organized proletariat — to the path of socialist revolution. We are for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half-way" (Ibid, our translation).

Unofficial translation from original French.

La Voie Ouvrière No. 0

Sandinista Revolution, No! Bolshevik Revolution, Yes!

Linea Bolchevique

It has been approximately eight months since the triumph of the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) over the fascist dictatorship of Somoza. We have seen how parties and groups such as (PSP, PCP, PSR, PRO, PIP, MSP, LIT, LSP, etc.)¹ and trade union organizations (ILES, MOU, FUT)² have united in support of the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN).

We are not surprised to see these parties, opportunist groups, and labor aristocrats uniting with the parties of the compromised national bourgeoisie (PNP, PPD)³ with U.S. imperialism, Russian social-imperialism, Chinese imperialism, the Socialist International, and with the reactionary regimes of Panama, Costa Rica, and Venezuela, all in support of the Sandinista Junta. The social chauvinists and economists of PSP were mobilized in a campaign to aid the Sandinistas economically, including an offer to lend human support, if the Sandinista Front were to ask for it, thus supporting this fight as a "genuine" struggle with an anti-imperialist and national liberation character.

The struggle carried out in Nicaragua, no matter how the FSLN and its allies try to pass it off as one of an anti-imperialist character, was no more than an anti-Somoza struggle.

The creation of the Sandinista Front in 1962 was based on a common fight against the Somoza dictatorship. The present FSLN is composed of three tendencies which united on March 7, 1979, in a common struggle against Somoza, each one representing the different ruling classes of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie.

The first tendency is that of insurrection, the Terceristas. This one is completely bourgeois dominated in that it collaborates and promotes an alliance with all the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie. Within this group are found sons of the big Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, from the cabinet ministry and the parliament.

This tendency is the one which dominates the Sandinista Front because it is the one best financed and the one which has been able to obtain economic support from the U.S. and all the compromising bourgeoisie of Central America and Europe.

The second tendency calls themselves "Marxists", and so-called proletarians, but they are very far from being such since this group is composed of petty bourgeois intellectuals. In the beginning they were followers of Russian Social-Imperialism, but as time went on they dropped the Marxist phrases and joined the U.S. imperialist bloc. Among their leaders is found Jaime Wheelock, son of an industrialist who made his fortune under the Somoza regime. Another leader is Luis Carreon, son of an important Nicaraguan financier. These are the sort that are found in this group of so-called proletarians.

The third tendency represents the Prolonged People's War. This tendency is a guerrilla group under petty bourgeois leadership, the followers of the foco (foquista) ideology of Doctor "Che" Guevara. They call for agrarian reform on behalf of the peasants in order to gain their support. Like Che and the Cubans they are not at all aiming for establishing a socialist state, and much less the dictatorship of the proletariat. What they truly want to establish is a capitalist "democratic" regime, thus continuing bourgeois domination of the proletariat.

This is what one of their own leaders, lawyer Tomas Borge, has to say "We are not proposing a rigid socialist scheme, rather a democratic, popular and national revolution" (*Newsweek*, July 23, 1979, page 40).

All these forces try to pass themselves as anti-imperialist and proclaim themselves the representatives of the proletariat and the peasantry. In this way they attempt to deceive the working class and cover up their class collaboration with the compromised national bourgeoisie and the landowners, who now are represented in the government of reconstruction.

In a statement prepared on June 18, 1979, the government of reconstruction declared "As a responsible government, we uphold our decision to fulfill all the international commitments of Nicaragua. And thus the disproportionate load that the Somoza "dealings" has created for our country with foreign debts weighs heavily on it, but we intend to honor all the acquired commitments, within our plan of financial reconstruction."⁴

Of all things the FSLN and the new bourgeois government of reconstruction is furthest from, is being anti-imperialist. Then should the proletariat support the Sandinista Front and the governing Junta as a "genuine" National Libera-

tion Movement on the road to overthrowing imperialism"?

It is here where Comrade Stalin's position, the position that we make our own, deals with the Sandinista Junta.

This does not mean, of course, that the proletariat must support every national movement, everywhere and always, in every individual concrete case. It means that support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve it."⁵

The new bourgeois government of reconstruction has no intentions of taking any actions against imperialism, on the contrary they are looking for even more new pacts, at the same time assuring protection and respect for the property (industries, banks, etc.) which today are found in Nicaragua.

In continuing, here is a brief table of foreign investments:

Agri-Industrial and Foods

- Booth Fisheries (Division of Consolidated Foods Corp. Chicago)
- General Mills (Minneapolis)
- Nabisco Inc. (New York)
- Quaker Oats (Chicago)
- United Fruit Co. (Boston Subsidiary of United Brands, New York)

Banks

- Bank of America
- Bank of London and Montreal
- First National Bank
- Wells Fargo Bank

Chemicals

- Adela Investments Co.
- Atlas Chemical Industries
- Borden Inc.
- Hercules Powder Co.
- Monsanto Chemical Corp.

Wood Products

- Cadmus International (Baltimore)
- Evans Products (Portland, Oregon)
- Plywood of Nicaragua
- William Wrigley Jr. Co. (Chicago)

Tourism and Transportation

- Hughes Tool Co.
- International Hotel Corp. (Subsidiary of Pan American World Airways, New York)
- Sheraton Hotel Corp. (Division of ITT, New York)
- Western International Hotels (Division of VAL Inc., New York)

Exploitation of Oil

Some 30 North American oil companies have invested 40 million dollars to exploit oil and gas, on the coast as well as the ocean. As of now, they have not found any commercial deposits but explorations continue.⁶

In this way, they perpetuate and become accomplices of the barbaric exploitation suffered by the Nicaraguan proletariat at the hand of foreign monopolies. They also look to oppress the Nicaraguan people by obtaining loans, keeping the doors open to foreign investment, asking the U.S. for more economic help, including military.

The new government is aiming to obtain a financial loan of 22 million dollars through the International Monetary Fund. On its side, the EEC (European Economic Community) is trying to gain control by means of 8 millions.

The new bourgeois government of reconstruction has not only begun to arrange business deals with U.S. imperialism, but also with their potential imperialist rivals. The loan of 8 million dollars from the EEC is just another example. The intervention of Russian imperialism through Cuba, yesterday aiding with arms, today sending thousands of teachers to Nicaragua and tomorrow who knows, technical aid or the CMEA. There is nothing as the truth of what Lenin said:

For the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations always converts the slogans of national liberation into a means for deceiving the workers: in internal politics it utilizes these slogans as a means for concluding reactionary agreements with the bourgeoisie of the ruling nations, in the realm of foreign politics it strives to enter into pacts with one of the rival imperialist powers for the purpose of achieving its own predatory aims.⁷

In addition, he also said:

Frequently...the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations merely talk about national revolt, while in practice it enters into reactionary agreements with the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nations behing the backs, and against, its own people.⁸

In the years 1927 to 1933 the Communist International supported the struggles carried out by Augusto Cesar Sandino, because they saw that it was aiming at overthrowing U.S. imperialism, and not at continuing it in their country. Sandino broke with the liberals after the 1926 revolt because the leadership of the liberal army had arranged a treaty with the U.S. in exchange for elections. Sandino called this agreement "treason to the country."

The Communist International on August 16, 1928, in the 32nd Session of the VIth Congress, said the following:

When in presidential elections — that are always run with Northamerican money — the people of Central America do not elect the candidates of Wall Street, the immediate result is brutal military intervention in Nicaragua, elections carried out under the control of the Northamerican Marines.⁹

In this document, a criticism was also directed to the Communist Party of the U.S. for the lack of support given to the struggles of Cuba, Mexico, and Nicaragua, as the Communist Party from the oppressor country towards the National Liberation Struggles of the oppressed nations. The International said the following:

To this end, we must point out that the Communist Party of the U.S. has not totally fulfilled its duty with respect to Cuba, Mexico, and to Sandino, which it should have supported more actively than it did.¹⁰

It was not until February of 1933 that Sandino accepted a gradual disarming following the withdrawal of the U.S. Army, with the U.S. placing Anastasio Somoza at the head of the National Guard. The only opposition to Sandino signing the truce came from the Communist International calling this treaty a treason to the Liberation Movement, doing the same thing that his Liberal ex-colleagues had done in 1927. This treaty and that of 1934 with the Managua government put an end to his life in an ambush, by orders from Somoza, after Sandino left a dinner with President Sacaza.

The treasons to the National Liberation Movements and and consequently to the proletariat and peasantry of Nicaragua are nothing new. Now the FSLN from its beginning in 1962 has followed this tradition and worst yet has, for all these years, held back and sabotaged the work of uniting the advanced elements of the working class in building a Communist Party that will guide the masses of proletarians and peasants towards the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasantry. This work has to be taken up by all genuine Marxists-Leninists and advanced workers in Nicaragua, today. True national independence, can only be achieved by overthrowing the reactionary Sandinista Junta and establishing a democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants under the hegemony of the proletariat, with a genuine communist party of the Bolshevik type of lead it.

The working class of Nicaragua should take advantage now of the situation of "bourgeois democracy" in its country to create its party, to prepare the conditions to bring forth the armed insurrection of all the masses of workers and peasants against the bourgeoisie and landlords, all lackeys of North American imperialism and other imperialist powers, and fulfill the six points and slogans that were defined by the Communist International in the VIth Congress.

1) Expropriation (without compensation) of a (part of the large plantations and latifund) for the purpose of collective work, distribution of the remaining portion into the hands of the peasants, farmers and husbandmen;

2) Confiscation of foreign business (mines, industrial enterprises, banks, transportation, etc.,...) and of the most important enterprises owned by the national bourgeoisie and big landowners;

- 3) Annulment of state debts and the liquidation of all imperialist control over the country;
- 4) Introduction of the 8 hour day and the abolition of semi-slave conditions of work;
- 5) The arming of the workers and peasants and the transformation of the army into a workers and peasants militia;
- 6) Establishment of the power of the workers, peasants, and soldiers soviets in the place of the class domination of the big landowners and the church.¹¹

Meanwhile we have witnessed how parties and opportunist groups, in our country, have failed to unmask the class character of the FSLN and the present government of Nicaragua. We have seen how they negate the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism — the study and analysis of all situations or problems that arise in the world from the class viewpoint of the proletariat. But such positions do not surprise us by now, for the ideological basis of these movements corresponds to the class interests of the petty bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary current of Russian social-imperialism, and of China and the other so-called "socialist" countries.

Puerto Rico is a colony of U.S. imperialism, but this fact does not imply that the character of our fight ought to be one of two stages, for example independence first and "socialism" after, as the PSP pretends to carry out through their elections, by legal participation as a party. Even less, as PIP (bourgeois social-democratic Party), which seeks only independence. The intention of both parties is to perpetuate capitalism in Puerto Rico, PIP (being a pro-US movement) and PSP (being a pro-Soviet social-imperialist movement), thus seeking to hand over our country in the long range, to the Russian social-imperialists by means of Cuban support, as now some followers of Russian social-imperialism in Nicaragua seek to do. In our country, the conditions exist for proletarian revolution, and the tasks of all Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers is to break with the social-chauvinist parties (PSP, PCP), and the centrists, those parties and groups (PSR, MSP, etc.) hidden, camouflaged opportunists who cover themselves behind a cloak of Marxist-Leninist phrases about the building of a party, of proletarian revolution etc., and in practice however, are guilty by omission of failing to attack and unmask the plans of Russian social-imperialism, the fake socialism of Cuba, and now with their support of the Sandinista Front.

But all these parties and opportunist groups which today have united with the Sandinista Front, its government, the parties of the compromising national bourgeoisie, and U.S. imperialism, have united as well to keep the working class in the darkest political ignorance, promoting economism within its ranks. Promoting, as well petty bourgeois nationalism and independence struggles, all to deceive the working class, and to keep it under its control, far away from the path of proletarian revolution.

These parties are looking for the way to go about creating the basis for an agreement or

compact with a compromising national bourgeoisie that is anti-annexationist and autonomist, the PPD, against the compromised national bourgeoisie that is pro-annexationist (PNP) and to prepare the country for the change from a colony to a semi-colony. Thus they assure and promise U.S. imperialism political and economic control.

This is what PIP and PSP are looking for, just that the latter seeks to hand over the country (little by little on a long range) to one of the rival imperialist powers, to Russian social-imperialism.

We can imagine how happy the Russian social-imperialists, the Chinese social-imperialists, etc., are with the triumph of the Sandinista Front, with the establishment of a new bourgeois government, and by the positions taken by the opportunist groups and parties that support the Front. Why? Because they now see an opportunity and an open market for their plundering and exploitation, thanks to the work of the parties, groups and movements of the petty bourgeoisie, and their collaboration with the compromising national bourgeoisie, to make this fight one of a bourgeois democratic, nationalistic, anti-Somoza character, aimed at leaving the capitalist state intact. How happy the imperialists are because there was no socialist revolution, led by the proletariat, through its communist Party, for the substitution of the capitalist state with one of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But we ask ourselves, what intentions did Albania and the PLA have by indirectly supporting the Sandinistas and their new government of reconstruction? They declared the following: "A provisional government of national reconstruction was established in the capital of Nicaragua, which has made initial positive moves in the interests of the long-suffering Nicaraguan people against reaction and imperialism."¹²

"A positive movement in the interest of the Nicaraguan people." We ask ourselves, what positive interest in favor of the proletariat and peasantry can a government have which is led by the bourgeoisie and land owners.

The PLA denies the existence of a state in Nicaragua and the fact that one bourgeoisie had been substituted for another.

Now the state that is in power is that of the Nicaraguan "democratic" bourgeoisie, and the long suffering (according to the PLA) of the people against imperialism and reaction, has been eliminated.

In whose head does the idea fit that the present Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, by the mere fact of calling itself "democratic", has stopped being a hostile class and the state an instrument of oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, now comes a new state of a continuation of the long suffering of the Nicaraguan proletariat and peasantry.

We quote Lenin:

The reason why the omnipotence of "wealth" is better secured in a democratic republic, is that it does not depend on the faulty political shell of capitalism, and therefore, once capital has gained control of this very best shell,

(...) it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that no change, either of persons, of institutions, or of parties in the bourgeois-democratic republic, can shake it.¹³

The PLA has dedicated itself to praising (exalting) the enchantments of bourgeois democracy and covers the pillage and exploitation of Nicaragua today, carried out by the U.S. monopolies. It also speaks of the "peoples" and makes no class distinction of a dialectical materialist nature, replacing this with eclecticism.

Albania says: "The victory of the Nicaraguan people in their struggle for freedom, democratic rights and true independence, rejoices the freedom loving and progressive peoples all over the world."¹⁴

We do not know of what true independence the PLA speaks, when in actuality numerous industries and banks of U.S. imperialism and other powers are found in Nicaragua, without even taking into account the debts and the new loans.

One thing we have to say to the PLA is that all genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers in our country will never accept the type of independence that they are promoting, because that is equivalent to committing treason to our class and bringing the country under bondage as a semi-colony.

The problem of colonialism and semi-colonialism, which the Latin American and Caribbean countries suffer, can be resolved only and exclusively by means of proletarian revolution, it is the only reliable road by which the proletariat can win its true independence from imperialism as well from its own compromised bourgeoisie, by means of overthrowing it and implanting the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

Only by means of its independent Party — the Communist Party (Bolshevik) can the proletariat prepare itself and organize the broad masses of workers and peasants to conquer the resistance of its own exploiters, that is, its own national compromising bourgeoisie.

The Marxist-Leninists of Latin America and the Caribbean, must unmask the class character of bourgeoisie civilization, of bourgeoisie democracy, and bourgeois parliamentarism and expose with maximum precision the teachings of Marx and Engels that — **"the bourgeois republic although the most democratic is no more than a machine of oppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie."**

We must all fight against the intentions of the traitors of socialism, who today unite with the bourgeoisie and with imperialism to hold back the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat.

As Lenin said at the beginning of the 1st Congress of the Communist International:

But now, when the revolutionary proletariat is in a fighting mood and taking action to destroy this machine of oppression and to establish proletarian dictatorship, these traitors to socialism claim that the bourgeoisie have

granted the working people "pure democracy," have abandoned resistance and are prepared to yield to the majority of the working people. They assert that in a democratic republic there is not, and never has been, any such thing as a state machine for the oppression of labor by capital.¹⁵

1. PSP — Puerto Rican Socialist Party
PCP — Puerto Rican Communist Party
PSR — Revolutionary Socialist Party
PRO — Revolutionary Workers Party
PIP — Puerto Rican Independence Party
MSP — Popular Socialist Movement or Socialist Popular Movement
LIT — International League of Workers
LSP — Puerto Rican Socialist League
2. ILES — Labor Institute of Syndicate Education
MOU — United Workers Movement
FUT — United Front of Workers
3. PNP — New Progressive Party
PPS — Popular Democratic Party
4. *Socialist Dawn* — June, 1979, Newspaper of the Communist Workers Core from the Dominican Republic, supporting the FSLN of Nicaragua.
5. Stalin, J.V., "Questions of Leninism," *Foundations of Leninism*, page 74, (Peking Edition).
6. NACLA (Latin American and Empire Report), February, 1976.
7. Lenin, V.I., *Three Articles of Lenin On the National and Colonial Question*, page 5, Peking Edition.
8. Lenin, V.I., "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," *LCW*, 23:59
9. VI Congress of the Communist International — Second Part Editorial Notebooks past, present and future, page 305.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 318
11. *Ibid.*, p. 317
12. Radio Tirana, July 28, 1979
13. Lenin, V.I., *The State and Revolution*, pp. 15-16, Peking Edition
14. Radio Tirana, July 28, 1979
15. Lenin, V.I. "Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of Proletariat. *LCW*, Vol. 28, p. 457-74.

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UNITED STATES

POLITICAL REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION PRESENTED TO THE FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF THE BOLSHEVIK LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Boshevik League
of the
United States*

Two decades have gone by with much fanfare and great pronouncements by those who claim to have formed parties of the working class. Two, three many of these so-called anti-revisionist parties exist within one country. This phenomenon is identical in many countries.

In the U.S., where there is one of these parties proclaimed every other day, the proletariat has been recent witness to the magnificent affair five times in the span of five years. These are the Communist Labor Party, The Revolutionary Communist Party, The Communist Party Marxist-Leninist, The Communist Party U.S.A (M-L), and the recently announced Communist Workers Party. All these parties claim to be vanguard parties, leading the spontaneous struggles of the masses, and give reports to the effect that they are overflowing with members. All claims aside, it matters little whether these parties have a few dozen or a hundred members and followers, the social composition of all these parties is the same, petty bourgeoisie and labor aristocrats drawn to the economist or semi-terrorist politics of these cliques.

In all countries, these groups which call themselves pre-parties or Communist parties direct their work towards degrading the idea of a party, towards degrading Marxist-Leninist politics, towards leaving the proletariat without a party and surrendering the working class to the butchery of the bourgeoisie.

This phenomenon of many parties of the petty bourgeoisie and labor aristocrats, has its basis in the ability of the bourgeoisie to bribe a certain strata with the superprofits secured by imperialism.

"Monopoly" said Lenin. "yields superprofits i.e., a surplus of profits that are normal and customary all over the world. The capitalists can devote a part (and not a small one at that!) of these superprofits to bribe their own workers, to create something like an alliance ... between the workers of a given nation and their capitalists against the other countries ..."

The bourgeoisie of an imperialist 'great power' can economically bribe the upper strata of 'its' workers by spending on this a hundred million or so francs a year, for its superprofits most likely amount of about a thousand million" (LCW Vol. 23, page 114-15).

The material result of this bribe is that this strata of workers' interest lies not with proletarian revolution, but in maintaining wage slavery and colonial and semi-colonial plunder of millions of people throughout the world, to enrich further their own bourgeoisie. The menshevik parties propose the conclusion of agreements with the bourgeoisie, when the capitalists are in power. In power, the bourgeoisie is not averse to handing down some "reforms", small concessions across the bargaining table, to individual groups of workers. The bourgeoisie is quite willing to "give in a little" because such agreements are harmful to the working class, while profitable to the bourgeoisie. These agreements do not weaken but in fact strengthen the power of the bourgeoisie, who utilize these concessions to weaken and split the ranks of the proletariat.

The mensheviks strive for more and more concessions, this is why the Bolsheviks consider the mensheviks to be vehicles of bourgeoisie influence on the proletariat, vehicles for the disintegration of the proletarian revolution.

The petty bourgeois leaders of these parties compete over the bribed strata of the proletariat. Implanting their members in the "highly industrialized concentration centers" securing their base with the highly skilled highly paid, totally corrupted strata.

The new "anti-revisionist" parties are nothing more than replicas of the parties of the second international, menshevik, reformist, thoroughly opportunist parties.

On an international scale it is these parties which have formed the international anti-revisionist communist movement. Revisionism has dominated this international since the death of Stalin and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. This international rose to prominence supposedly as anti-revisionist because it opposed "Soviet Social-imperialism." Until recently this international was held together by the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*. The CPC and Mao Zedong were the undisputed leadership of this revisionist dominated international. The *Proposal Concerning the General Line* was a call to unity with revisionism. A centrist cover was given to hide the fact that revisionism had scored a worldwide victory with the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

Disagreements on many questions arose amongst the revisionists, in spite of all efforts to further the "unity of the Socialist camp."

The Khrushchevites proposed that they have complete say over the affairs of this international, the Maoists objected, wanting an equal partnership, a deal which they tried to work out for a number of years. In 1963 when *The Proposal* was written the CPC was maneuvering to undermine the influence of the Khrushchevites and prop themselves into complete hegemony over the "socialist camp." Thus the CPC wrote "When only one socialist country existed and when this country was faced with hostility and jeopardized by all the imperialists and reactionaries because it firmly pursued the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism for every communist party was whether or not it resolutely defended the only socialist country. Now there is a socialist camp consisting of thirteen countries, Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam" (*Proposal concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, FLP Peking, page 10).

Thus according to the Chinese there was one big happy "socialist" family — even though capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union.

In actuality the split was maturing between the Russian revisionist embarking on the road of a great imperialist power, and the Social nationalism of backward states like China and Albania.

With the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, the aims of the imperialist camp were accomplished i.e., the liquidation of the Socialist Camp and the Socialist World market. The People's Democracies were surrendered to the imperialist world market. Thus, the contradiction between the Socialist camp and the imperialist camp was converted into an inter-imperialist one for redivision of the world. The CPC opposed this redivision as far as it meant the strengthening of the U.S. led bloc, thus it proposed a united front against U.S. imperialism. "The U.S. imperialists have thus placed themselves in opposition to the people of the whole world and have become encircled by them. The international proletariat must and can unite all the forces that can be united, make use of the internal contradictions in the enemy camp and establish the broadest United front against the U.S. imperialists and their lackies" (*Ibid.*, page 12).

The CPC proposed that the "Socialist Camp" with the national liberation movements as the "motive force," become one bloc.

The Russians wanted all of the pie and opposed the social-nationalism of China and Albania with Great Russian Nationalism, and open social-chauvinism.

Thus they warned the Chinese, "ideological and tactical difference must in no circumstances

be used to incite nationalist feelings and prejudices, mistrust and dissension between socialist peoples" (The letter of the CC of the CPSU to the CC of the CPC, March 30, 1963, Proposal Concerning the General Line, FLP, Peking, page 89).

Nationalism was bringing China and Albania closer into an alliance against great Russian Chauvinism; in other words the PLA and CPC objected to the "blackmail" of the Russians to cut aid, cancel agreements and pull out technicians.

The Khrushchevite revisionists were pursuing a policy of peaceful redivision. Being in no position militarily to go to war with the Western Bloc, it pursued the policy of detente. The CPC and the PLA were threatened by the Alliance being struck between the rising Russian imperialist and American imperialism, which included the rehabilitation of Tito by the Khrushchevites.

A realignment of forces, in the so-called "socialist camp," took place and the centers of revisionism were established, one led by the Russians and the other by the Chinese i.e., the Sino-Soviet split: one open social-chauvinist and the other adopting a centrist mask. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 statements represented the establishment of anti-Leninist norms among the 81 Parties which were enshrined as the norms of the International Communist Movement.

As the Khrushchevites shed their centrist masquerade and openly embarked on the road of open class collaboration with the Western bloc, the nationalists, specifically the PLA and CPC, feared they might lose their "sovereignty." Thus they put out the Russian's dirty line to be aired amongst all "fraternal parties." The Russians withdrew their "aide," and polemics ensued.

The CPC and the PLA utilized the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. to try and bury forever the development of a true Bolshevik international. So-called, "Great Peoples' China, — Great Mao Zedong," became the new center of gravity for the centrists, particularly the PLA who began the active promotion of "Mao Zedong Thought."

"Centrism" recollected Stalin "was a phenomenon that was natural in parties of the Second International of the period before the war. There were rights (the majority), lefts (without quotation marks), and centrists, whose whole policy consisted of embellishing the opportunism of the rights with left phrases and subordinating the lefts to the rights.

What at that time was the policy of the Left, of whom the Bolsheviks constituted the core? It was one of determinedly fighting the Centrists', of fighting for a split with the rights (especially after the outbreak of the imperialist war) and of organizing a new, revolutionary international consisting of genuinely Lefts, genuinely proletarian

elements" ("Industrialization of the Country and the Right Deviation in the CPSU(B)," SCW Vol. 11, page 293).

After Stalin's death the policy was no longer that of the Bolsheviks. Instead the centrists gained the upper hand. Subordinating the lefts to the rights, at first calling for unity with the very ones responsible for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. Years later the centrists termed this counter-revolutionary bloody coup a peaceful degeneration of the superstructure and a temporary setback. Stalin said that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union would mean the darkest day for the international proletariat.

Clear one would think!

The centrists opposed the formation of an international "consisting of genuinely left, genuinely proletarian elements." Instead they called for mutual assistance and non-interference in the affairs of other parties, meaning no open polemics, no debate, in order to hide the deals they had made. Because the centrists have distorted the true meaning of the fight against revisionism, dominating this struggle in order to divert it away from the necessity of a complete rupture, the decisive split with revisionism has not taken place. By opposing themselves to Marxism-Leninism, in spite of all efforts for "unity," this international has been ransacked by crisis and disunity in accordance to two specific revisionist trends.

Firstly, there are the open social-chauvinists. This includes those parties that are open advocates of one or another form of revisionism. These openly call for class collaboration with one or another imperialist bloc. By 1972 CPC concluded its agreements with the Council of Foreign Relations (the Rockefeller and Morgan Group which sets up foreign policy for the U.S. bourgeoisie) and dropped its centrist masquerade, entering the camp of open social-chauvinism, taking with them all those parties who advocated the counter-revolutionary theory of the three worlds.

The open social-chauvinists are calling for imperialist world war for redivision of the world as a way out of the general crisis of imperialism. Amongst these are the Russian led parties who form part of that imperialist bloc. There are also those, the adherents of the social-chauvinist theory of three worlds, who are preaching alliance with the U.S.-led bloc of imperialist powers. These paint China in "socialist" colors. It was these parties who were in the front line with sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie calling for "normalization" of relations between China and the U.S.

According to their social-chauvinist logic, they claimed it necessary for "socialist" China to form an alliance with the U.S. against "soviet hegemonism," the "main threat of war."

They call for a united Europe and beefing up of NATO in order to offset Russian military build-up in Eastern Europe. The social-chauvinists are not waiting for the outbreak of an imperialist

world war to decide which "fatherland" to save. The alliances have been struck. (We do not, nor can we exclude the possibility of changes in alliances on the part of some of these parties, all this would indicate is the working out of a better deal. China for example is already dropping much of the rhetoric about the Russian imperialist, a better deal with the Russians maybe in the working).

An article appeared in the *New York Times* on Nov. 10, 1979, which reports that the CPC has circulated an important document which concludes that the Soviet Party should no longer be viewed as revisionist. According to the report in the *Times* the document says that the Soviet Union is still socialist. The CPC is laying ideological preparation in the event a switch is made. Already there is much evidence that they are throwing the theory of three worlds overboard, a return to the *Proposal Concerning the General Line* which calls for maintaining the "unity" of the so-called "socialist camp" meaning the Russian bloc. It is therefore very possible that the CPC would return to the line of one superpower, the U.S. Then "socialist China," "socialist Russia" and maybe even little "socialist Albania" would reconcile. Because there is a thin line between the social-chauvinists and centrists, there have existed cases where various openly social-chauvinist groups, in the face of China's openly making alliance with U.S. imperialism, have retreated and try to cover-up their social-chauvinism with a centrist cover, e.g. by showing opposition to the theory of three worlds, yet adhering to the policies of Mao and the Gang of Four.

The second trend is centrism. The Centrists claim to be true internationalists. They claim to be opposed to all forms of revisionism, and boast about being the true defenders of Marxism-Leninism. This cheap talk has the aim of overshadowing the fact that the centrists are opposed to a real split with the open social-chauvinists. Today the very centrists who promoted Mao Zedong Thought (e.g. the PLA) or others of this trend who claim to have broken with Mao Zedong, while they admit he is not a "great" Marxist-Leninist, consider it "undialectical," "onesided" and "subjective" to persist that Mao was a revisionist. Thus we have those centrists that consider revisionism in degrees. Some others in this trend openly adhere to Mao Zedong Thought, yet try and mask their opportunism by claiming to oppose the present-day revisionist leaders of China and the theory of three worlds. Open social-chauvinism they might agree is revisionism, but naturally it is beyond the scope of the centrist to consider centrism to be revisionism. Thus according to the centrists when Mao had a Left cover he was a Marxist-Leninist, even if not a "great" one. The PLA of course made sure Mao was embellished in Left sounding phraseology till he was dead and buried.

The centrists categorize revisionism according to nationalist variations e.g. Chinese revisionism, Yugoslav revisionism, Euro-Communism, Russian revisionism, a Revisionist World, etc.

They divert the struggle away from the question of class lines to one of bad elements in power in one country or in a party, etc. By taking it away from line, they are able to choose who to attack when and who to cover up for, until such time that a falling out between them occurs, a little debate is stirred and quieted down according to the norms established by the centrists.

Under the influence of the CPC and PLA, the lefts were instructed to labor from within and overcome the opportunist elements, applying the formula of unity, criticism, transformation. Naturally, the Lefts became subordinated to the rights. The contradictions with opportunism according to the centrists were non-antagonistic, a contradiction 'amongst the people', thus no need for open polemics or drawing of lines of demarcation. The questions of the construction of the Communist Party and proletarian revolution were matters concrete to each specific country argued the centrists, thus there was no need for universal principles nor for revolutionary theory, or for the elaboration of a Party program. The systematic aim of the so-called international anti-revisionist communist movement has been to bury Bolshevism and wipe it off the surface of the earth. But that is as impossible as wiping out the international proletariat.

The centrists have their international club, who is in and out, naturally has nothing to do with principles, it is a matter of maneuvers. The party in hegemony i.e. the PLA, promotes a number of parties through the pages of *Albania Today* or in ATA's. A mutual admiration society is established, "internationalist" rallies are held, delegations to their perspective countries are exchanged.

Albanian literature is widely distributed, Hoxha is highly praised and quoted and any opposition is dealt with severely. It is no different than any other revisionist club. The CPC and the PLA have been playing this game for over two decades. Promoting each other, and stabbing each other in the back. The PLA of course had to promote the CPC with great enthusiasm, despite Mao being an "enigma" to Hoxha. Hoxha's reflections were kept a big secret, while loans and technicians from China flowed to Albania. No doubt the blackmail diary, in two parts, has soothed Hoxha's consciousness. But we doubt he can believe his own lies. Hoxha's reflections on China, are testimony to the norms operating in this so-called anti-revisionist International Communist Movement. Khrushchev was fought through letters, Mao through diaries. There's evidence that documents are doctored by the PLA, to make itself look consistent.

The PLA needs friends of Albania to make itself an attractive commodity to the capitalists, but when these friends begin to question Albania's politics they quickly become unwanted friends. When the matter moves on from questions to polemics against their politics, these unwanted friends become enemies of Albania. The whole thing is void of principles.

Who then is it that is "recognized"?

The very cliques that are thoroughly discredited in their own countries. People of the same unprincipled mold as the PLA. Gangsters, like Hardial Bains the leader of the revisionist Communist Party of Canada (ML). Through Bains, an entire network of phantom parties cloned by Bains, e.g. COUSML, are propped up by the PLA. Friends of Albania, like CPUSA(ML), formerly MLOC who at this very moment is licking the ground for recognition, carry out the centrist clubs dirty work such as the recent activities at the 3rd International Youth festival in Spain, during August, are kept on a string by the PLA; COUSML might prove to be a total embarrassment to the PLA.

Through this game of recognition, and self-admiration fraternities, sabotage of Proletarian Revolution has been carried out by degrading Leninist norms, and preventing the development of genuine Communist Parties.

There's no end to the PLA's bragging as regards its "internationalism." Yet its club is reminiscent of Trotsky's August Bloc, both by its unprincipledness and by its opportunist basis. The PLA like Trotsky was skillful in one thing, in masking its revisionism.

Just like Trotsky, the PLA has organized a bloc of anti-Bolshevik groups and trends directed against Leninism and the Bolshevik Revolution. Hoxha and his club took up a Maoist stand on all fundamental questions. But Hoxha hides his Maoism under the guise of centrism, that is, conciliationism. He claims, he was never a Maoist, that he always knew Mao and the CPC were revisionists. Even his fan club knows this is bold face lie. Twenty years later Hoxha speaks about "enigmas" and reflections, evidence of the agnostic state this centrist finds himself in.

In this sense, Hoxha is more vile and pernicious than the open Maoist, because he is trying to deceive the international proletariat into believing that he was above the revisionism of the CPC, when in fact he and the PLA promoted and entirely supported every decision of the CPC till Mao was long gone and dumped by his own Party.

Hoxha's "internationalism" is more of the same craven opportunism. Lenin described such "Internationalists."

"The nationalists also call themselves 'internationalists' ... and not only do they call themselves, but they fully recognize an international rapprochement, an agreement, a union of people holding their views. The opportunists are not against 'internationalism' they are only in favor of mutual international approval and international agreement of the opportunists" ("Under a Stolen Flag," Collected Works, Vol. 18, page 136, 1930, Edition, International Publishers).

This precisely has been the type of "internationalism" that has existed since the death of Stalin and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. It has been an international of mutual approval and international agreements amongst opportunists.

In order to divert the proletariat from its fight for political power, the opportunists degrade revolutionary theory with the aim of preventing the formation of genuine communist parties.

The party of the proletariat can not be built without revolutionary theory. And not only can it not be built, it can not perform its duties, and role of leader of its class, it cannot be the organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution unless it masters the theory of the advanced class, the Marxist-Leninist theory. Thus revolutionary theory must be placed in its proper place, in the forefront guiding all the activities of the Bolsheviks.

With the degradation of Leninist norms, degeneration of revolutionary theory and Marxist-Leninist politics, the conditions for the rise of social-fascism was established.

The liquidation of democratic debate, the total absence of open polemics, the refusal to air out views in front of all class conscious proletarians created favorable conditions for the rise of social-fascism. The social-fascists launched physical attacks against communist and advanced workers. Public meetings are packed by the social-fascists, carrying bats, clubs and other weapons. Searching before meetings, resembling the frisking carried out by the local police, established from the very beginning an atmosphere of intimidation which made it virtually impossible for intervention to be made at public meetings.

When an intervention was attempted, the minute a quote from the classics was made, heckling and shouting would drown out the speaker. Naturally, potential revolutionaries were driven away from Marxism-Leninism, many were driven into cynicism.

Accusations of agent-provocation are tagged on to innocent victims of slander, while the real agent-provocateurs were comfortably protected by the opportunists. (The political police promotes the revisionist line, as well and better than the opportunists themselves). An atmosphere of paranoia and distrust made it virtually impossible for frank discussion to be carried out. The political police has made full use of the social-fascist groups which provides them a full opportunity to do investigations and carry on physical abuse or black-mail against people.

The question of how to fight the political police, on what bases to expose them, is a question of line. The opportunists have taken this question away from politics diverting the struggle to who said what in back and forth accusations which prove nothing, but which allow social-fascist activity to be carried out under the guise that the opportunists are fighting police agents. But in fact the reality is that the social props and military props have come to terms in order to fight the Bolsheviks. The dangers of social-fascism in the U.S. have reached serious proportions.

One of the foremost representatives of social-fascism in the U.S. has been the WVO, now the Communist Workers Party (CWP). By engaging in direct confrontation with known racist anti-communist murderers like the Klan, WVO provoked the killing of five of its own members.

Such slogans as "Death to the Klan," and provoking the KKK by calling the Klan cowards, were intended effectively to create such a situation which would result in a few martyrs for the "new" party, and headlines in the bourgeois press. It is lowlifes like this that are calling themselves communists.

What does this situation indicate?

This situation is the disgusting result of years of the dominance of revisionism internationally. In order to change the situation a complete rupture is in order. A split from this revisionist dominated movement, and the rallying about the banner of orthodox Leninism, is the immediate question to be taken up by all class conscious proletarians.

"Despite everything", wrote Lenin, "revolutionary Social-Democratic elements exist in many countries To rally these Marxist elements, however small their numbers may be at the onset, to reanimate, in their name, the now forgotten ideals of genuine socialism, and to call upon the workers of all lands to break with the chauvinists and rally about the old banner of Marxism — such is the task of the day" ("Socialism and War," LCW, Vol. 21, page 328).

In order to rally about the banner of Bolshevism, the fight against modern revisionism must be carried out the way that Lenin and Stalin waged it.

This fight must be an organized fight. One which will result in workers of all countries rupturing with the modern revisionists and rallying about the banner of Marxism-Leninism, once again such is the task of the day. The opportunists have directed their work at splitting the class conscious proletarians of all lands, and effectively the revisionists have isolated the genuine revolutionaries. This situation has gone on far enough. In spite of all difficulties, and no matter how long it takes, the unity of the workers of all countries must be achieved through hard and persistent work.

"The unity of the proletariat can be achieved only by the extreme revolutionary party of Marxism, and only by a relentless struggle against all other parties" (History of CPSU(B), International Publishers, page 359).

The Lefts in all countries are faced with the task of building the extreme, revolutionary Party of Marxism-Leninism, i.e., the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The fight against the Maoists of all shades, these Mensheviks of today, confronts the Bolsheviks with the urgent necessity of organizing the rupture with the opportunists in all spheres.

The Lefts must split, regroup and constitute themselves in groups that take the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin as their model.

In order for this "anti-revisionist" international communist movement to carry out its activity virtually unchallenged, it had to replace Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory with Mao Zedong thought.

The degradation of revolutionary theory had the aim of thoroughly disorienting the movement, and turning potential revolutionaries away from scientific socialism.

"Theory is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect. Of course, theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory. But theory can become a tremendous force in the working-class movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice; for theory and theory alone, can give the movement confidence, the power of orientation, and an understanding of the inner relation of surrounding events; for it, and it alone, can help practice to realize not only how and in which direction classes are moving at the present time, but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future. None other than Lenin uttered and repeated scores of times the well-known thesis that: "Without a revolution theory there can be no revolutionary movement" (Foundations of Leninism, Stalin p. 22, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1970).

Thus the present-day revisionists, particularly those dressed in leftist sounding phrases, sought to destroy any possibility of the development of a revolutionary movement by denying its revolutionary theory. Rather than the power of orientation which theory alone provides, disorientation through the promotion of phrasemongering and learning by rote, turned potential independent thinkers into slavish worshippers of the CPC and the PLA.

Ignorance was praised, and a whole movement led by blockheads was created, thus, simpletons like Mao and Hoxha were able to control it.

Mao and Hoxha denied the Leninist criteria for judging the working class intelligentsia, the advanced workers. In fact this stratum of workers was systematically isolated through the denial that it exists. The aim of this "international," which in actuality was made up of social-nationalists, was to lower the political consciousness of the working class through catch-phrases that were "easy for the workers to understand"! But these dead formulas were intended to prevent any further enrichment of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory.

"The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working class movement, the science of the Proletarian Revolution, the science of the building of Communist Society" (History of CPSU(B), Proletarian Publishers, page 355).

Mao Zedong thought is a revisionist theory intended to maintain the capitalist mode of production through distortions of the science of the proletarian revolution.

Without revolutionary theory, the 1957 — 1960 Declarations, as well as the *Proposal Concerning the General Line* and later the social-chauvinist theory of three worlds, could be raised to the level of documents, and theories, "consistent with the principle of Marxism-Leninism," and the rupture with revisionism was diverted for decades.

In the absence of revolutionary theory, eclecticism dominated undisputed. The revisionist works of Mao, Hoxha, Che Guevarra, Fidel, Amilcar Cabrar, Castro, Fanon, Trotsky received wide distribution. The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were buried for decades.

In the U.S. as in all countries, to quote from the classics was termed dogmatism by the opportunists who are ferociously opposed to the promotion of "foreign books." Revolutionary intellectuals were attacked, accused of being "armchair revolutionaries" and "library worms." Many were advised to go to the point of production, the more over-time the better to transform; by doing hard and manual labor that would guarantee they not spend too much time studying from books. All learning, had to proceed in "the heat of class struggle"!!! at the tail of the spontaneous movement, and damned be those "ultra-leftists" who want to divert the spontaneous movement towards socialist revolution! sneer the opportunists.

It was not in the interest of the centrist conspirators against proletarian revolution that the inner relations of surrounding events, be understood from the perspective of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. Especially those relations of surrounding events which led to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the disintegration of the socialist camp. Therefore they chose to bury Stalin's last great work, written just months before he died, *Economic Problems of Socialism in U.S.S.R.*, which was a polemic precisely against the modern revisionists who were planning the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. *Economic Problems of Socialism in U.S.S.R.* was an indictment against modern revisionism, one which would have led to a purge of the revisionists in the CPSU, leading to a general cleansing of the ranks internationally.

The degradation of theory was applauded in the U.S. movement, an impotent movement by all standards. American pragmatism deeply imbedded, a disdain for all science widely encouraged, except amongst an elite few. Phrasemongering became very popular in the U.S.¹ The spread of anti-communism proceeds virtually unchallenged.

The proletariat is left without revolutionary leadership. The working class is grabbed at the throat by the bourgeoisie. The aim of the opportunists is to prevent the proletariat from even taking the offensive in the fight against the bourgeois order.

But in order for the Lefts to regroup on the basis of orthodox Leninism, clear and definite lines of demarcation must be drawn against all forms of modern revisionism.

It was none other than Lenin who formulated the basis upon which unity of Marxist-Leninists is achieved.

"Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all firmly and definitely draw the lines of demarcation between the various groups. Otherwise, our unity will be merely fictitious unity, which will conceal the prevailing confusion and prevent its dispersion" (*Declaration of Iskra, LCW, 4:41, Int. Publ.*).

There are many groups internationally who would rather continue along the fictitious path charted out by Mao, i.e., unity — unity — unity, and thus renounce Lenin's criteria. These groups, individuals and circles exhibit a fear of the necessary split with modern revisionism; they betray a conciliatory attitude towards Mao, and the PLA, very evident in the refusal to engage in open polemics before all class conscious proletarians.

The frightening thought of breaking with the centrist politics which has dominated the International Communist Movement since the death of Stalin, leaves these forces mired in a state of total paralysis and complete impotence.

There are those in our country, KCRWC and KCWRCML, who have promised us polemics that never seem to materialize (we are sure this is the case internationally), who would rather things proceed as they have been, "no interference," "no open polemics" i.e., the complete absence of Leninist norms. In this way they can continue insisting that they are the confused victims of modern revisionism rather than abettors of it. We are thus witnessing such philistine excuses in the refusal to air out views publicly as the following: firstly that their political line is not sufficiently developed to engage in open debate in their country or internationally. Secondly, that their groups are not large enough, or "united" enough to engage in open polemics, which at once betrays the factional basis of these groups, the capitulationist tendencies towards a "thousand schools of bourgeoisie thought," to blossom inside their groups, where they are "overcoming opportunism." Stalin warned against this dangerous "overcoming" of opportunism from "within." But to these groups it matters little what Stalin said. This of course is their major problem, the reason for their impoverished political line.

These groups claim to be too weak to demarcate from the opportunist interpretations of world economics and politics. The proletariat must wait, they say, till they 1. develop their political line, 2. grow in numbers, 3. are strong enough to demarcate.

This ridiculous posture makes it quite clear that all these reasons for not debating remain nothing but empty excuses for the refusal to

split with modern revisionism. Instead these people propose to "unite in order to demarcate." This proposition is a renunciation of Leninism and the continued embellishment of Mao and Hoxha.

They would rather "reflect" as Hoxha did for over three decades. While these obviously petty bourgeois circles are getting themselves "together," they allow the sneaking in of the counter-revolutionary insurgence of trotskyism, "questions" of Stalin's orthodoxy are raised for the purpose of maintaining the freedom of criticism against orthodox Leninism. This freedom of criticism is what has characterized the international communist movement for the past three decades.

For the genuine Lefts, there is no "Stalin question," because the genuine Lefts are Stalinists.

The bourgeoisie and their agents, the present day Mensheviks, i.e. Maoists, Centrists, Semi-trotskyites — hate Stalin. This is not shocking. Stalin was the most worthy disciple of Lenin.

Stalin explained where in lies this hatred.

"It is impossible to deny that the mere fact of the existence of a 'bolshevik state' exercised a restraining influence on the dark forces of reaction, thus facilitating the struggle of the oppressed classes for their liberation. This, properly speaking, explains the brutal hatred which the exploiters of all countries feel for the Bolsheviks." (J.V. Stalin, *International Character of the October Revolution*, Marxist Library, Vo. 2, International Publishers, New York)

Yes it is impossible to deny that the source of international opportunism's brutal hatred for Stalin is nothing less than a reflection of the bourgeoisie's brutal hatred for Bolshevism. And this, we think, is crystal clear!

The Lefts must split. To continue being slaves to international opportunism is the worst betrayal to the international proletariat.

The choice is clear. Open polemics, debate, discussion of the fundamental questions of scientific socialism before all class conscious around the banner of Leninism in a complete and absolute rupture with modern revisionism.

For this purpose, the Bolshevik League of the U.S. welcomes the invitation issued by the Bolshevik Union of Canada to participate in the Journal of *International Correspondence*. The proposal for *International Correspondence* draws a clear and definite Leninist line of demarcation with the centrist norms which for decades have kept the Lefts isolated and weak.

The Bolshevik Union of Canada points out a glaring truth, one which should be obvious to everyone. "The lack of open and frank discussion in the international communist movement has contributed to a state of isolation and national parochialism and has allowed the Chinese revisionists and centrists of the PLA to isolate the real communists by promoting various opportunists against them" (*Proposal for a Journal*

of *International Correspondence*).

In the beginning of this article we point out how this "recognition game" has worked in the U.S.

It is the proletarian internationalist responsibility of all genuinely left elements to participate in the international debate in order that we may change this horrendous state of affairs, and show in deed who are the true internationalists.

A forum for this debate is finally available.

The Bolshevik League of the U.S. will participate² in this forum cognizant of the fact that it will criticize and be criticized openly, "so everyone can decide the justness or unjustness of the views of the participants in the debate" (Ibid).

November 1979

1. For a more complete analysis of the U.S. see *Imperialism, Superprofits and the Bribery of the "Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement"* available from The Bolshevik League.

2. The ongoing systematic development of the political line of the Bolshevik League will be elaborated in our monthly political organ *Bolshevik Revolution*, which will be published in two languages, Spanish and English. *Bolshevik Revolution* is made available by writing to Bolshevik League, P.O. Box 1189, Bronx, New York, U.S.A.

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*The Bolshevik League
of the United States*

Recent events in Valencia, Spain (of which we speak later) have given conclusive evidence to what has long been suspected: that international opportunism is in deep political crisis and owing to this crisis has adopted the tactics of social-fascism — the violent suppression of criticism of the *line* of international opportunism. This fact has grave implications for the struggle against opportunism and the attempt to rally the Lefts, internationally, to the banner of Leninism. A serious approach to this question must examine 1) where did the tactics of social-fascism spring from? 2) what gives it strength? and 3) how is social-fascism to be combatted?

It would be sheer fallacy for one to conclude that the origins of these social-fascist tactics are to be found merely in the conditions existing in recent years. This shallow approach to the question would negate the fundamental fact that opportunism, principally in the form of centrism, has dominated the "international communist movement" since the death of Stalin and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Further, it would be a mistake to even equate the domination of opportunism internationally with the existence of a communist movement. With the death of Stalin and the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the *only*, socialist country the world has ever known, opportunism was unleashed on a scale previously undreamt of. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union merged the many varieties of existing opportunism (and

increased its number and the variety of its shades) into one torrent of anti-socialist, anti-communist propaganda. This victory of international opportunism could only occur with the assistance and in alliance with, international finance capital, with imperialism. The victory of opportunism did not occur *within* Leninism, but *against* Leninism. To forget, for one moment, this absolute truth, is to perpetuate the idea that within Leninism is contained the seeds of opportunism. This idea is entirely anti-Leninist and constitutes the main propaganda weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie in its battle to further enslave the proletariat to bourgeois liberal labor policy.

This victory of international opportunism was achieved violently — through the forceful suppression of opposition to opportunism — through the tactics of social-fascism. An examination of the events surrounding the removal from their posts (and subsequent disappearance) of a great number of leaders of the Soviet and other communist parties — *leaders who were defenders of Stalin and Bolshevism* — will bear this out. The origins of the present tactics of social-fascism, therefore, are not to be found in recent years; rather they are to be found in the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the subsequent victory of opportunism on a world scale.

Hand in hand with the victory of opportunism internationally, and indispensable to its growth, came the renunciation of Leninist norms of relations between parties, embodied in the infamous 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations. These declarations, signed by eighty-one parties, buried the previously existing Leninist norms of criticism and self-criticism under a mound of dirt known as "fraternal relations." The gist of the matter was to consolidate all of the shades of international opportunism under one banner, to attempt to ensure the impossibility of the rise of Bolshevism through the official renunciation of Leninism. With the complete unanimity expressed in Moscow, in 1957 and 1960 the temporary victory of opportunism was assured.

Soon, however, rifts in the alliance of the opportunist international began. The Moscow leaders demanded complete adherence to their line and economic subordination to their imperialist designs. The rift became a breach when the Chinese leaders demanded the right to develop capitalism in accord to their own bourgeois national interests. It is this fact, and this alone, that enables one to understand the splits and re-splits that have occurred within international opportunism. It is the existence of opportunism *in state power* that characterizes the opportunist international. It is the interests of these bourgeois states, which, given the law of uneven development of capitalism, sets them at loggerheads to one another, and determines the *political* differences that arise among them. In the Soviet Union, China and Albania — to mention only the most prominent "socialist" countries — the bourgeoisie rules under the guise of socialism.

With the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union the world socialist market (of which China

and Albania were members) was surrendered to world capitalism. This was with the blessing and assistance of the social-nationalist leaders of both China (Mao Zedong) and Albania (Enver Hoxha). Try as they did to conceal from the world proletariat the bourgeoisie character of their economies, the present crisis of imperialism has brought this fact out in bold relief. Both Albania and China are thoroughly dependent on the export of capital from imperialist great powers. Both are racked with unemployment (as many as twenty million in China!), both are actively advertising the availability of their natural resources to the imperialist world market, Albania's per capita income is nearing \$400, both are in serious economic straits. In a word, both are governed by the economic laws of capitalism and not of socialism.

Politically, neither is able to conceal any longer the bourgeois nationalist line that is in state power. The theory of "three worlds" to which the Chinese Communist Party is committed is blatant in its collaboration with imperialism and opposition to proletarian revolution. E. Hoxha's recently published diary, *Reflections on China*, is truly a reflection of opportunism all along the line. The shameless attempt on the part of Hoxha to shield with a diary his long standing approval of the line of Mao Zedong in every aspect of political and economic life should be sufficient proof of the bourgeois dealings this social-nationalist has undertaken for forty years.

The international working class must be reminded at every occasion that neither Mao nor Hoxha advanced the slightest opposition to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. That neither uttered a word in protest at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Soviet Party, when the immortal work of Lenin's greatest disciple, J.V. Stalin, was viciously attacked by the agent of world finance capital, N. Krushchev.

Hence our first question, viz., from where did the present tactics of social-fascism employed by the international opportunists arise? is answered by an examination of the significance of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the surrender of the world socialist market to the clutches of world capitalism. On a number of occasions, Stalin spoke of the terrible danger that would befall the *international proletariat* if the restoration of capitalism (for which international imperialism in alliance with Trotskyism was plotting) in the Soviet Union was not prevented. Stalin spoke not merely of the economic dangers, but also, and principally of the *political* dangers that this blackest day would signal. It stands to reason that given the fact that the Soviet Union was not only the bulwark of international socialism economically (and the organization of the world socialist market with the Soviet Union at the head bears this out) but also, the bulwark of communism politically, that restoration would mean the end of the *political* fortress of socialism from which the world-wide proletarian revolution gained its strength. To have abetted this crime of restoration, for which Mao and Hoxha are guilty, is to have abetted

world capitalism in its struggle to tear from the proletariat its socialist fatherland, and hence the base of world socialist revolution.

Thus, both the CPC and PLA, who rose together against the Soviet Union, against Stalin, and against the political and economic base of the world socialist revolution are principals in the victory achieved by international opportunism over the working class movement.

Hence, to answer the second question, viz., where does international opportunism find its strength?, the examination must necessarily lead to the existence in power of various social-nationalist bourgeois parties. International opportunism, through its various state powers, and allied from the beginning with world capitalism, had tremendous means at its disposal to consolidate its victory. International opportunism controlled the international "communist" press, through the Tirana and Peking publishing houses. With vast amounts of capital gained in the exploitation of their proletariat and peasantry, these bases of social-national opportunism financed the organization of various groups in other countries (e.g., the bankrolling of the Revolutionary Union in the U.S. by the CPC, for which concrete evidence has been unearthed).

With the assistance of the bourgeoisie (certainly its most "enlightened" sections) in the capitalist countries, these opportunist groups were given every forum from which to express their programmes of reform, while every embryonic murmur of Bolshevism was ruthlessly persecuted and crushed. Mao's Red Book (which was more read than red!) became a favorite with the petty bourgeoisie, as the works of Lenin and Stalin virtually disappeared in the vaults and archives of Moscow, Tirana and Peking — all these are facts. Anyone who denies the undeniable link between the opportunists in state power and the spread of opportunism internationally must be blinded by the striving to assist the bourgeoisie in the spread of anti-communism.

A similar situation existed after the outbreak of the First World War and the turn to the shelter of the bourgeoisie by Kautsky, Plekhanov and others. Lenin chronicled the worth of these opportunists to the bourgeoisie when he said in response to the question, wherein lies the strength of opportunism?

"It is because behind Sudekum are the bourgeoisie, the government, and the General Staff of a Great Power. These support Sudekum's policy in a thousand ways, whereas his opponents' policy is frustrated by every means including prison and the firing squad. Sudekum's voice reaches the public in millions of copies of bourgeois newspapers (as do the voices of Vandervelde, Sembat, and Plekhanov), whereas the voices of his opponents cannot be heard in the legal press because of the military censorship!" ("The Collapse of the Second International," LCW 21:247, Moscow, 1974)

Does not the voice of Mao (and even Hoxha) reach the public in millions of copies? But enough!

The events in Spain which we mentioned in the beginning must now receive our attention, for it strikingly portrays the damage done by the international opportunists in the sphere of international relations.

The recently concluded "Third International Youth Camp" held in Valencia, Spain, marked another chapter in the disgraceful annals of the relations existing within the so-called International Communist Movement. This event represented in detailed expression the complete absence of Marxist-Leninist norms among a section of those labelling themselves Marxist-Leninist. The result of this Camp was a communique, signed by eleven parties or organizations, alleging "agent provocateur" activity on the part of other parties and organizations, allegations made to stifle criticism. This is the only conclusion that can be drawn by a thinking person, certainly by any who consider themselves Marxist-Leninist. The baselessness of the charges, the complete lack of evidence corroborating them (and none has been brought forth) and the utter lack of principle exhibited by the eleven signees give ample reason to draw from this sordid affair the conclusion that an attempt was made to *forcefully* stifle debate and discussion on questions vital to International Communism. This, and only this, interpretation stands up to the scrutiny required by Marxism-Leninism. It has long been the practice of opportunism to abdicate political debate in favor of charges of "provocateur" activity, precisely (and only precisely!) against those with whom they disagree for whatever reason.

Centrism is a political trend of bourgeois thought (and clearly of bourgeois relations) which has cunningly concealed its true programme, its true politics, behind the label of "Marxism-Leninism." Centrism disdains to reveal its views, while Communism disdains to conceal its views. Stalin referred to the characteristic fact that centrism seeks to bury differences, while attempting to reconcile Marxism to opportunism. The Youth Camp Communique signed by the eleven parties and organizations clearly sought to bury differences that had arisen among the attending groups. Further, it mentioned not a single word of the political positions advanced by those labelled "provocateurs" and in fact shed absolutely no light on the questions around which the beginnings of debate had been attempted.

To evoke the title Marxist-Leninist requires more than mere bestowal of such a title by its bearer. It requires, if one is a true communist, and not simply a petty bourgeois philistine, the adherence to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. And the strictest adherence, at that. But, one must ask; "Where in these teachings have these people who have paraded as Marxist-Leninists found any such writings that would compel them to act in such a philistine, bourgeois, and social-fascist manner?" Obviously they have not found any sources in

the works of Marxism-Leninism that could compel to resort to such activity. Only the worst scoundrel could so lightly trample on Communist principles and in exchange substitute social-fascist activity. The source of the utter betrayal of Marxist-Leninist norms by these scoundrels is in fact the *opposition* to Marxism-Leninism, and the *centrist opposition* in particular. One cannot forget with what rabid hatred Kautsky (father of centrism) attacked Lenin and the Bolsheviks with slanders of "provocateur," etc. One would be foolhardy to forget that Trotsky was for many years a foremost representative of centrism and life-long opponent of Marxism-Leninism. Are the activities and slanders carried out by Kautsky and Trotsky any different than those pursued by the centrists of the "International Youth Camp" Communique? Not at all. The aim is to prohibit debate, whether "peacefully" or through forceful means — in either case it remains nothing less than the undemocratic and unprincipled maneuver of social-fascism.

In order to shed light on the difference between principles guiding true Marxist-Leninists and the lack of them guiding their opponents, we must review the history (though briefly) of the norms of international relations of Marxism-Leninism.

I. Marx, Engels and the First International Working Men's Association

Since Marx and Engels founded scientific socialism, the matter of international norms governing the relations between various parties and organizations has been a serious problem among the class conscious workers. Marx took it upon himself, first in the Communist League (whose *Manifesto* is the classic of the foundation of Communism), and later in the First International Working Men's Association, to elaborate the theory and demonstrate the practice of principled norms among the proletarian parties.

To formulate the matter from the scientific standpoint, i.e. from the standpoint of the relations between classes in modern society, one must demarcate between the proletarian and bourgeois positions on the question of relations between parties and organizations internationally. It is widely known that the "norms" of bourgeois parties are characterized by unprincipled relations between one another — that they lie, slander and accuse each other of various maneuvers unceasingly. This is true not only of the "official" bourgeois parties, but of the "unofficial," or "socialist" (now "Marxist-Leninist") parties as well. At the same time, they seek to stifle any opposition (from within or without) of their favoured policies. Debate remains confined within clearly set limits, and any voice raised outside these "accepted" limits is ruthlessly silenced. That is the norm among bourgeois parties, of whatever title.

The proletarian parties, on the other hand, were nurtured under the tutelage of Marx and Engels to employ fundamentally different norms.

They were raised to debate, to discuss, to criticize and to do so in an atmosphere free of intimidation and abuse. And precisely because to the class conscious workers socialism is a serious conviction, debate and polemics must be insisted upon, criticism and self-criticism demanded. This was the central theme of Marx and Engels on International norms. No one was above reproach, no one eternally free of criticism. And the nine-year history of the First International Working Men's Association bears this out more clearly than we can. This first International Communist organization itself demanded the strictest adherence to the norms of debate and discussion. Marx and Engels were staunch opponents of sweet (or bittersweet!) phrases designed to lull one to sleep for the impending attack under cover of darkness.

Polemics, debate, discussion — this characterized the relations between proletarians of Marx and Engels time.

II. Lenin, the Collapse of the Second International and the Birth of the Third International

Engels took to directing the Second International at its founding in 1889. Under Engels and Kautsky's (when Kautsky was still a Marxist) guidance the Second International prepared the groundwork necessary for the passing from the "peaceful" period of preparation of the proletariat for revolutionary action to the period of onslaught against capital. The Second International has a definite place in Communist History in this regard but after Engels' death lost all prestige and authority when, during and just before the First Imperialist World War, Kautsky and other renegades departed completely from revolutionary Marxism and adapted themselves and the policies of the International to the bourgeoisie. Pursuing a union with the outright social-chauvinist agents of the bourgeoisie, Kautsky and Co. deserted not only Marxist politics, but Marxist norms as well. Intrigue and unfounded slanders occupied the writings and speeches of the centrist Kautsky on the question of the revolutionary Marxist parties (and the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, principally).

As a result of departing from revolutionary Marxism in politics, departure from Marxist to bourgeois relations in the international arena ensued. There cannot be one without the other.

It fell to Lenin and the Bolsheviks to demarcate from the politics and activities of the degenerate Second International and to chart the path for the re-establishment of revolutionary Marxist norms in international relations. The pursuit of open polemics and debate was of the greatest importance to Lenin. His works *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, *How the Spark was Nearly Extinguished*, *The Collapse of the Second International*, and many others demonstrated with great clarity his abhorrence of silences on matters of principles. The series of writings on the mistakes of Rosa Luxemburgers (*Critical Remarks on the National Ques-*

tion, etc.) show with what dispassionate precision he criticized the mistakes of comrades deviating from the Marxist path. Lenin was an advocate of open debate, of criticism and self-criticism of one's mistakes, and the honest recitification of errors. He was an opponent of silence, of slander, of unfounded charges, and intrigue.

Lenin directed the Communists to debate openly and in a principled manner not out of any petty bourgeois sense of morality, for this was entirely alien to him; he demanded it in order that one be able to judge how deep are the disagreements, how real the unity, and how great the conviction. Toy forms of democracy were a favorite enemy of Lenin; while principle and honesty in politics were the epitome of his life and work. This legacy he left Stalin to carry forth in the Third International.

III. Stalin, Opponent of Intrigue and Defender of Leninist Norms

After Lenin's death, the task not only of directing the construction of socialism in the young Soviet Republic, but also of defending Leninist norms in the Comintern (Third International) fell to Lenin's immensely capable comrade-in-arms Stalin. The norms of international relations between parties of the proletariat had already been tested in the course of seven decades, but they were to receive perhaps their greatest test in the years of the Comintern. The Dictatorship of the proletariat in USSR was under constant attack with salvos launched almost daily from the pens of the opportunists and from the guns and explosives of the Trotskyite spies. In a time of such grave peril, it is a task of true brilliance and generalship to be able, not only to preserve, but also to expand the norms of Marxism-Leninism in international relations. Ruthless and calculated struggle against all forms of opportunism, the painstaking correction of deviations within the Bolshevik Party and Comintern, and all the while exhibiting the greatest principle in relations — such was the work of Stalin. Leninist norms flow from Leninist politics. This cannot be denied and it fell to Stalin, the truest Leninist politician, to defend these norms to the end.

Did Stalin dream of haranguing the world with talk of 'one single Marxist-Leninist line...'? Of course not! Only a philistine dreamer can talk so cheaply. Stalin outlined the existence of two lines in the Bolshevik Party, the line of the Party and the line of an opportunist bloc. Not merely did he outline the existence of another line than that of the Party, but he fought against it with all the strength and means at his disposal. Is this to say that Stalin did not fight for one monolithic line within the party? Of course not. It was precisely because he did fight for the one line of Leninism within the party, precisely because he was the greatest defender of the one Leninist line, that he waged a ruthless struggle against all anti-Leninist lines and blocs. Did Stalin dismiss opportunism with a wave of the hand? Of course not. This would be disgraceful

for a Leninist. The type of activity that is carried on in the international communist movement today is a disgrace. It is shameful that under the stolen banner of Leninist norms are grouped parties and organizations (such as the eleven Communique signees) who seek to drag this banner through the mud with their unfounded and unprincipled charges.

Such, in brief, is the history of the birth and development of the Leninist norms governing the relations among true communists. The disgraceful state of present relations stems from the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the "official" renunciation of Leninism in Moscow in 1957 and 1960.

IV. The Renunciation of Leninism: the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations

This is not the place to discuss the utterly disastrous and tragic consequences of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, an occurrence that would signal, according to Stalin, the blackest day in the struggle of the international proletariat (take note, all who sigh about "temporary setbacks," "tactical defeat," etc.).

But what must be said is that with the darkening of the clouds over the heads of the proletarians, certain charlatans came forth to capitalize (yes, capitalize!) on this blackest of days.

Grovelling before the dictates of Krushchev and Co., every existing, "official" communist or workers (?) party, without exception was a partner to the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations which marked the renunciation of Leninist norms in international relations, and the institution of unprincipled, philistine social-nationalist maneuvering on the part of all of the signees. "Fraternal relations" substituted for criticism and self-criticism. "Non-interference in the internal affairs of fraternal parties" substituted for open debate and polemics. And slavish worship of revisionism and the bourgeoisie was substituted for class struggle against them. One must comprehend the significance of these revisions of major importance if one is to comprehend the present horrifying state of affairs in international relations.

The Leninist theses of judging parties not by their high sounding phrases but by their deeds is well known among not only the Communists, but the opportunists themselves. For this reason the opportunists are sometimes hard pressed to conceal their deeds behind revolutionary phrases, and when this occurs they are not averse to actually bringing words into correspondence with their unprincipled deeds. Such are the words of the Moscow Declarations.

It does not require genius to see that the existence of practiced Leninist norms in international relations is of great danger to opportunism. Norms based on principle greatly hamper the sabotage of the proletarian revolution, to which all opportunism is committed. The schemes of international opportunism, (whether social-chauvinist or centrist, it matters little) are served by the stifling of debate, the "conspiracy of

silence" to which Lenin, in his time was so opposed. It is a question of training and educating the class conscious workers with the ability to recognize and hence, drive from the workers' ranks, open or concealed class enemies. It is a matter of the firmest principle that Marxism-Leninism carry on this training and education for without its success the achievement of power by the proletariat is a pious wish.

Is it defensible to assert that the signing and carrying out of the Moscow Declarations represented a conspiracy on the part of international opportunism? We think it most definitely is. Who among the signees of these declarations has raised a voice (after sufficient time to "find" a "lost" head) against them? The answer is obvious. We need only look at perhaps the most flagrant violation of Leninist norms communism has known as illustration of our allegations.

The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania were both co-signers (co-conspirators?) to the Moscow Declarations. They have both been "exemplary" in carrying them forth. Their "fraternal" relations over the past eighteen to twenty years must then be of some significance in this matter.

Everyone recognizes that with the so-called Sino Soviet split the CPC and PLA played the major roles in the leadership of the "anti-revisionist communist movement" internationally. And it is no secret that with the break in relations between China and Albania two trends of opportunism have once again come to plague the communist movement. That China and those who support its "three worlds theory" have openly lined up in the U.S. — led bloc of imperialism, is by now no great revelation. But that Albania and all who support its "two superpowers" theory have more covertly lined up in the Russian — led bloc of imperialism is a great revelation. It is significant precisely because it is a number of PLA — cloned parties who signed the Youth Camp Communique, and significant secondly, because it was the PLA who since 1935 (according to Hoxha*) knew that Mao Zedong was an opportunist and yet conspired to hide this fact from the proletariat, who suffered (and continues to suffer) great pains at the hands of Mao's "thought."

Far from applauding Hoxha and the PLA for their belated exposé of Mao, we condemn them as the social-nationalist conspirators they have (belatedly) proven to be. Yes, Hoxha "reflects" on Mao's revisionism, but he conceals his own sympathy for all of the Maoist policies and ideas that proved so beneficial in the fifteen or so years of Chinese export of capital to backward Albania. The CPC-PLA relations are an example of the banality and defense of opportunist norms that have resulted since the Moscow Declarations.

*See Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, for a crude and blockhead attempt to disengage what has been engaged for twenty years, viz, CPC and PLA conspiracy to bring the proletariat under the wing of social-nationalism.

The tactics of the proponents of the theory of "three worlds" and the self-proclaimed "opponents" of this theory have now merged. This is not surprising when one considers the perilous position in which the bourgeois social-nationalists in China and Albania find themselves, and the increasing difficulty they have in portraying their countries as "socialist." The activities of their counterparts in other countries (the pro-"three worldists" and the pro-"two superpowers" adherents) represent the actions of rats swimming towards a sinking ship.

Anyone who is capable of serious thought will be able to verify the relationship between the political crisis affecting the social-nationalist parties in state power and the emergence of social-fascist tactics on the part of their defenders in order to conceal the bourgeois nature of these "socialist" countries. This is the essence of the matter. To fail to understand the significance of this relationship is to fail to understand the significance of "fraternal relations" among the opportunists. Opportunism internationally has been nurtured since the death of Stalin, by revisionism in state power. The existence of a number of so-called proletarian parties in each imperialist country is directly related to the revisionist parties in state power and their need to secure support for their policies and alliances. There are no countries free from the imperialist blocs, no countries outside the struggle for redivision of the world that drives the great powers towards war — and certainly the alliance of China and the U.S., Albania and Russia, require an explanation (and a great deal of sophistry) in the eyes of the class conscious proletarians. Albania, China and the bourgeois governments of the imperialist great powers to which they are respectively allied desire the continued portrayal of these two countries as socialist, in order to deceive the workers with bourgeois social-nationalism.

Advocacy of class collaboration; abandonment of the idea of socialist revolution and revolutionary methods of struggle; renunciation of the class viewpoint and the class struggle, for fear of alienating the "broad masses," the "progressive peoples" (meaning the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeois nationalists); advocacy of social-pacifism or instigation of war; renunciation of Leninist norms and the crushing of criticism and debate — such, undoubtedly, are the political foundations of social-nationalism.

One can well understand why the opportunists are so fearful of exposure of their political line, of the deception they pass off as socialism and communism, and why they engage in the social-fascist quelling of any opposition. The collapse of the international communist movement is a fact — it has been replaced with an international association of opportunism. This fact has been proved through the polemics and is confirmed by the Youth Camp affair. Attempts by the centrists to cover up this collapse represent the further maneuvers of opportunism — the further striving to subordinate the Lefts within their opportunist "International."

It is time that the Lefts in each country deliver a resolute rebuff to the centrists. It is time to come out against social-fascism and the social-nationalism that nurtures and harbors it.

The Bolsheviks must pay heed to Lenin's words:

"The social-nationalists do not call themselves, and do not admit to being, social-nationalists. They are lending, and are compelled to lend, every effort to hide behind a pseudonym, to throw dust in the eyes of the working masses, to cover up the traces of their links with opportunism, to conceal their betrayal, i.e., their having gone over in fact to the side of the bourgeoisie, and their alliance with the governments and the General Staffs. Grounding themselves on this alliance, and in control of all the important positions, the social-nationalists are, more than anybody else, clamouring for "unity" between the Social-Democratic parties and levelling the accusation of splitting tendencies, against all these who are opposed to opportunism" ("The Collapse of Platonic Internationalism," LCW 21:195, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1974 edition).

It remains for us to answer the question of how to combat this social-fascist trend. Clearly the Bolsheviks must not combat them through falling prey to the provocation they exhibit. To do this would only play into their hands. To do this would reflect a failure to understand the balance of forces and the alliance of the social-fascists with the bourgeoisie.

To combat social-fascism, other, more mundane, but infinitely more revolutionary methods are required. Within the Bolshevik and Left press there must appear frequent and biting exposures of the activities of the social-fascists, the line of international opportunism and its various trends — the Bolshevik and Left press must further the exposure of the links between the social-fascist parties and groups in the various countries and the social-nationalist parties in state power that have raised and nurtured them. We must expose the alliance of these parties and groups with their "own" bourgeoisie, their General Staffs, and their political police. We must denounce the activities of opportunism, of all shades, within the workers movement, and among the movements of the oppressed nations, colonies and semi-colonies.

We must in all of this, not forget our pressing duty to construct truly revolutionary Bolshevik Parties in each country, Parties able to rally the vanguard of the proletariat to their banner, the banner of Leninism. It is a long and bitter struggle that lies before us — one that requires the utmost in perseverance and attentiveness to detail — one that requires the firmest adherence to Leninism.

We wish to express our sincerest support for the proposal by the Bolshevik Union of Canada for the publishing of an international journal of correspondence, a forum in which the voice against international opportunism will increasingly be heard. To break the grip of opportunism it is

required to breach the wall of silence, the absence of Leninist norms that characterize the opportunist international. Let us be clear, we cannot confine ourselves to demanding the institution of Leninist norms, we must go beyond the point of demanding this, to the actual defense of Leninist norms in deeds. This is the service that *International Correspondence* performs. It is for this that we raise our pens.

Post Script:

One of the eleven signees of the "Youth Camp Communique" is an American opportunist party the Communist Party, USA(M-L). The truest expression of internationalism is the struggle to overthrow the bourgeois order in ones' "own" country and by so doing, give the greatest assistance to the revolution world-wide. A precondition for this struggle for state power by the proletariat is the defeat of opportunism in the working class movement in each country. Therefore, we must pay particular care to the defeat of the CPUSA(M-L) within the American workers movement a task to which we are duty committed. Hence, in the pages of our monthly periodical, *Bolshevik Revolution*, we will concentrate our attack on opportunism further in regard to CPUSA(M-L); however, we saw little to be gained from a separation of this party's activities at the "Youth Camp" from that of all others, and for reasons of length and deadline did not give a detailed examination of this party.

Written for
International Correspondence

THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM AND THE COMMUNIST TASKS

OCML Eugène Varlin

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE MAIN REFORMIST CURRENTS

1. The worsening of the general crisis of imperialism is gathering the factors for a revolutionary crisis in a great number of countries, and in particular in the imperialist metropolises.

To enlighten the proletariat as to the nearness of a revolutionary crisis, prepare it to take advantage of the difficulties of its bourgeoisie to overthrow it, such is the international task of communists.

Because of the fact of unequal development peculiar to capitalism, which is even more marked in the era of imperialism, the maturing of the revolutionary crisis is coming about at different speeds, according to the countries. Thus, in 1974-75 Portugal already went through a revolutionary period in which the proletariat, because of the fact of the domination of reformists, was still too weak to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Even more, to such an extent can several decades of reformist domination leave its mark, that only a minority of workers became aware of the necessity for proletarian revolution, even among the workers who are most devoted to the interests of their class. Thus, the proletariat has lost the first battle; but the difficulties of the bourgeoisie remain, and a new revolutionary rise is inevitable in the near future. The last few years have seen develop, moreover, a whole series of revolutionary movements — such as in Poland, in Iran, in Egypt, in Tunisia, in Nicaragua, etc — while in the countries of southern Europe most especially, the bourgeoisies are meeting growing difficulties in ruling.

But at the same time that the factors for revolution are growing at the international level, the danger of a third imperialist world war is becoming clearer, as a product of the rivalry of the two large blocs of imperialist powers for the division of the world.

Such is the situation which the international proletariat must face, and which it must take advantage of to realize the socialist revolution.

The proletariat is not, at the present time, prepared for this task. In its vast majority, it is not aware of the necessity for the proletarian revolution to put an end to all the ills of imperialism and to ward off the world war which is in preparation. The blame for this goes to the reformist parties, and in particular the revisionist parties which, starting before the second world war, had betrayed the socialist revolution, and which have been playing since that epoch the role of assistants of the bourgeoisie in turning the working class away from revolution. The fact that this current developed at the international level, that all its essential characteristics are found from one country to another, proves that there is nothing haphazard about its development. *It has found support in the petty-bourgeoisie and the labour aristocracy, which make themselves the vehicle of bourgeois influence over the proletariat.* The economic base of the alliance of these strata with their bourgeoisie is the imperialist superprofits that their bourgeoisie draws from the exploitation of the international proletariat and the plunder of the backward countries; its political base is the many advantages that the bourgeoisie grants them within its political apparatus, through bodies and institutions of all sorts. If these strata oppose the unity of the international working class and the socialist revolution, this isn't the result of chance, therefore, it is the result of their dependence with regard to the bourgeoisie. The "struggle" that they wage against the bourgeoisie only touches on minor points, it aims at the maintenance and reinforcement of their privileges compared to the mass of workers: on any question in the least important, they bring their support to the bourgeoisie. In particular, in any period of acute crisis, they show themselves, as history has shown several times, to be the open allies of the entire united bourgeoisie, the reformist parties then appearing as the extreme left of bourgeois democracy.

Far from constituting a legitimate tendency within the workers' movement,

"opportunists...are alien to the proletariat as a class,...are the servants, the agents of the bourgeoisie and the vehicles of its influence, and unless the labour movement rids itself of them, it will remain a bourgeois labour movement" (Lenin: "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", vol. 23, p. 111).

2. Today, beyond the nuances, the inevitable divergences in detail, the reformists of all stripes are counterposing to imperialism and its crisis the path of economic and democratic

reforms.

This is the path of "advanced democracy" or of the "historic compromise" preached by the European revisionist parties; it is, in its anarcho-syndicalist variant, the "path of struggle" dear to the petty-bourgeois democrats. In all cases, the reformists set as an aim for the working class, partial reforms of imperialism, which are supposed to "make the capitalists pay for the crisis" in the present and guarantee for tomorrow the most convenient, the most practical transition possible to socialism. Far from enlightening the working class as to the existence or the nearness of a revolutionary situation, far from setting for it as an immediate task the socialist revolution, the reformists call the working class to fight for the minimum, so as to wrench from the bourgeoisie a few meagre concessions. *With the entire contents of their propaganda, with their slogans, with their tactics, they obscure the consciousness of the proletariat, they weaken its combativity, they politically subordinate it to the bourgeoisie.* They don't call on the proletariat to annihilate the bourgeois power; on the contrary, they preach conciliation to it, all the while indulging, behind its back, in making deals big and small with the bourgeoisie; the reformists thus play the role of firemen in the revolution. Faced with the rise of the revolutionary movement, they help to dupe and corrupt the workers by means of reforms or promises of reforms. And when the revolutionary crisis bursts out, they play off reformism against revolution, all the while calling on the bourgeoisie to repress the revolutionary workers (even repressing them themselves). That the reformists are capable of counter-revolutionary violence (and even that they are inevitably led to it in certain circumstances), is not understood by those who think that "the reformists are better than the conservatives, all the same", who say, in France for example, that "Mitterand is better than Giscard because he would improve the situation of the working class." These people don't understand that reformism is a policy of the bourgeoisie, that seeks to dupe the less conscious elements of the working class and exploited masses: that is why reformism does not exclude violence against the revolutionary and conscious elements of the proletariat, on the contrary, this is necessary for it. That is also why any "conservative" party can on occasion make itself "reformist" if circumstances bring it to government at a moment when the interests of the bourgeoisie are pushing this class to concede reforms to the proletariat.

3. Revolutionary tactics, on the contrary, always put in first place the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power, it seeks to raise the consciousness, the cohesiveness, the firmness of the proletariat. It is on this condition only that one can neutralize the corrupting effects of the reforms conceded by the bourgeoisie. Because any reform must be considered from two perspectives:

- 1) as a possible "stage" in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie;
- 2) as a possible "stage" in the liquidation of the revolution.

Slogans and revolutionary tactics have as their aim to increase the political independence, the consciousness and the organization of the proletariat, and thus draw forward its movement toward revolution.

Revolutionaries do not consider reforms as an end in themselves, but as a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. This general truth is particularly topical today when the crisis is accentuating the spontaneous movement of the working class. For the bourgeoisie, all the while using repression against it, will try its utmost to isolate it by cleverly using reformist demagogy, and in this policy, it will receive the assistance of the reformists from all sides!

Against the main slogans of the reformists — from "advanced democracy" to the "path of struggles" — we must put forward as the slogan "IMMEDIATE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION". Only this slogan clearly indicates the aim: socialism, at the same time as the means of reaching it: the revolutionary path. It is not surprising, in these conditions, that the quasi-totality of the reformists, in spite of the disagreements that they have among themselves, are in agreement in rejecting this slogan.

4. At the same time that the factors of a revolutionary crisis are growing in a large number of countries, the danger of a third imperialist world war is growing. Inevitably, reformism shows itself here in the form of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois social-chauvinism and pacifism — which, moreover often go together. Here again, beyond national particularities, one finds almost the same currents from one country to another. The strongest current, the most influential in the working class is far and away made up of the revisionist parties. These parties defend openly social-chauvinist positions, they see themselves as the best defenders of their "national" imperialism. They actively support the war preparations of their bourgeoisie under cover of the struggle "for national independence", camouflaging their politics beneath pacifist demagogy about "detente" and about "disarmament".

A reputed "eurocommunist" current has recently appeared within the international revisionist current. At bottom the theses of the "eurocommunist" parties are nothing very new. At the theoretical level, it is the return, pure and simple, to within a few details to the revisionist concepts that Lenin has already fought against. On the practical level, "eurocommunism" expresses an acceleration of the degeneration of the revisionist parties, a tendency to merge with social-democracy — which is taking place against multiple contradictions. If "eurocommunism" has aroused such keen interest among the bourgeois journalists, this is not merely a question of fashion.

This results above all from the evolution of the economic and political crisis in the countries of Southern Europe, which has placed the revisionist parties in the foreground. Very concretely, the bourgeoisie has been faced with a problem: the prospect of seeing the revisionist parties accede to the government in the near future and, in a more general way, the necessity of facing, in the best possible circumstances, revolutionary situations capable of materializing rapidly. From which results the multiplicity, the intensification of pressure by the bourgeoisie, often by the intermediary of the "socialist" parties, in order to subordinate more closely the revisionist parties, to change them into docile tools, in one word, to make of them "responsible" parties, parties "without surprises". This policy is slowly bearing fruit. In fact it is helped by the changes that have slowly come about in the social composition of the revisionist parties. The petty-bourgeois element — more specifically the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia — finds a larger and larger place there, plays a more and more decisive role there. One can see this today within the PCF, which is shouting most insistently for the party to abandon Marxism-Leninism right down to the last references, for it to change itself into an organization similar in all respects to the social-democratic parties.

The degeneration of the revisionist parties is so advanced that one today could not call them "opportunist" parties or "petty-bourgeois democratic" parties. Of course, they still rely mainly on the petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy, and not on a supposed "new bourgeoisie", but their integration within bourgeois democracy, their domestication by the bourgeoisie, are such that they will from now on defend a bourgeois policy that is relatively consistent and coherent in all areas.

In proportion as they change themselves into "government parties", they embrace more closely the interests, the alliances, the point of view of their national bourgeoisie on all the important questions — as is shown in an almost caricature — like manner by the development of the Italian CP for several years.

5. Petty-bourgeois democracy has the same social base as the revisionist parties, and it develops politics which are just as reformist. It appears in the form of a more radical reformism, proposing to support the economic and democratic struggles of the proletariat, putting forward, in the face of the crisis of imperialism, "solutions" that often take on a utopian character (thus, for example, in France "Lutte Ouvriere" claims to be able to eliminate unemployment without overthrowing capitalism simply by forcing the bosses to shorten the work week!) On the national question and on the question of war, it defends a typically petty-bourgeois nationalist point of view. This is the trait common to all the petty-bourgeois democratic organizations, beyond the differences which appear in their attitude toward the third world war in preparation.

One can see in this current, two widespread tendencies which are found in all the countries.

A first tendency is openly social-chauvinist.

It is essentially represented by the so-called "Marxist-Leninist" organizations that support the theory of "three worlds" of the Chinese Communist Party. In the name of a supposed united front against the two superpowers, of whose rivalry Europe would be the focal point, this theory call on the reactionary European bourgeoisies to unite "against" them, and it binds the proletariats of these countries to support the struggle of their bourgeoisie for "national independence", and even to support American imperialism which is "less aggressive"(!) than the social-imperialism of the USSR (in the same way, moreover, that this theory buries the struggle for the democratic and socialist revolution in the countries of the "third world"). Under the pretext of opposing the "main enemy" which consists of the USSR and of struggling against its "imperialist aims", the CPC and its "Marxist-Leninist" followers noisily support and encourage the military preparations of the western bourgeoisies, they call on them to develop their militarism, they applaud the imperialist wars that they are waging in Africa and in the whole world.

In France, these positions are defended by "Humanite Rouge" (PML-HR), the "Revolutionary Communist Party" (PCR) and the "Communist Organization of France" (OCF), the essence of whose activity consists in putting out militarist and chauvinist propaganda. The degeneration of these organizations reaches such a degree that, here and now they appear objectively as appendages of the military general staff of the bourgeoisie whose Marxist phraseology and support for the economic struggles of the workers only aims to preserve the very weak influence that they have in the working class.

6. The second tendency within petty-bourgeoisie democracy puts forward pacifist positions.

Its war cry, if one can put it that way, is the struggle "for peace." It is represented by the trotskyite groups and the international "Marxist-Leninist" current grouped around the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA). The theses of the PLA sum up well enough the petty-bourgeois nationalist content of the opposition of these organizations to imperialism and war. Thus, on the question of Europe, one can read in the report of Enver Hoxha to the 7th Congress:

"In fact, the creation of the United States of Europe is meant to eliminate the notion of nationality in various European countries, to integrate and amalgamate their culture and tradition, in other words, to do away with the individuality of the peoples and states of Western Europe under the management of the cosmopolitan reactionary bourgeoisie of this continent" (S Nentori, pp. 171-72).

This passage irresistably brings to mind the slogan of "cultural national autonomy" put

forward at the beginning of the century by the social-democratic parties of certain oppressed nations of Central Europe and Russia, saturated with the nationalism of "their" bourgeoisie, a slogan against which Lenin never stopped firmly fighting because it opposed the unity of the international proletariat. *The proletariat, in fact, does not set for itself the aim of the "preservation of the idea of nationality", but the voluntary merger of nations, on the basis of the unity of the international proletariat. It does not defend "the culture and the traditions of the peoples" in general, which are nothing but the culture and the traditions of the ruling class — that is, the bourgeoisie — it defends only the democratic and socialist elements present in each national culture, which is something completely different. And its struggle against a United Europe cannot be led in the name of whatever "national" or "democratic" task, but in the name of the socialist revolution against the international bourgeoisie.*

The PLA advances the thesis that "the two superpowers, to the same degree and to the same extents, represent the enemy for socialism and the freedom and independence of the nations, the greatest force defending exploiting systems, the direct danger that mankind will be hurled into a third world war" ("The theory and Practice of the Revolution," p. 29).

This thesis, which distinguishes itself from that of the CPC only by the fact that it recognizes two "main enemies" — the two superpowers — instead of a single one — social-imperialism — is profoundly opportunist.

It embellishes, in fact, the world bourgeoisie, in particular that of the imperialist metropolises of the second rank: under the pretext that they are less powerful (an incontestable quantitative difference), it tends to present them as being less reactionary, less opposed to socialism and to the national independence of the oppressed nations. The interference of German imperialism in the Portugese revolution, the imperialist wars that French imperialism is waging in Africa, the reinforcement of police cooperation between the different European bourgeoisies — to take only these examples — shows that the counter-revolutionary international unity of the bourgeoisie is a fact.

There is, besides, in this thesis of the PLA, the idea that the proletariat could overthrow world imperialism by weakening it progressively, gradually, and that for this it could agree to political alliances encompassing certain elements of the bourgeoisie and even the "pacifist" bourgeoisies of certain imperialist countries. A step which is taken, moreover, by the PLA, which sets for the European proletariat national tasks:

"The European people can assure their security only by reinforcing their independence and their national sovereignty through a resolute struggle against the political hegemony of the USA and the Soviet Union, against their efforts to maintain their military bases and their zones of influence in Europe, against their efforts to maintain the status quo" (Our translation, no reference given - IC).

And for this, the PLA advocates the alliance of the proletariat with all the "patriots"!

In case of imperialist war, this same nationalist point of view expresses itself, with the PLA, by the slogan of transforming this imperialist war into a "liberation war," which puts on the same level the capitalist countries and the countries that have not yet accomplished their democratic revolution. This is to negate the specific tasks of the international proletariat, which has as its aim to *prepare civil war against the international bourgeoisie*; but at no time is this question raised in the report of Enver Hoxha!

The present pacifism of petty-bourgeois democracy will transform itself, in fact, tomorrow, if imperialist war breaks out, into social-chauvinism, as is shown by the historical experience of the workers' movement during the first and second world wars. This is not surprising, since any political attitude, insofar as it reflects the well-defined class concepts of society, and not simply the fluctuations and hesitations of unstable groups of intellectuals — and this is incontestably the case for the pacifism of the petty-bourgeoisie — conforms to a well-determined internal logic. Thus it is that in certain circumstances, if "its" country is "aggressed" against, or if it is "invaded," etc..., the pacifism of the petty-bourgeoisie inevitably changes into chauvinism. As for the rest, even the arguments that are today used by the opportunists such as the French group "Pour le Parti-Voie Proletarienne" (PLP-VP) to justify their struggle "for peace", foretells of such a development.

This tendency reflects wonderfully the attitude of the petty-bourgeoisie frightened by the horrors of war, and which dreams of going backwards, towards the past, toward the "happy" era when imperialism was developing in a relatively peaceful way in the metropolises, without major crisis, without danger of imperialist world war. Utopian wishes, of course, but the proletariat must shun like the plague the petty-bourgeois democratic illusions, which can only weaken its struggle, turn it away from its truly proletarian objectives.

It would be an extremely serious error to abandon our struggle against this tendency, under the pretext that it would be necessary "to isolate the main enemy," namely the open social-chauvinists, the defenders of the theory of "three worlds." This would be to take no account of the versatility of opportunism, its capacity to adapt, to change rapidly from one form to another in accordance with circumstances; it would be to limit criticism to one particular form of opportunism, while all the opportunist nuances, which can be seen to flourish and spread in an infinite number of varieties, have a common theoretical basis and the same results today at the political level: to keep the working class, and foremost the vanguard workers, under the influence of reformism. It is normal that the great diversity of situations within petty-bourgeois democracy

causes, within the latter, numerous hesitations, short-lived differences, differences of opinion. The fact that disagreements appear between the declared social-chauvinists who, from now on, have it in their hearts to actively defend their imperialism, and other groups — just as reformist as the former in the whole of their activity — who today fight "for peace" like petty bourgeois pacifists and who will wait for the unleashing of imperialist war to call for "defense of the fatherland" under the pretext that it has been "invaded," "aggressed against," etc... — there is nothing surprising about these disagreements, and it would be a mistake for the proletariat to bring to the forefront these secondary divergences, to make of them, the criterion, or the "touchstone" for distinguishing opportunism from Marxism-Leninism.

The communists, on the contrary, must do everything so that the struggle against war raises the level of socialist consciousness and organization of the workers, and thus contributes to the preparation of the socialist revolution. And if the proletarian revolution cannot avert the third imperialist world war, then the slogan of communists will be: **TURN THE IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE!**

7. It is clear that the petty-bourgeois pacifist current which claims to be Marxist-Leninist is not distinguished by very much from the trotskyite current: it has the same petty-bourgeois social base, the same ideological conceptions, their disagreements are purely tactical; the great firmness, at least in appearance, of the supposed Marxist-Leninists with regard to the revisionist parties, results to a large degree from their numerical weakness, to their present inability to have any weight in political life. And again, this firmness is only relative: Did not "Pour le Parti-Voie Proletarienne," for example, call for a vote in favor of the parties of the "left," the Parti Communiste Francais and the Parti Socialiste, in the French legislative elections of 1978, adopting on that occasion the same position as "Lutte Ouvriere" and the "Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire" (and, almost, the same arguments)? Besides, is it not significant that these opportunists who call themselves Marxist-Leninists are weak and encounter the most difficulties in developing precisely in those countries where trotskyite groups have some influence? That is why it would be profoundly mistaken to put up in our polemics a Chinese wall between trotskyites and supposed "Marxist-Leninists" for the sole reason that these latter claim to be Marxist-Leninist: this would be to extend a privilege to the label compared to the essential thing, that is, the political line.

The petty-bourgeois pacifist current which claims to be Marxist-Leninist itself lacks homogeneity, apart from the common basis inherited from the opportunist theses of the last period of the Communist International (that of the anti-fascist popular fronts and the second

imperialist world war), "enriched" by the Maoist contributions on the anti-imperialist struggle and the Communist Party — a good resume of which can be found in the "Letter of 25 points." (Proposal for a General Line) In this general framework, which is all-in-all fairly broad, all sorts of organizations were able to flourish, whose opportunism proceeded by way of a multitude of nuances, by a quasi-infinite variety of forms; these differences found their origin in the particular history of these unprincipled and eclectic groups, who are as quick to take up a fashionable idea as they are to get rid of it, one of whose specialities was and remains to transform themselves from one day to the next from unconditional defenders of a theory or a party into its most eager opponent. Mao and Enver, united in their common prestige as slayers of modern revisionism constituted, for these organizations, the compulsory point of reference, the sign of membership in the same big family, in spite of the spats, as futile as they were unceasing, with which their common existence was adorned. As in any big family, splits, reconciliations, the movement of groups or individuals from one organization to another made up the most salient events of this great ecumenical current which never managed, in a way that was in the least durable, to move close to, much less merge with, the movement of the working class. In this atmosphere of healthy rivalry, the winner was whoever managed to get recognized by the PLA, the supreme blessing of so much effort. Alas! The adoption of openly nationalist positions on China and Vietnam by the PLA, the condemnation without right of appeal of Mao and the Chinese cultural revolution by Enver Hoxha suddenly darkened the horizon: for organizations used to reconciling everything, a new problem arose. What to do, or rather, which saint to pray to? This is in fact the only question that could occur to the opportunists who belonged to this current, who were not inclined to do without tutors. To ask the question is in fact to answer it. The same people who, several months previously, raised up a chorus of praise for Mao and Enver, today find themselves enemies. Some hold up *Imperialism and the Revolution*, while others wave "The Little Red Book". Nothing essential separates them, yet here they are, tearing at each other, and thrashing about at the international level; facing the Albanian International there is being drawn more and more clearly the shape of a Maoist International, led by the Canadian group "In Struggle," and just as opportunist as the first one. Although this latter current is far from having taken on its definitive shape, which it will not fail to do in proportion as it "deepens" the Maoist heritage, it is not difficult to see in which direction its criticism of the PLA is moving. The hymn which the French group "Pour le Parti-Voie Proletarienne" (PLP-VP), on the occasion of its critique of Enver Hoxha¹, sings to the glory of liberalism in the

¹See the pamphlet of this group: "First reply to Enver Hoxha: concerning the book *Imperialism and the Revolution*."

Communist Party, announces clearly, one might say, its colour.

Obviously, all this hullabaloo, this settling of accounts within the petty-bourgeois democracy has as a backdrop the worsening of the world crisis of imperialism and the danger of war. It reflects, in its own way, the deep ideological crisis which is tearing the petty-bourgeoisie, its anguish faced with the great upheavals which are being prepared, more or less undecieving attempts to latch onto something before sinking once and for all and letting themselves be carried by the current — in the image of numerous intellectuals who today put on the blasé tone of a former combattant. Opportunism has not finished dying, it is its decomposition which is giving rise to theories and groups of short-lived existence and without a grip on reality. It is for we communists to hurry along this agony which is fouling the atmosphere, to fearlessly mark out the perspectives capable of rallying the working class, of giving back to it the consciousness of its historic tasks: the destruction of the old world in crisis and the construction of a new world rid of all forms of exploitation.

2. TOWARD THE CREATION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND A NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In certain respects, the present situation recalls that of 1914, after the betrayal of the IInd International, in that reformism today has dominated the workers' movement for several decades and there are no Communist Parties in any country. This explains the especially great difficulties with which the communists are confronted: *it is necessary for them to elaborate an international program, define the principles of Marxist-Leninist tactics, and on this base, rally the vanguard of the working class.*

How to achieve this, by what means?

1. The degeneration of the Communist Parties coming out of the IIIrd International did not arouse the appearance of a Marxist-Leninist internal opposition: there was thus a rupture in the continuity of the International Communist Movement. The militants who today find themselves at the head of communist organizations did not know the IIIrd International; it is necessary for them to learn from books the history of the workers' movement, the rules of organization etc. It is moreover necessary that we question ourselves on the reasons for this situation.

The post-war capitalist vigor is not the main reason for this. The determining factor is without doubt the duration and depth of the domination of opportunism in the International Communist Movement. And this phenomenon is not only national, it is international. The revisionist degeneration did not strike this or that party in particular, but all the communist parties, starting with the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the USSR. How would this have been possible, if the line of the Communist

International before the death of Stalin had been correct in the main?

In our opinion, the "errors" of the Communist International in the years preceding its dissolution are not limited to the opportunist application by this or that national detachment (for example the French Communist Party of Thorez or the Italian Communist Party of Togliatti) of a fundamentally correct line. That certain parties had been in the "vanguard" of the revisionist degeneration, we do not deny; obviously, it's an established fact. But if it was only a question of this, how to explain the ease with which Khrushchev took over the leadership of the CPSU(B) and the non-existence, or the tiny number, of organized communists in the USSR today (it cannot in any sense be explained by repression alone, since the Tsarist repression did not prevent the development of the Bolshevik Party)? How to explain, further, the rapidity with which revisionism submerged the International Communist Movement, without notable opposition. If the general line of the International Communist Movement before the death of Stalin — it has already been 26 years! — had presented a coherent Marxist-Leninist line, permitting the unmasking of the revisionists in a consistent manner, how can it be imagined that are nowhere to be found communists to hold high the program of the Third Communist International, to reconstruct on this base new Communist Parties?

We are convinced of it: we will not manage to create new Communist Parties *without drawing up a serious balance-sheet of the experience of the workers' movement* and most especially of the Third International which carried for many years the hopes of the world proletarian revolution. We are undertaking this balance-sheet, not with the aim of "making heads roll," but in order to today avoid falling into the errors of the past, so as to arm the international proletariat politically and ideologically. Obviously, this will lead us to pose the question of Stalin, not so much at the personal level, moreover, as at the level of the line that he defended within the CPSU(B) and helped to spread at the international level.

Stalin is the object of attacks by the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie. But is that a reason to blindly defend Stalin or to judge the criticism of him "inopportune" at the present time? It is this type of argument that the petty-bourgeois in France of the Parti Communiste des Ouvriers de France (PCOF), "Pour le Parti-Voie Proletarienne" (PLP-VP), "critics" of the "theory of three worlds," put forward against us who were publicly criticizing the petty-bourgeois nationalist and pacifist line of the PLA, already two years ago: "you are perhaps right," — they told us in the best of cases — "but it is necessary to see who is the main enemy (the CPC of Hua Kuo-feng and the "theory of three worlds"), and make a front with all those that fight against it." In spite of the concerned advice of these petty-bourgeois groups, we continued with our criticism, convinced that

Marxist-Leninists could not make any concession on Marxist-Leninist theory, on questions of principle; we tried to demonstrate the petty-bourgeois nationalism and the pacifism of the PLA and the organizations that support it. *The facts, moreover, proved us right.* After the unambiguous support that the PLA gave to Vietnam against China, these petty-bourgeois groups — at least some of them — feel caught in a tight corner, and here they are giving out some protests, burning today what they worshipped yesterday! Finished is the common front with the PLA against the "theory of three worlds," here they are decreeing from now on that the thought of Mao Tsetung is the touchstone to distinguish Marxism-Leninism from opportunism.

As for us, we think that the Communist International was defeated by its opportunism, that it went bankrupt, like the Second International. This opinion, we know, is still isolated. Many comrades admit only that the Communist International made some mistakes, and not so much the Communist International, moreover, as certain national Communist parties. But even, taking such a point of view, how can communists, having confidence in the correctness and the strength of Marxism-Leninism, fear a critical examination of the history of the Third International and the CPUS(B)? Was it not Lenin who said:

"We must not hide our errors in front of the enemy. He who fears such a thing is not a revolutionary" (Our translation, no reference given - IC).

We think such a balance-sheet is necessary to resolve *the present problems* of revolution in the world.

2. *Let us take the question of the third world war in preparation*

We characterize it as an inter-imperialist war and we put forward as the central slogan that of the "TRANSFORMATION OF THIS IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT FOR SOCIALISM." And, at the same time, we denounce the petty-bourgeois social-chauvinists and pacifists; these are obviously fundamental points. But one cannot foresee in advance the circumstances in which the war will break out, and still less the vicissitudes that it will experience. So many occasions for the opportunists to justify the "defense of the fatherland," on the pretext of special conditions, of national oppression, etc. How could we combat them, if we are ourselves hesitant on these questions, disabled by unforeseen events, incapable of analyzing from a Marxist-Leninist point of view an inevitably complex international situation and drawing out from it the tasks of the proletariat? History does not repeat itself, and there are hardly any reasons to imagine that the third world war will present the same features as the second. But still, is a balance-sheet of the action of the International during the second world war superfluous? The opportunist orientation of the

International at that time led to the betrayal of the proletarian revolution; and should we throw a veil over this period, refuse to draw the lessons from it? If we do not consciously criticize this orientation, if we do not draw out from it *the political and ideological essence*, if we do not examine the conditions that gave birth to it, how will we be able to apply a firm Marxist-Leninist line in the coming world imperialist war?

To take only this example, it was completely correct on the part of a socialist state to make use of the contradictions between the two imperialist coalitions before and during the second world war to foil the manoeuvres of the western "democracies" pushing Hitler to attack the USSR; in this framework, it could be justified to sign a non-aggression pact with German imperialism. But how to justify tactics that describe Great Britain, the USA and France as "countries in love with liberty," thus camouflaging the imperialist aims that the bourgeoisies were pursuing in the war; tactics which say (text of the resolution of the presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International: 15 May 1943) that:

"In the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, the sacred duty of the widest masses of the people, and in the first place of the foremost workers, consists in aiding by every means the military efforts of the governments of these countries aimed at the speediest defeat of the Hitlerite bloc and the assurance of the friendship of nations based on their equality."

(an equality guaranteed by American imperialism!); tactics, finally, that led to the dissolution of the Communist International to attract the good graces of the western bourgeoisies?

In our opinion, such concessions to imperialism have nothing Marxist-Leninist about them, *it is an abandonment pure and simple of the preparation of the proletarian revolution, it is genuine betrayal.*

We do not, of course, today have answers to all the questions that we raise; we have a general orientation which shows in the whole of our propaganda, but on a large number of special problems, on the way to apply that general line in the concrete conditions of each country, our opinion is not yet settled. But what to conclude from this, if not that it is necessary to go forward on this path, to raise our activity to the level of the stakes that are in the balance for the international proletariat?

3. We have emphasized the topicality of a clear position on the tactics of the Communist International during the second world war. We could say the same for the tactics of the "Popular Fronts" such as they were advanced by the Communist International at its 7th Congress in 1935.

The necessity of fighting against facism and applying special tactics in this struggle are not in question. *But how to isolate reaction, with whom to ally, on what program? Was it correct to seek agreement with certain parties of fi-*

nance capital, on the pretext that they were influencing the petty-bourgeoisie (such as the Radical Party in France), which inevitably implies that the Communist Party renounces any measure directed against capitalist property, that it renounces support for the right of the peoples to self-determination (which the PCF did) in short, that it applies itself (under penalty of breaking the coalition) to containing the anti-fascist struggle of the exploited masses within limits acceptable to the bourgeoisie on the pretext of enlarging the front of the struggle to include the "democratic" bourgeoisie. Is this not to obscure, in deeds, the socialist consciousness of the workers and semi-proletarians, curtail one's battle slogans, and thus finally to weaken the main anti-fascist force? Was it necessary, for example, as Dimitrov did to advocate the creation in the army of "committees for the defense of the republic and the Constitution"? Certainly, as a whole, the theses advanced by Dimitrov on the government of the United Front or the Popular Front are more shaded, of a more revolutionary appearance. Thus Dimitrov says further: "we demand that the United Front government take revolutionary measures corresponding to the situation, for example the control of production, of the banks, the dissolution of the police, its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc." (Our translation, CI). But is there not a contradiction between such a program and the recommendation to seek the agreement of the "democratic" bourgeoisie? And is it by chance if, everywhere, the tactic of United Fronts was applied in a right (opportunist) manner?

Let us admit that it is at least legitimate to question oneself about the correctness of such tactics, and in a way that is deepened and that eliminates all formalism. The necessity of a United Front against fascism, of tactics that allow the utilisation of the contradictions between finance capital and the petty-bourgeoisie to neutralize the latter, to prevent it from turning toward fascism, is not in question. But to restrict the fight in advance to the defense of the bourgeois republic, to make concessions to the "democratic" bourgeoisie to get its support at any price, is to renounce the preparation of the proletariat for the socialist revolution, and it is also to weaken the struggle against fascism.

Politics takes liberties with the laws of arithmetic. The addition of certain "allies" sometimes is the equivalent of a subtraction, because it weakens the energy of the forces really capable of fighting in a revolutionary manner. Does it bring grist to the mill of the trotskyites to say this? We don't think so. We have not yet systematically studied the positions of Trotsky on this question, in particular regarding the Spanish civil war; but as far as France is concerned, the position of Trotsky is an amalgam of "left" phrases and right tactics (see for example his article of June 1936 in "Lutte Ouvriere" that he titles, significantly, "The French revolution has started" ("La révolution française a commencé") or again the article that he wrote a

month later: "Facing the second stage" ("Devant la seconde étape") where he predicts an imminent decisive combat for power between the working class and the bourgeoisie). It presents a large dose of spontaneism in underestimating the importance of the subjective conditions, and it translates itself in practice by tactics that are right (entryism in the French Section of the Workers' International: SFIO) and totally conciliatory with regard to the "Socialist" Party (see for example his article in no. 220 of "Vérité" in September 1934: "SFIO and SFIC: the way to the opening" ("La voie du débouché")) where he notably affirms that "the destiny of the proletariat depends to a large degree, in our era, on the resolve with which social-democracy will succeed, in the short time given to it, in breaking with the bourgeois state, in making a change and in preparing for the struggle against fascism").

Can one justify the tactics of the Communist International in advancing the following argument: the fascist offensive of the between-war period corresponded to a period of ebbing of the workers' movement, prohibiting in the near future any tactics aiming at the taking of power by the proletariat; it was a question, in a sense, of a defensive struggle?

Quite obviously, the task of communists is not to "force" history, to work loose from the real movement by slogans that in reality would only be revolutionary phrases; revolutionary crises cannot be unleashed artificially by the mere will of communists. But the communists must always be in the vanguard of the fight, draw perspectives for it, raise the socialist consciousness of the exploited masses and reinforce their revolutionary organization. Now, exactly the tactic of Popular Fronts of the C.I., in alliance with the "democratic" bourgeoisie, reduces itself in a non-revolutionary period to support for a radical-socialist government, and in a revolutionary period it implies that the Communist Party brakes the revolutionary movement of the working class so as to "respect the agreements" signed with the radical allies. In a non-revolutionary period, one would obtain the same practical results in limiting one's agreements with the "democratic" bourgeois parties to parliamentary support for some of their proposals; and this tactic would have the advantage of not obscuring the socialist consciousness of the workers. In a revolutionary period — Dimitrov himself sees exactly the possibility that the development of the anti-fascist movement of the masses brings a political crisis — a Communist party that, during the whole preceding period, will have maintained in the working class grave illusions about the nature of the "democratic" bourgeois parties, will have trimmed its claims to make them acceptable to the bourgeoisie, will not be equal to the situation; at best, it will hesitate, it will equivocate, it will show itself unable to apply a revolutionary line; at the worst, it will play a counter-revolutionary role, it will help the bourgeoisie to overcome its crisis as the PCF did

in France in 1936, using all the influence it had in the working class to break the strike movement. As to the question itself of the government of the United Front, as a form of transition to the proletarian revolution, it is worth being deepened, in conjunction with the experience of the workers' movement: Russian revolution of 1917 (where there was no such government), Hungarian revolution of 1919, "workers' governments" in Saxony and Thuringia in 1923. And it would also be necessary to include in these experiences the Popular Fronts in France and in Spain during the civil war, the governments that followed the war's end in the countries of "people's democracy" of Eastern Europe.

We think that such work is topical, since on it depends the strategic and tactical positions that the communists must adopt in situations such as the Portugal of Caetano, the Spain of Franco, or in case of a military coup, in a country such as Italy (a hypothesis which is not at all absurd).

Once again, we have no ready-made answers to all the concrete situations that can arise. These questions of tactics are often difficult, and require a deepened analysis. But if we, communists, have no firm positions of principle, which guide us in the most varied concrete conditions, we will hesitate, we will be led to all sorts of inadmissible compromises, or conversely to a leftist attitude, prejudicial to the proletariat. More than ever, in a period where the aggravation of the economic and political crisis of the bourgeoisie will inevitably bring, in the years to come, revolutionary crises, we need firm tactics based on the positive and negative experience of the international workers' and communist movement. It is in this perspective that we have undertaken the examination of these questions, and that we urge all communists also to think about them.

4. Because of the revisionist betrayal we must therefore realize all over again the fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement, and assemble the conditions necessary for the creation of the Communist Party.

For this, it is necessary to create a Communist Organization that has an imperative task to elaborate a Marxist-Leninist program and tactics responding to the concrete conditions of our country, to unite around this program and tactics the vanguard workers and the other communists, by means of a victory over opportunism, and to build oneself into a solid Communist Organization, firm and disciplined.

The accomplishment of these tasks will allow the creation and building up of a real Communist Party, capable of directing the struggle of the whole of the working class allied to the semi-proletariat for the armed insurrection, the destruction of the bourgeois state machine, the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the expropriation and confiscation of bourgeois property and the progressive elimination of small production.

UNITE THE VANGUARD WORKERS

The Communist Organization must orient all its practical work towards the conquest of the vanguard of the working class and its organization in workplace communist cells. This vanguard is mainly found in the large industrial centers where concentration, the forms and the organization of the work, the tradition of struggles more easily allow the workers to become conscious of the necessity of the socialist revolution and the revisionist and reformist betrayal.

To win the advanced workers, we must subordinate the other tasks in the working class to the central tasks of the rallying and the organization of the most conscious workers. That is impossible without an active participation in the daily fight for demands in the factories or in the mass political movements. But our immediate central object is not the leading of the mass movement, since without a vanguard organization, capable of leading the movement toward revolutionary objectives, we could only be tail-ist, spontaneist, and in the final analysis reformist.

DEFEAT OPPORTUNISM

We must set for ourselves as a goal the destruction of the influence of revisionism and opportunism in all its forms within the vanguard of the working class, then, once the party is created, among the large masses of the proletariat, in order to reduce to their sole petty-bourgeois social base the reformist organizations. The majority of the most conscious workers are still under the influence of reformism, and we must convince them and educate them so that they will reject it to the very end, and join the Communist Organization. In the same way opportunism right in the Organization must be clearly unmasked, we must purge the Organization of petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers, labour aristocrats, who would infiltrate it.

SET COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONAL NORMS

To create the party, it is also necessary to break with the makeshift, dispersed style of work and build an organization solidly unified in all areas, applying democratic centralism, that is, having a leadership which is firm, experienced, able to mobilize, organize, and guide the whole of the organization, to raise the theoretical and political level of all the militants, and that a real democracy, a real control, a real participation takes place on the part of all the militants. It is thus that the Communist Organization, then the party, will be able to advance toward a unity of will and action.

In a word, we must build the Communist Organization from all sides at once.

5. We are today taking the first step toward the construction of a new Communist International. For a whole series of reasons, there exists

nowhere a Party that is really Communist, nor a completely elaborated communist program answering to the concrete conditions of our epoch. Let us understand each other, we are not starting from zero, far from it. We base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism, and most especially on the teachings of Lenin, of which we as yet have much to learn; we also base ourselves on the experience of the Communist International, which is also very rich, but which demands on our part a critical study — just as Lenin, in the years that preceded the creation of the IIIrd International, drew a balance-sheet of the IIrd International, explained the reasons for its degeneration. Now nobody can deny — even those who uphold the official line of the C.I. in the anti-fascist struggle and during the second world war — that all the parties that made up the C.I. have degenerated, have become revisionist parties. Why would such a balance-sheet of the International, which, for Lenin, was correct to draw up, today be inopportune for communists?

Within limits, our present situation resembles that of the Zimmerwald left (except that there is no Bolshevik Party — a large difference!). We must deepen our rupture with the main tendencies of opportunism (modern revisionism and the different currents of petty-bourgeois democracy, in which must be included the centrism of the PLA), elaborate an international program that defines the strategy and the tactics of communists.

The review *INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE*, started on the initiative of the Bolshevik Union of Canada, can and must contribute to this task, by giving to the struggle against opportunism an international dimension. It is in this perspective that we support this initiative, and that we will do our utmost to actively participate in this forum. Of course, this review, as any form of organization, is a framework and only a framework. Its usefulness will depend on the ability of communists of different countries to develop a line and tactics that are effectively Marxist-Leninist, to fight without concession against opportunism, to pose and resolve the questions linked to the balance-sheet of the International Communist Movement which are still without precise answers.

We are still today at the stage where “before we can unite, we must demarcate”. It is clear that relatively large divergences, notably on the evaluation of the Communist International, exist between us and the Bolshevik Union of Canada, as with the other organizations that support *INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE*. Not only do we not wish to deny them, but we intend to openly expose them in public, as agreed, moreover, with the Bolshevik Union. It is the only way to reach the international unity of communists, on the basis of a real Marxist-Leninist line.

This is obviously the essential thing.

The debate, in general, cannot be considered an end in itself. We don't intend at all “to

debate" peacefully with the opportunist organizations, but to combat them ideologically and politically so as to destroy their influence over the workers' vanguard. And we are convinced that if opportunist organizations lend themselves to an international debate, it will be in the hope of transforming *INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE* into a platform for their theses, to have their positions triumph there or at least to bring about a peaceful coexistence between opportunism and Marxism-Leninism.

It would be wrong in fact to imagine that the opportunists are opposed, in principle, to any debate, to any public discussion, and that to "dialogue" they always reply with the stick. They as well put out ecumenical appeals for the "unity of Marxist-Leninists", create "collectives" of organizations which exist very briefly, which are little parliaments where each shade of opportunism can blossom in the greatest spirit of "unity," where the greatest liberalism reigns, the greatest tolerance, the greatest conciliation, where divergences are considered as so many legitimate tendencies, as so many proofs of the richness of the movement. This conception is obviously opposed to the communist conception, for which no peaceful coexistence is possible between opportunism and Marxism-Leninism, and which considers opportunism as a tendency which is alien to the proletariat, as the expression of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois class interest, as an adversary within the workers' movement.

We insist all the more on these points because there appears more or less clearly from the "Proposal for a Journal of *International Correspondence*" of the Bolshevik Union of Canada the wish to establish open relations with opportunist organizations, on the basis of a large debate of ideas. Thus the Bolshevik Union writes:

"We are not only inviting organizations that we agree with, or those that we think we will agree with at some point. In fact, we are inviting organizations to participate that have definite disagreements with us, but we feel that debating these differences openly before the international movement and the international proletariat will contribute to the advancement of the unity of the international communist movement, and the hastening of the international proletarian revolution."

As for the other organizations "who have refused to participate in the debate, either internationally or in their own countries" they "collaborate" — says the Bolshevik Union — "in the international intrigue against open debate, and although we would not exclude publishing something from them, it would have to be accompanied with an open commitment to answer all criticism" (page 6).

The Bolshevik Union of Canada has illu-

sions here about opportunism, forgetting the ability of the latter to jump, in its struggle against Marxism-Leninism, from a policy of "dialogue" to a policy of "the stick." The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism is a class struggle, which can take on, according to circumstances, and even independently of the will of individuals, the most varied forms, from mere verbal confrontation up to armed struggle.

The Bolshevik Union seems to dream of a struggle against opportunism which would take place on the sole terrain of ideas, like a polite dialogue between well brought-up people debating their disagreements. Is this not to call on the opportunists to reform themselves, is this not to ask them to renounce in advance certain forms of struggle against Marxism-Leninism? We must of course denounce opportunism in all its aspects, including its fleeing way of conducting polemics. But it is to have serious illusions to hope to transform their attitude by having them enter "commitments," in pretending to believe their promises which they will inevitably betray. That is why, the fundamental criterion of publication in *International Correspondence*, of the texts of opportunist organizations must not be, in our opinion, the attitude of these organizations with regard to "debate" with the communists, but the political interest of these texts, their ability to reflect the positions, the arguments, the point of view of opportunism.

More basically, this attitude of the Bolshevik Union of Canada with regard to debate and the opportunist organizations leads back to a serious failing in the text of the presentation of *International Correspondence*: it is quiet on the essential thing namely the political content of the unity of communists at the present time and in particular on the slogans of "IMMEDIATE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION" and "TRANSFORMATION OF THE IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR FOR SOCIALISM".

Now, can one take even the first steps towards the unity of communists on the international scale, without putting forward an orientation which demarcates from opportunism of the right and the center on the essential questions, without politically characterizing those petty-bourgeois democratic currents (which no more belong to the International Communist Movement than the trotskyite groups, in spite of their verbal references to Marxism-Leninism), without calling for a split with them? It is precisely thus that Lenin proceeded to group the communists after the bankruptcy of the IInd International. Otherwise it serves no purpose to write, as the Bolshevik Union does, that "The purpose of an international debate is not to achieve unity with opportunists and revisionists" (page 15): the absence of defined and clearly asserted political bases (even if these are today still sketchy, it matters little) leaves the door open to polycentrist attempts, to unprin-

cipled groupings of organizations at the international scale. The cause of the creation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist International can only lose by it.

As for the questions which should be dealt with in *International Correspondence*, they should be as large as possible.

- Draw up the historical balance-sheet of the construction of socialism starting from the example of the USSR, but also that of China and Albania.

Certain organizations think that socialism never existed in China; for our part, we have not studied this question closely. We think that it is delicate to decide, and that it gives us the chance to deepen the questions of the class struggle under socialism, the problems of the construction of socialism. In this regard, if there were Bukharinite aspects in the line applied in relation to the bourgeoisie by the Chinese Communist Party, the ease with which capitalism was restored in the USSR shows that the juridical appropriation by the State of the means of production, and the centralized and planned management of the economy (principles with which we are in agreement) do not by themselves guarantee the socialist nature of the relations of production. The "gang of four" had put forward in a certain number of texts published in *Peking Review* theses which seem to us correct, on the reconstitution of the bourgeoisie under the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the necessity of an "all-round dictatorship," of the struggle against bourgeois right, etc. — These theories cannot be understood if one considers the "four" as representatives of a "national bourgeoisie," as certain organizations do. From our point of view, the question of China and of Mao merits debate.

- Explain by what path, for what internal and external causes, the parties belonging to the Communist International degenerated and became revisionist. This is what we call the balance-sheet of the Communist International. If one does not do this *explicitly*, one does it *implicitly* (for example by assuming that the line of the Communist International during the last war and more generally in the struggle against fascism was correct, although various national detachments made right-opportunist errors in the application of this correct line).

The strategy and tactics of the seizure of power in the advanced countries, which are ripe for the socialist revolution.

We include in this heading various questions such as:

- class analysis (in particular of the semi-proletariat of which one often speaks, without clearly defining it);

- the tactics of the Popular Fronts and the United Fronts, the "people's democracy" and, in general, the political forms "of transition" to the proletarian revolution (one could also speak — see the fourth Congress of the Communist International — of "workers' governments" or "workers' and peasants' governments");

- the question of the "program of transition" (we wish to speak of the tactic of transitional slogans which appeared in the 4th Congress of the Communist International, but also in the "transitional program" of Trotsky, which constitutes the program of the "IV" International and the criticism of which is necessary).

- The strategy and tactics of communists in the backward countries. For these countries, there are, in our opinion, large tasks of class analysis to do, to situate the different classes in relation to the revolution, in particular the "national bourgeoisie". The concept of "neo-colony" (with the strategy of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle that is attached to it, inspired by that of the Chinese Communist Party) is worth at least a critical examination.

- Of course, the theoretical examination of the preceding questions cannot be separated from and will have to be done at the same time as the analysis of the present situation, of the development of the international crisis of imperialism, and the criticism of reformism in its principal variants: modern revisionism and petty-bourgeois democracy in its social-chauvinist forms ("Marxist-Leninists" who uphold the "theory of three worlds" and the Chinese Communist Party or its petty-bourgeois pacifist forms (trotskyites and "Marxist-Leninists" who share for the most part the positions of the PLA). The analysis of these international currents must be deepened without being held up by the label they give themselves. The organizations claiming to be Marxist-Leninist belonging to these currents share in the main the positions of the trotskyites on the present situation; they only differ by their divergent historical references.

- The tactics of the creation of the Communist Party, the questions of its construction. There again, it is necessary to base oneself on the balance-sheet of the historical experience of the proletariat, in particular that of the Bolshevik Party.

Thus, to become a point of ideological reference at the international level, the review must set itself very large objectives. It must help to unmask opportunism and facilitate the public debate between communists by clearly putting on the carpet the points of disagreement, with the perspective of making the Marxist-Leninist positions triumph, and *not of organizing the coexistence of opportunist positions.*

We call on the groups and organizations which, without necessarily being in agreement with the whole of our analysis, share in the main our political orientation, to send us their press and take up bilateral relations with us.

Text produced for *International Correspondence*, unofficial translation

On some problems of the contemporary world communist movement

*Editorial Board, Rote Fahne
Editorial Board, Westberliner Kommunist
Editorial Board, Gegen die Strömung*

After the Second World War, Stalin led a great ideological struggle against revisionism. Stalin struggled against Titoite revisionism and against other revisionist tendencies. His great work, *Economic Problems*, written in 1952, is a document of Stalin's struggle against revisionism which is often underestimated and often inadequately utilized.

The seizure of power by the Khrushchevite revisionists in the Soviet Union and the worldwide cancerous proliferation of revisionism were very much facilitated by the death of Stalin in 1953. After the death of Stalin there was no leader of the international proletariat who equalled him in rank. As distinguished from the situation after Lenin's death, when Stalin made great contributions to the defense of Leninism and developed it further, after the death of Stalin there were no forces to offer direct, immediate all-round ideological resistance to the reckless attacks of the Khrushchevite revisionists.

In order to judge correctly the greatness of the tasks which lie before us in the struggle for the unity of the world communist movement, it is necessary to be aware of and fully take into account the fact that today there is not only no international communist organization, no internationally organized center, but also no truly collectively worked for Marxist-Leninist general platform of the world communist movement.

This weighs all the more serious when precisely after the death of Stalin, the recognized leader of the world communist movement, and after the betrayal of the modern revisionists in the leadership of the CPSU, such a document of

struggle against revisionism and for the unity of Marxist-Leninists would have been of vital significance and would unconditionally have had to be worked out collectively. This would have been necessary in order to be able to put up a well-founded and consistent opposition to the all-round ideological attack of the Khrushchevite revisionists against Marxism-Leninism, unitedly and continuously.

The reason for this grave and portentous lack lies first of all in an *underestimation of modern revisionism* and its manifold ideological activities as well as in an *overestimation of the actually existing unity*, or degrees of unity, of the forces which stand against modern revisionism. This includes those traditional communist parties which did not capitulate to Khrushchevite revisionism, and newly formed parties and forces in the struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionists.

But the roots reach still deeper. They lie in the underestimation of the fundamental teaching of Leninism, that *without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary practice*.

The paramount role of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, as the basis for the consolidation of unity in revolutionary practice was enormously underestimated. Also enormously underestimated in this respect were some programmatic documents of the international communist movement based on this science of the working class.

The role of revolutionary theory was of course often recognized in words, but this verbal recognition was not taken as a basis of the overall activity; indeed, in more than a few cases it was even used to polemicize in words against the role of scientific revolutionary theory.

We must heed and be conscious of all of this in our judgment of the current contradictions and the confusion in the world communist movement as they become ever clearer.

At the present time, all three undersigned groups are engaged with one another in a fundamental discussion about the great problems which exist in the world communist movement, just as is everyone in his country or area of work.

Among other questions are the questions of the Chinese revolution, the development of the People's Republic of China, the CP of China and the work of Mao Zedong, as well as the assessment of the former and current line of the PLA. These assessments remain contradictory in the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

The clarification of these questions, and above all the deep-rooted ideological questions which lie behind them, is by far yet unfinished in our own ranks and also among the three undersigned groups. An organized, solid theoretical discussion and work will claim an even longer span of time. Nevertheless, the three undersigned groups are now ready to raise the following consistent answers to this complex of questions:

1) Nothing and nobody may and can prevent Marxist-Leninists around the world from analyzing conscientiously and fundamentally the overall theory and practice after the death of Stalin,

and also from demonstrating openly the mistakes from which they come: comprehensively and in the spirit of deep-rooted criticism and self-criticism, in the spirit of exposing the mistakes and not of suppressing them.

2) The present ideological situation is characterized by the fact that every Marxist-Leninist party or organization must lead a many-sided ideological struggle on several fronts. However, the three groups emphasize their duty to prioritize the struggle against all attempts to deal with the struggle against Khrushchevite-Brezhnevite-revisionism as "finished" or "of secondary importance," in the discussions now being led on the central tasks of the ideological struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism.

This also concerns the various ideological currents and deviations from Marxism-Leninism in the assessment of Mao Zedong. Without a doubt, a struggle on many fronts is necessary with them. Above all, however, this is needed now in such a scope as a result of the insufficient struggle against modern revisionism.

3) A fundamentally all-round, truly scientific overall assessment of the work of Mao Zedong still remains to be done for the entire world communist movement. What we understand by this, among other things, is the need to differentiate the work of Mao Zedong in various historical phases, to view his writings in connection with the ideological and political situation of the moment, to rely above all in a comprehensive and deep-rooted way on Marxism-Leninism, and last but not least to support the Stalinist analysis of the Chinese revolution, which is truly scientific work.

The three undersigned groups are of the opinion that a profusion of some very serious errors is becoming visible in the discussion which is beginning on the work of Mao Zedong — who was even evaluated and propagated as a "great Marxist-Leninist" by the parties which today are asserting the opposite. It is true many times that in the world Marxist-Leninist movement, in the question of the assessment of the work and activities of Mao Zedong, a placative general assessment is thrust into the foreground and the personality of Mao Zedong is discussed above all else.

The three undersigned groups are of the opinion that a general assessment without a preceding fundamental analysis of the work of Mao Zedong, one which also considers various stages of development, does more harm than good.

The three undersigned groups oppose anyone who, without a fundamental analysis and without sound and convincing arguments, simply maintains that Mao Zedong was never a Marxist-Leninist and that the CP of China was never a Marxist-Leninist party. The three undersigned groups also oppose anyone who, likewise without a truly Marxist-Leninist analysis, advances the thesis that Mao Zedong never made serious errors.

Whereas the former want to sweep from the world all of the merits of Mao Zedong with a stroke of the pen and for that reason collect all

of the negative and presumably negative aspects of Mao Zedong's work and take a *fully unhistorical and undialectical* approach to this question, the latter make the opposite mistake, in that they only enumerate the positive or the presumably positive features of Mao Zedong's work and simply overlook what is problematical or give it a positive interpretation.

Both deviations have in common the un-Marxist method of *one-sidedness*.

The three undersigned groups are of the opinion that everything in the work of Mao Zedong *which is undoubtedly Marxist-Leninist, must be defended, and that where serious mistakes and less serious mistakes are conclusively recognized, these must be criticized clearly and openly.*

Accordingly, the three undersigned groups advocate an all-sided and exact step-by-step analysis of the merits and mistakes of the theory and practice of Mao Zedong and *commit themselves to accomplishing what is in accord with their forces which exist and their possibilities at the moment, in order to produce the best possible example of such an undertaking.*

All of the documents of the CP of China, as well as its entire theory and practice, must be studied and viewed *as comprehensively as possible.* With such an analysis, the *concrete historical situation and the particularities of China* must be analyzed and understood as much as possible, in order to be able to judge the documents of the CP of China in a truly qualified way. But above all it is necessary to measure these documents against the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and to criticize them if need be. This is particularly true where they try to give answers to general questions of the world communist movement and the world proletarian revolution.

However, the study and assessment of all of these documents does not mean also automatically giving an assessment of Mao Zedong, although undoubtedly there exists an overlap. It is possible that Mao Zedong alone partially or completely repudiated these documents or else that he was in complete agreement with them.

There are thus great difficulties in being able to give a correct answer to the questions which are important to the assessment of Mao Zedong in every case, since many times reliable and convincing documents are wanting. However, independently of these difficulties, *all of the fundamental documents of the CP of China since the death of Stalin have exercised a great influence on the world communist movement.* The analysis of these documents as well as the practice and propaganda of the CP of China during this period of time is therefore *in any case a fundamental task.*

4) The present-day situation is a very difficult one ideologically, in which partly through anti-Marxist propaganda of various kinds a great confusion has originated and been enlarged in the progressive and revolutionary movement. Precisely in such a situation the three groups are committed to carrying out profound theoret-

ical work for the clarification of all open questions in the world communist movement which is necessary, difficult and free from subjective emotions. This must be done *wherever a lack of clarity prevails, including where clarity is lacking within one's own party or organization but is feigned to the masses.* The first thing to do is to *make the analysis and then, on the basis of the analysis, to draw responsible conclusions.*

Today this theoretical work is becoming ever more urgent and imperative and taking on an ever greater scope. With it, the study of Marxism-Leninism and above all the study and deep understanding of the work of Stalin is of fundamental significance in the struggle for the purification of the world communist movement of opportunists. It is of fundamental significance, too, in the clarification of the open questions necessary for the solid unity of the world communist movement.

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War and Proletarian Revolution

*The Bolshevik Union
of Canada*

Rattling sabers, loaded guns and readied missiles. Everywhere there is growing war hysteria and militarism. US imperialism and Russian imperialism have dropped all pretence to "detente" and "disarmament." Even the "SALT II" agreement, an agreement on war preparations, has been abandoned because it is an inhibition on the all out preparation for war. All over the world there is a massive accumulation of weapons of destruction and the imperialists are clamoring for more and more. The western imperialist bloc is greatly expanding its expenditure on armaments. A whole new major deployment of nuclear weapons has been announced for Europe. For years the Russian bloc has expended more of its economy on the expansion of its military arsenal than any rival. As Lenin once said "so much powder has been accumulated that the guns will go off of themselves."¹

The US is preparing public opinion in the West to accept a new war. First hysteria was whipped up over the artificially created incident at the US embassy in Iran to get Americans to accept another imperialist war in backward countries. And then using the naked aggression of the Russian imperialists against Afghanistan, the American imperialists came out as the "champion" of oppressed nations to justify going to war with the Russians. The US has always ignored Russian sponsored resolutions at the United Nations condemning US imperialist acts, but the US was more than happy to use this forum to condemn Russian imperialist actions. The US is now using the Olympics to test an alignment of forces for a war.

Both sides in the coming war are trying to win sympathy from the masses through the incredible demagoguery that they represent the just aspiration of peoples for freedom against the imperialist ambitions of the other side to enslave the world, that they are the ones struggling for peace against the warmongering of the other. Brezhnev's policies of "detente" and Carter's policies of "human rights" have been policies to prepare the invasion of Afghanistan and the "Carter Doctrine" of annexation of the Middle East and war with the Russian imperialists.

War is a continuation of the politics that preceded the war. As Lenin said:

"War is politics continued by other (i.e., forcible) means." This famous dictum belongs to one of the profoundest writers on military questions, Clausewitz. Rightly, the Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for their understanding the meaning of every war. It is from this standpoint that Marx and Engels regarded wars.

Apply this idea to the present war. You will find that for decades, for almost half a century, the governments and the ruling classes of England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Russia, conducted a policy of colonial robbery, of suppressing labour movements, of oppressing foreign nations. Such a policy, and no other one, is being pursued also in the present war.²

Apply this idea to the present international situation. You will find that the imperialist powers have been for decades pursuing the policy of enslavement of the peoples in the colonial, semi-colonial and backward countries, of oppressing foreign nations and suppressing the labour movement everywhere. You will also find that this policy is leading to another world war among the imperialists to redivide the world among them. The politics of the last three decades are the politics of the coming war, the politics of forcibly redividing the world. (Let us be clear that we do not believe the imperialists could have pursued a different, non-imperialist, non-aggressive policy.)

We have seen three decades of unbridled rivalry between two blocs of imperialist powers fighting for control and plunder of small and weak nations. This fighting has been "peaceful" in the form of economic and political warfare and subversion and has many times become open armed warfare for control of this or that country. Peace has prevailed in Europe and North America between the imperialists but this peace is only a preparation for the coming war, it is a peace that does not exist in much of the world because war has already begun and has been waged for years in the oppressed nations. Just as before World War I: "Peace reigned in Europe, but this peace was maintained because the rule of the European nations over hundreds of millions of inhabitants over colonies was exercised only by constant, uninterrupted

and ceaseless wars, which we Europeans do not regard as wars, because often they resemble, not wars, but the brutal massacre, extermination, of unarmed people."³ The butchery in Afghanistan is only the latest of a long list of such wars. It is estimated that in the last thirty years there has only been 18 days without war somewhere in the world.

These small wars and the periodic large ones between the imperialists are not something accidental or the product of "human nature." They are the inevitable result of the epoch we live in, the inevitable result of the imperialist system.

Imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism, one that has been reached only in the twentieth century. Capitalism began to feel cramped within the old national states, without the formation of which it could not overthrow feudalism. Capitalism has brought about such economic concentration that entire branches of industry are in the hands of syndicates, trusts, or corporations of billionaires; almost the entire globe has been parceled out among the "giants of capital," either in the form of colonies, or through the entangling of foreign countries by thousands of threads of financial exploitation. Free trade and competition have been superseded by tendencies towards seizure of lands for the investment of capital, for the export of raw materials, etc. Capitalism, formerly a liberator of nations, has now, in its imperialist stage, become the greatest oppressor of nations. Formerly progressive, it has become a reactionary force. It has developed the productive forces to such an extent that humanity must either pass over to Socialism, or for years, nay, decades witness armed conflicts of "great" nations for an artificial maintenance of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges, and all sorts of national oppression.⁴

Eight decades into the twentieth century, imperialism is still trying to paint itself as a liberator of nations. It is the unbridled sway of bourgeois propaganda that allows a thoroughly bankrupt force like US imperialism, the butcher of the peoples of Indo China, of peoples all over the world, to portray itself as the advocate of "human rights," the defender of "democracy" and the saviour of the peoples from Russian imperialism. US imperialism is sparing no effort to propagate the view that if war breaks out it is the Russian bloc that is the aggressor and the US is just "defending" itself. But the "Carter Doctrine" proves that what the US will be defending is its imperialist control over oil in the Mid East, its imperialist positions throughout the world from the Russians who are expanding their own imperialist interests. This propaganda will only increase as the world gets closer to war.⁵

The demagoguery of US imperialism is more than matched by the Russian imperialists who try to justify their perfidious activity by pretending the Soviet Union of old, the socialist Soviet Union,

still exists. They attempt to cover up the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the transformation of the formerly socialist Soviet Union into an imperialist great power where the Great Russian nation has enslaved the formerly equal minority nationalities and incorporated most of the old socialist camp into a powerful imperialist bloc.⁶ The Russian imperialists use the mask of socialism to justify the growing exploitation and oppression of the peoples of the Russian bloc, to justify the enslavement of oppressed peoples to serve the glory of "building Communism" in Russia. Under the banner of "proletarian internationalism" the Russian imperialists dispatch their armies and hire mercenaries to butcher the "enemies of the revolution," those peoples who resist the imperialist ambitions of the new imperialists in the Kremlin.

After the assassination of Stalin, the Russian revisionists reversed the revolutionary stand of the socialist Soviet Union — from that of leading the struggle to overthrow imperialism on a world scale to a stand of capitulation before imperialism and collaboration with it. They turned the tactic of a peace movement into a strategy to capitulate to imperialism. They converted the tactic of peaceful coexistence, a tactic to give the socialist camp time to prepare against the coming imperialist attacks, into a strategy for cooperation in the imperialist partition of the world. The Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin was transformed from the stand of proletarian internationalism to a stand of social-chauvinism and social-imperialism. Russia today carries the politics of those revisionists of the Second International that Lenin struggled so valiantly against. These modern revisionists hold state power so they are not in favour of western imperialism, they are in favour of their own imperialism. Therefore they use the contradictions that exist with the west to portray themselves as "anti-imperialist" when in reality these contradictions represent inter-imperialist contradictions between two imperialist blocs competing for control of each other's colonies, semi-colonies, dependent nations and spheres of influence.

The Russian imperialists talk of peace and disarmament, while they have built the largest military apparatus the world has even known and have expanded its military presence to every corner of the globe. They would like us to believe that the military expansion of the Western bloc is imperialism, while their own military expansion is a struggle for "peace"! Under Khrushchev the Russian revisionists tried to avoid a war with the western bloc in order to consolidate its position. But under Brezhnev the Russian imperialists have outgrown the bounds of their bloc, a bloc that has shrunk to some degree with the loss of China and the "non-alignment" of Yugoslavia, Korea and Rumania. The Eastern European countries have heavily indebted themselves to Western banks as has Russia itself. The Russian bloc's economy has stagnated and Russia has a shortage of semi-colonies and spheres

of influence to compensate. Russia does not have the capital to displace US imperialism in the sphere of capital exports through Khrushchev's old programme of burying the west economically. Russia has managed to displace Western imperialism here and there principally by buying out national liberation forces. This gives Russian imperialism a different appearance than US imperialism, and has placed some constraints on its imperialist possibilities. The path to "glory" that the Russians have chosen is military redivision of the world; this is why Russia has expended so much to try to gain an edge on the western bloc. It appears that Russia now has that military edge and has tested the waters in Afghanistan. The western bloc is somewhat panicked in the face of this and it is an extremely dangerous period for the outbreak of war.

The demagoguery of both imperialist blocs is aimed principally at the working class and the oppressed nations because the imperialists need their support in order to wage the war. "Imperialism," Lenin said, "is the final stage of capitalism's development, a stage at which it has gone as far as to divide the whole world, and two gigantic groups are locked in a life-and-death struggle. You must serve one group or the other, or overthrow both groups. There is no middle way."⁷ It is part of the war preparations that the two groups are trying to get the world to serve one or the other.

Today the world is even in greater danger of war because there is so little opposition to it in the working class and in the oppressed nations. This has been brought about by the historic victory of revisionism and imperialism over the socialist camp. Today the overwhelming majority of those who call themselves socialist openly serve one or the other imperialist bloc. This was not always the case. Before the first imperialist war the socialist parties in the world, at least, *in word*, opposed the war before it broke out. They even favoured revolutionary action to end a war. The Basle Manifesto of the Second International stated that:

If a war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the co-ordinating activity of the International Socialist Bureau, *to exert every effort in order to prevent the outbreak of war by the means they consider most effective*, which naturally vary according to the sharpening of the class struggle and the sharpening of the general political situation.

"In case war should break out anyway, it is their duty *to intervene in favour of its speedy termination* and with all their powers to utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war to arouse the people and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist rule."⁸

Even in a situation where the socialists and the workers movement were committed in word to this position, the imperialists proceeded with war, calling in the debts of those they had bribed

and corrupted, the labour aristocracy and the socialist party leaders and succeeded in splitting the international and getting the overwhelming majority to support "their" imperialists. If in this situation in Lenin's day so little of the socialist and workers movement in practice opposed the imperialists at the beginning of the war, what can be expected of the situation today?

The "socialists" who sold out to the imperialists in World War I are still sold out. The "Socialist International" loyally serves the Western imperialist bloc, supports NATO and the war preparations. The NDP in Canada has pledged its support in a new war. Some of these parties are in power in Europe and actively participate in the war preparations. These parties are loyal servants to prepare the working class to serve the imperialists in a war, as loyal as the Republicans and Democratic Parties in the US. As a result of World War I the international movement split and Lenin and the Bolsheviks organized the revolutionary proletariat to turn the war into a civil war and organized the revolutionary proletariat into the Third International. But the Third International was destroyed by the modern revisionists who after the death of Stalin turned the international communist movement into a prop of Russian imperialism. So the contradiction between the Social Democrats and the Communists, the contradiction between reformism and revolution, was turned into a contradiction over which imperialist bloc to serve.

Forces that split with the Russian revisionists did not split in order to defend Marxism-Leninism from the attacks of the revisionists. China and Albania signed the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations and concluded a unity of views with the Russian revisionists on the support for Russian imperialism, the abandonment of proletarian revolution and the real national liberation struggles. When they did split with Russia, it was because of their own social-nationalism and had little to do with principle.⁹ The Russian revisionists abandoned the Marxist position on war and tried to get the workers to cower in fear of nuclear weapons and concede the imperialists their desires in order to avoid the war the Russians themselves were preparing. The CPC and the PLA had a basic unity of views on these questions.

China tried to make a deal with the Russians to be partners in crime but the Russians refused.¹⁰ Even when Khrushchev was replaced by Brezhnev, Chou En Lai went, Mao cap in hand, to make a deal, but Russia would not accept China's terms. A period of intense factional struggle in China then occurred known as the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The result of this "revolution" was that the factions that wanted to ally with US imperialism won out and Nixon came to China to conclude the deal with Mao. The Chinese revisionists then elaborated the theory of "three worlds" to justify openly allying with the Western imperialist bloc. China now advocates war and the arming of the Western bloc to win it. China encourages the pro-

letariat and oppressed nations to openly ally with the imperialists.

Everywhere those that proclaim themselves as "socialist" are openly aligning to serve one bloc or another even before a war starts. The Basle Manifesto said "the fear of the ruling classes of a proletarian revolution as a result of a world war has proved to be an essential guarantee of peace."¹¹ The bourgeoisie feared this possibility, but also knew the degree of opportunist corruption in the Second International, and they went to war anyway. Fortunately Lenin and the Bolsheviks as well as revolutionaries in some other countries struggled to turn the war into a civil war, eventually leading the proletariat in breaking the imperialist chain and winning Russia for the cause of socialism. As a result of World War II international Bolshevism led by Stalin widened the breach in the imperialist front to include many other countries. *But what does the bourgeoisie have to fear in facing the coming war?* Before World War I at least it faced a socialist movement that in word opposed the war and a significant minority put this opposition into practice. Before World War II the bourgeoisie faced a powerful revolutionary camp headed by the Socialist Soviet Union and the Communist International. After World War II the bourgeoisie faced a large socialist camp. *But what does the bourgeoisie face today?* A "socialist" movement that advocates alliance with one bloc or the other and that agitates in favour of war with the result that trade union bureaucracies are some of the most bellicose advocates of war. This disgusting victory of social-chauvinism is not a mere ideological question, the imperialists have bribed and corrupted strata of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie with the superprofits from enslaving foreign nations and has bought their support for new wars of colonial expansion. This is the social basis of the disgusting victory of social chauvinism and revisionism.

There is no longer a socialist camp that is struggling for peace. There is only the unbridled competition of two imperialist blocs to redivide the world. This war has been in preparation for three decades and during this time the general crisis of imperialism has greatly intensified. Both imperialist blocs are sinking deeper and deeper into economic and political crisis where the question of redividing the control of natural resources and spheres of capital export have become urgent questions of the day for the bourgeoisie. With the lack of organized opposition to the war in the international proletariat the world stands on the precipice of the most destructive war in history.

Who Will Oppose This War?

Many have looked to the Party of Labour of Albania as the Leninist alternative to Russian and Chinese revisionism because of its seemingly revolutionary criticism of the theory of "three worlds." In fact these people confuse the positions of the PLA with Leninism when in fact

they represent a modern version of Kautskyism. Kautsky, in Lenin's day, broke with the open social-chauvinists but took a centrist, conciliatory stand and opposed proletarian revolution in practice and supported pacifism instead. There is no question that exposes the PLA more than the question of war. The PLA completely abandons the mask of Marxism-Leninism on this question.

Lenin said: "Social-Democracy has never regarded and does not regard war from a sentimental point of view. Unswervingly denouncing wars as a brutal method of deciding the disputes of mankind, Social-Democracy knows that wars are inevitable as long as society is divided into classes, as long as the exploitation of man by man exists."¹² The PLA tells us that "in our time" war is no longer inevitable. The PLA says: "It is true that as long as imperialism and its policy of war and aggression exist, the danger of various wars will exist, including an imperialist world war, which is the product of this order and this policy. But this is only one possibility. In our time another possibility exists, namely the possibility to stay the hand of the imperialists and to prevent them from unleashing a new world war."¹³

This is a total rejection of the Leninist line that the era of imperialism makes reactionary imperialist wars even more inevitable, Lenin said:

When... we speak of the present European War and condemn it, we do so only because it is waged by an oppressing class.

What are the aims of the present war? If we are to believe the diplomats in all countries, it is being waged by France and Britain in defence of small nationalities against barbarians, the German Huns; by Germany it is being waged against Cossack barbarians, who are threatening the cultured German people, and in defence of the fatherland against enemies attacking it.

But we know that this war was prepared, drew ever closer, and was INEVITABLE. It was just as inevitable as war is between the United States and Japan. What made it inevitable?

The fact that capitalism has concentrated the world's wealth in the hands of individual states, has divided up the earth to the last bit. Any further division, any further enrichment can only take place at the expense of others, by one state gaining at the expense of another. Force alone can decide the issue — hence war among the global vultures became inevitable.¹⁴

Apparently the PLA feels that "in our time" the "global vultures" can redivide the world without force or have no need to. For the PLA there is only the "danger of war." The PLA claims "another possibility exists," a possibility not seen by Lenin in our time. The PLA has rendered Lenin more "profound" by substituting pacifism for Leninism. The PLA asks: "It is not possible today to avoid a third world

war if, as Stalin said, the peoples take the question of peace in their hands and carry it through to the end? To preach the inevitability of a new world war means to mistrust the revolutionary, democratic and peace loving forces of the peoples, means to paralyze their will and efforts to secure peace, means to encourage and incite the armaments' race, to leave the imperialist warmongers a free hand to unleash war."¹⁵

The PLA uses Stalin's name only to attack his political line. Stalin, in 1952, said "the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force. It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defense of peace and against another world war. That is not true."¹⁶ For the PLA, "in our time" Stalin is wrong and the Leninist thesis on the inevitability of war does not apply. But how is "our time" so changed that Leninism is no longer true? Stalin struggled against this revisionist thesis, upheld by the PLA, at a time when there was a large socialist camp, a large international communist movement and a large peace movement. Even under these conditions Stalin said "What is most likely is that the present-day peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace, in the resignation of a bellicose government and its supersession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That of course will be good. Even very good. But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. It will not be enough, because, for all the successes of the peace movement, imperialism will remain, continue in force — and consequently, the inevitability of wars will continue in force. To eliminate the inevitability of war it is necessary to abolish imperialism."¹⁷

For the PLA, "in our time," it is no longer "necessary to abolish imperialism" "to eliminate the inevitability of war." The PLA takes up the very modern revisionist line that Stalin was attacking and in its place the PLA inserts social pacifism. The PLA does this at a time when there is no socialist camp, even counting the PLA's franchised parties, a minuscule international communist movement and a virtually non-existent peace movement countering both imperialist blocs. Even if Albania was the only socialist country in the world, what would its real ability to even temporarily postpone any war be? Albania might exert some momentary influence on events in the Balkans, but to raise this to the level of theory is to expose the social nationalism on which the PLA bases its line. Today imperialism is much more in force than in 1952, when Stalin was writing the above quoted material. "In our time" the forces of peace are in complete disarray and atrophy. Under these conditions war is even more inevitable and the chances to even temporarily influence even particular conflicts is virtually non-existent. And

this problem is greatly worsened by the abandonment by the PLA of the Leninist-Stalinist line on war. For the PLA to maintain that upholding the inevitability of war encourages war is to raise the old social-democratic pacifist attacks on communism. The Sixth Congress of the Communist International drew attention to how "the Social Democrats deliberately charge Communists with encouraging imperialist wars" because communists propagate "that imperialist wars are inevitable as long as the bourgeoisie remains in power."¹⁸

The PLA completely ignores the lessons of World War I drawn by Lenin, which the Sixth Congress of the Comintern drew particular attention to.¹⁹ The Comintern quotes Lenin saying:

It is essential again and again, and as concretely as possible, to explain to the masses what the situation was at the time of the last war and why that situation was inevitable.

It is particularly necessary to explain to the masses the significance of the fact that the question of "national defense" is becoming an inevitable question, which the enormous majority of the toilers will inevitably decide in favor of their own bourgeoisie.

In view of recent experiences of war, we must explain that on the morrow of the declaration of war, such an enormous number of theoretical and social questions will arise, that the overwhelming majority of the men called up for service will find it utterly impossible to examine them with a clear head and with any degree of impartiality.

We must tell the masses the real facts about the profound secrecy in which the governments make their plans for war and how impotent the ordinary labor organizations, even those that call themselves revolutionary, are in face of the imperialist war.

This truth is ignored by the PLA which contents itself with some pacifist slogans and ignores how incredibly more impotent the labour organizations are going to be in face of the coming imperialist war where the overwhelming majority of self-proclaimed socialists and labour leaders are actively for imperialism. To speak the truth on these matters is not to help the imperialists, who are well aware of this situation, but to help the proletariat to break from pacifist demagogues like the PLA and to show the real communist tasks in relation to imperialist war. The PLA tells us that "today, the true socialist countries, the world proletariat, the peoples who are against war, against hegemonism and imperialist and social-imperialist oppression, constitute a colossal force able to restrain the war-mongers."²⁰ Only those who hide their minds in pompous Albanian proclamations and ignore the real world could believe such nonsense. What socialist countries? Albania's followers say that Albania is the only socialist country.

What countries could the PLA mean, Vietnam, Korea, Rumania...? Vietnam is a great example, struggling for peace by invading Cambodia and fighting China on behalf of Russian imperialism. All over the world the opposition to one imperialist bloc is set up by the other, "national liberation movements" are routinely set up by the imperialists. The proletariat is led by parties and labour leaders that advocate war and there is hardly any socialist press to oppose the entire bourgeois media from whipping up war hysteria. In a situation where there was in fact a strong socialist camp and peace movement, Stalin made it clear that the best that could be expected is a temporary postponement of a particular conflict, but the PLA tells us "our Party upholds the thesis that aggressive world wars can be prevented if the world proletariat, the peoples of the entire world, will not allow the imperialists and social-imperialists to set the world on fire."²¹

This was pacifist nonsense in Lenin and Stalin's day, but it is absolute criminal treachery against the proletariat and world's peoples today. When the Social Democrats, and Russian and Chinese revisionists are preaching war, the PLA is trying to deceive the world into thinking that the line of Lenin and Stalin is the pacifist betrayal of revolution peddled by the PLA. There is nothing so-called "Communists" can do to incite the imperialists more towards war than this pacifist demagogy because what the imperialists fear most is that an imperialist war might be turned into a civil war by the proletariat. This is exactly what the PLA fears as well. The PLA says: "The only correct Marxist-Leninist course towards unjust imperialist wars, hence also towards a new world war, is that of preventing them."²² Lenin said that "The essential thing is not merely to prevent war, but to utilize the crisis created by war in order to hasten the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."²³ For the PLA the essential thing is the preservation of peace, divorcing this from the question of revolution and promoting that peace is possible without revolution. It is in fact this kind of position that demoralizes the proletariat and plays into the hands of the imperialists. "A propaganda of peace" Lenin said, "if not accompanied by a call to revolutionary mass actions, is only capable of spreading illusions, of demoralizing the proletariat by imbuing it with confidence in the humanitarianism of the bourgeoisie, making it a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of the possibility of a so-called democratic peace without a series of revolutions is deeply erroneous."²⁴

The PLA's "Leninism" preaches that which Lenin called "deeply erroneous." In fact the PLA totally rejects Leninism by denying that there is a connection between war and revolution. The PLA says "war is neither the source nor an essential condition for the socialist revolution to break out."²⁵ The Comintern took quite a different view of the relationship of war and socialist revolution. In summing up the experiences of World War I and drawing the lessons for the future war, the Sixth Congress of the

Comintern said:

Just as the world war of 1914-1918 led directly to the victorious proletarian revolution in the former Tsarist Empire, to the development of the liberation movement in the colonies and to uprisings and revolutionary mass movements among the European proletariat, so too a new war will rouse a mighty revolutionary movement that will embrace the industrial workers of America, the broad masses of peasants in agrarian countries and the millions of oppressed peoples of the colonies.²⁶

The PLA denies that the proletariat and oppressed masses can take advantage of the tremendous destruction caused by imperialist war to organize for revolution. The PLA also denies the historical experience of the October Revolution and in fact their own revolution. Stalin understood this relationship between war and revolution and this is why he said, in the face of an approaching war, that proletarian revolution was the result the bourgeoisie obtained from the World War I and it would be the result of another war. "The result they obtained" Stalin said speaking of the imperialists in the first imperialist war, "was the smashing of capitalism in Russia, the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and — of course — the Soviet Union. What guarantee is there that a second imperialist war will produce 'better' results for them than the first? Would it not be more correct to assume that the opposite will be the case?"²⁷ A war which Stalin saw as inevitable in 1934²⁸ produced the vast socialist camp that included Albania. "It can hardly be doubted," Stalin said in 1934, "that a second war against the USSR will lead to the complete defeat of the aggressors, to revolution in a number of countries in Europe and in Asia, and to the destruction of the bourgeois-landlord governments in those countries."²⁹

Stalin, unlike the PLA, based himself on the Leninist teachings on war and revolution which are firmly rooted in the best internationalist traditions of the world proletariat. "What are the tasks of the working class with regard to this war? The answer to this question," Lenin said, "is provided in a resolution unanimously adopted by the socialists of the whole world at the Basle International Socialist Congress of 1912. This resolution was adopted in anticipation of a war of the very kind as started in 1914. This resolution says that the war is reactionary, that it is being prepared in the interests of 'capitalist profits,' that the workers consider it 'a crime to shoot each other down,' that the war will lead to 'a proletarian revolution,' that an example for the workers' tactics was set by the Paris Commune of 1871, and by October-December 1905 in Russia, i.e., by a revolution."³⁰ The Paris Commune, the 1905 revolution, the 1917 revolution and the revolutions as a result of World War II all came about in relationship to war, but the

PLA is to have us believe there is no essential relationship between war and revolution. If war, however, does not produce revolution, mankind will be condemned to suffering future wars and this is the situation today. Lenin long ago made clear the necessity of proletarian revolution coming from war in order to stop war.

Imperialism has put the fate of European civilisation at stake: this war, if there does not follow a series of successful revolutions, will soon be followed by other wars; the fable of the "last war" is an empty, harmful fable, a philistine "myth" (to use the correct expression of *Golos*). If not to-day, then certainly to-morrow; if not during the present war, then after it; if not in this war, then in the following one, the proletarian banner of civil war will rally not only hundreds of thousands of enlightened workers, but also millions of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeois who are now being fooled by chauvinism and who, besides being frightened and benumbed by the horrors of the war, will also be enlightened, taught, aroused, organized, hardened and prepared for a war against the bourgeoisie both of "their own" and of the "foreign" countries.³¹

The PLA ignores this reality to preach pacifist mobilization against the war. As Lenin said "Down with the sentimental and foolish preacher's yearnings for a 'peace at any price!' Let us raise the banner of civil war!"³² But this is the banner the social pacifists of the PLA fear the most. They openly reject holding this banner. The PLA tells us "the Marxist-Leninist communists are against that road of the triumph of the revolution which goes through imperialist war, because such a war and more so in present-day conditions of a thermo-nuclear war, would be fraught with devastating consequences for the peoples, for the present and future of mankind. The communists are not indifferent towards the course followed and means used to achieve the triumph of the revolution and socialism. They are against the view that the end justifies the means."³³ This is utter and total betrayal in the face of the enemy, to guarantee the imperialists before a war that communists "are against that road to the triumph of the revolution which goes through imperialist war." This is counter-revolutionary betrayal of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and it will not have the desired results the PLA wants. It will not "stay the hand of the imperialists" but encourage them to think that they can wage imperialist war with impunity. The Comintern combated this kind of "revolutionary" pacifism and exposed it at the Sixth Congress.

"Radical" or "revolutionary" pacifism, advocated by certain "Left" Socialists who admit the danger of war, but strive to combat this danger frequently by meaningless phrases against war. These pacifists lay excessive stress upon the destructiveness of modern

weapons of war in order, either to prove that protracted wars are impossible, or else to demonstrate that it is impossible to transform imperialist war into civil war.³⁴

The PLA are just such "revolutionary" pacifists who cower in fear in the face of the destructiveness of modern weapons and proclaim to the imperialists that "the Marxist-Leninist communists are against that road to the triumph of the revolution which goes through imperialist war." The PLA tries to pass this betrayal as a concern for the "devastating consequences for the peoples," but it is these "devastating consequences" that mobilizes people for the proletarian revolution. Lenin explained it this way:

The millions of victims who will fall in the war, and as a consequence of the war, will not fall in vain. The millions who are starving, the millions who are sacrificing their lives in the trenches, are not only suffering, they are also gathering strength, are pondering over the real cause of the war, are becoming more determined and are acquiring a clearer revolutionary understanding. Rising discontent of the masses, growing ferment, strikes, demonstrations, protests against the war — all this is taking place in all countries of the world. *And this is the guarantee that the European War will be followed by the proletarian revolution against capitalism.*³⁵

This does not mean as the Social-Democrats always charged that Communists are in favor of imperialist war to accelerate revolution. But communists realize that war is inevitable and that the destruction visited upon the peoples by the imperialists is inevitable. Communists use this destruction to mobilize the masses for revolution. Before the war they organize the fight against the outbreak of imperialist war, but they do not deceive the exploited by the pacifist demagogy used by the PLA. As the Comintern said communists "know that imperialist wars are inevitable as long as the bourgeoisie remain in power. . . . Indeed the Social Democrats deliberately charge the communists with encouraging imperialist wars in order to accelerate the advent of Revolution. . . . (this) is a silly calumny. Although convinced that war is inevitable under the rule of the bourgeoisie, the Communists, in the interests of the masses of the workers and of all the toilers who bear the brunt of the sacrifice entailed by war, wage a persistent fight against imperialist war and strive to prevent imperialist war by proletarian revolution."³⁶ The PLA does not strive to prevent imperialist war by proletarian revolution but through pacifist actions to "stay the hand of the imperialists" and they promote the illusion this will prevent war. Communists strive to prevent war in order to postpone it, to better carry out the work that will facilitate transforming the coming war into a civil war. "It is clear," the Sixth Congress of the Comintern states, "that a postponement of the imperialist war measures

by the mass actions of the proletariat will create conditions that will considerably facilitate the transformation of this war into civil war and the overthrow of the imperialists."³⁷

Communists must do their work before the war to lay the basis for turning the war into a civil war. "The proletariat," says the Sixth Congress, "fights against the wars between imperialist states with a programme of defeatism and the transformation of the war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie."³⁸ The programme of the PLA is to prevent wars and they are "against that road to the triumph of the revolution which goes through imperialist war." The PLA admits that: "It is true that wars, while causing the peoples great suffering and misery, create conditions favourable to throw them into revolution"³⁹ but they refuse to take advantage of these favourable conditions because they "are against the view that the end justifies the means"! The Comintern says that communists must explain to the masses "the impossibility of limiting the struggle to certain fixed methods and the need for bringing into action all forms of the class struggle,"⁴⁰ *particularly and especially the call for civil war* because we are categorically in favour of "that road to the triumph of the revolution which goes through the imperialist war"! By refusing to use imperialist war as the prelude to proletarian revolution, the PLA condemns the proletariat to suffer the consequences of war in vain, with no hope of putting a permanent end to the horrors of imperialist war. Such is its absolute betrayal. The PLA is like the opportunists of Lenin's day who were "confining themselves in the struggle against militarism to a sentimental, philistine point of view, instead of recognizing the necessity for a revolutionary war of the proletarians of all countries, against the bourgeoisie of all countries."⁴¹

The PLA is often giving speeches about how we live in the same epoch as Lenin and how the PLA upholds Leninism against all attackers, but this is just so much phrasemongering because "in our time" the PLA denies the revolutionary essence of Leninism and thereby denies the path to revolution. The PLA can tell us that "war is neither the source nor an essential condition for the socialist revolution to break out" but this is to deny openly and consciously Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution and to thereby deny the proletariat and the oppressed nations the means to overthrow imperialism. Stalin explains the importance of war in Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution by explaining that there is an "intensification of the revolutionary crisis within the capitalist countries and growth of the elements of an explosion on the internal front in the 'metropolises' and secondly there is "intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the colonial countries and growth of the elements of revolt against imperialism on the external front." Then Stalin elucidates the Third thesis that explains how the revolutionary crisis on these two fronts is turned into a world front of revolution.

Third Thesis: The monopolistic possession of "spheres of influence" and colonies; the uneven development of capitalist countries, leading to a frenzied struggle for the redivision of the world between the countries which have already seized territories and those claiming their "share"; means of restoring the disturbed "equilibrium" — all this leads to the intensification of the third front, the inter-capitalist front, which weakens imperialism and facilitates the union of the first two fronts against imperialism: the front of the revolutionary proletariat and the front of colonial emancipation.

Hence the third conclusion: that under imperialism wars cannot be averted, and that a coalition between the proletarian revolution and the colonial revolution in the East in a united world front of revolution against the world front of imperialism is inevitable.

Lenin combines all these conclusions into one general conclusion "*imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution.*"⁴²

Put simply, anyone who does not uphold this is not a Leninist and anyone who does not think it applies "in our time" is a revisionist. Its application "in our time" is particularly important because of the destruction of the socialist camp and the consequent break between the proletarian front and the colonial front which is so painfully obvious to anyone who cares to look. The PLA consciously breaks from Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution. This is clear from its constant pronouncements about revolution in general, and very rarely about the proletarian revolution. The PLA recognizes that war could break out, but in its prescription of what to do the PLA reveals its total departure from Leninism. Hoxha said at the Seventh Congress, and it is quoted in every PLA article on war (admittedly not many) that: "If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war."⁴³ Lenin never referred to the matter this way. He always specified that imperialist war could not be prevented and that it was the duty of communists and proletarians to turn it into a *civil war*, a *proletarian revolution for socialism*. What Hoxha obviously means is that if pacifism fails, "defend the fatherland" in a "liberation war." What in the vocabulary of Marxism is a "liberation war"? Marxism has always referred to *national liberation wars* which Marxists have always supported, but a cornerstone of Leninism is that capitalism has been transformed into imperialism and capitalism no longer plays a liberating role. Under imperialism we support national liberation wars against imperialism but never the wars of imperialists as "liberation wars." Lenin said "the historic era of national wars is past. We are now confronted with an imperialist war, and it is the task of socialists to turn the 'national' war into a civil war."⁴⁴ Hoxha is not ignorant of history, why is he so careful to avoid the Leninist position of turning imperialist war into a *civil war*? Hoxha's

avoidance of Lenin's formulations is like Kautsky's avoidance of the Basle manifesto. "This leader", Lenin said of Kautsky, "dodges the exact and formal declarations of the Basle and Chemnitz Congresses as carefully as a thief dodges the place of his last theft"⁴⁵. Hoxha tries to avoid just as carefully the exact and formal declaration of revolutionary Marxism since the Basle manifesto.

Hoxha is preparing a Kautskyite betrayal with his talk of "aggressive imperialist wars." Lenin said "it is... absurd to divide wars into defensive and aggressive."⁴⁶ Hoxha obviously thinks there can be "defensive" imperialist wars, i.e., "liberation wars." This is exactly the kind of sophism Lenin exposed Kautsky for. "This is a new sophism and a new deception of the workers: the war, if you please, is not a 'purely imperialist one!'... It appears that this is a national war as well!"⁴⁷ A "liberation war" if you please. "The ruling classes' bamboozle narrow-minded petty bourgeois and browbeaten peasants by means of fables regarding the national aims of the imperialist war, therefore a man of science, an authority on Marxism, a representative of the Second International, has a right to reconcile the masses with this bamboozling by means of a 'formula' to the effect that the ruling classes have imperialist tendencies, while the 'people' and the proletarian masses have 'national' tendencies."⁴⁸ This is exactly the purpose of Hoxha's "formula" that: "If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war."

The meaning given by the PLA to this "formula" can be seen all over the world by its parties promoting the proletariat as the truly "patriotic" class, that the monopolies have abandoned the struggle for "national independence" and the proletariat has to struggle to preserve the "nation." The PLA uses the "sugary chauvinism of Kautsky... in sanctifying the shifting of the socialists of all countries to the side of 'their' capitalists, uses the following arguments: Everybody has a right and a duty to defend his fatherland,"⁴⁹ and turn the war into a "liberation war."

It has been necessary to quote Lenin at some length on these questions because Hoxha and the PLA consciously distort what Lenin said to justify their own pacifist centrist politics. This can be seen clearly when Hoxha says "Lenin taught the communist revolutionaries that their duty is to smash the warmongering plans of imperialism and prevent the outbreak of war. If they cannot achieve this, then they must mobilize the working class, the masses of the people to transform the imperialist war into a REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION WAR."⁵⁰ Hoxha abandons the struggle to postpone the war in order to prepare the civil war and takes up the pacifist struggle "to stay the hand of the imperialist warmongers"⁵¹ creating the illusion that imperialist war is a matter of the "plans" of imperialism and not an inevitable result of the imperialist system, a result of the rivalry of the imperialists to redivide the world. If this fails Hoxha wants the

communists to unite the proletariat with the bourgeoisie, included in "the masses of the people," in a war to "defend the fatherland," i.e., "a revolutionary liberation war."

Lenin said "the division of the globe compels the capitalists to pass from peaceful expansion to armed struggle for the redivision of colonies and spheres of influence,"⁵² but Hoxha would have us believe that "in our time" we can compel the imperialist to refrain from such wars. "Is not this," as Lenin asked, "a philistine attempt at persuading the financiers to relinquish imperialism?"⁵³ Hoxha tries to sound oh so "revolutionary" by saying "the only correct course is to raise the working class, the broad strata of the working people AND the PEOPLES in revolutionary actions to stay the hand of the imperialist warmongers in their own countries."⁵⁴ Stalin exposed the empty character of reformist calls to "revolutionary action."

"Decisive in determining whether a given party is revolutionary or reformist are not "revolutionary actions" in themselves, but the political aims and objects for the sake of which the party undertakes and employs these actions. As is known, in 1906, after the first Duma was dispersed, the Russian Mensheviks proposed the organization of a "general strike" and even of an "armed uprising." But that did not in the least prevent them from remaining Mensheviks, for why did they propose this at that time? Not, of course, to smash tsarism and to organize the complete victory of the revolution, but in order to "exert pressure on the tsarist government with the object of winning reforms, with the object of widening the "constitution," with the object of securing the convocation of an "improved" Duma. "Revolutionary actions" for the purpose of rebreaking up the old order, for overthrowing the ruling class, is another thing — that is the revolutionary path, the path of the complete victory of the revolution. There is a fundamental difference here" ("The National Question Once Again," *Stalin Works*, Vol VII, p. 222).

"Revolutionary actions" to defend the imperialist fatherland are one thing. "Revolutionary actions" to overthrow the imperialist fatherland and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat are another thing. There is a fundamental difference here.

The "peace" that Hoxha wants to preserve through "revolutionary actions" is an imperialist "peace," a peace which is but a temporary agreement between wars of conquest. The peace Hoxha wants to preserve is maintained by the imperialists precisely for the purpose of preparing for the next war. It is inadequate preparation, shifting power based on the law of uneven development and calculation to strike at the most advantageous moment that temporarily "stays" the hands of the imperialists. "Peaceful alliances," said Lenin, "prepare ground for wars and in turn grow out of wars; the one conditions the other, producing alternating forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle on one and the same basis of imperialist connections and relations within world economics and politics. But in order to pacify the workers and to reconcile

them with the social-chauvinists who have deserted to the bourgeoisie, wise Kautsky separates one link of a single chain from the other, separates the present peaceful (and ultra-imperialist, nay ultra-ultra imperialist) alliance of all the Powers for the pacification of China (remember the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion) from the non peaceful conflict of tomorrow, which will prepare the ground for another 'peaceful' general alliance of the partition of Turkey, on the day after tomorrow, etc., etc. Instead of showing the living connection between periods of imperialist peace and periods of imperialist war, Kautsky, presents the workers with a lifeless abstraction in order to reconcile them to their lifeless leaders"⁵⁵

Hoxha's formula of "staying the hand of the imperialists" is just such a lifeless abstraction that covers up how everything the imperialists are doing today is inevitably preparing the coming war. Hoxha denies that the politics of the imperialists today are leading directly to an imperialist war that will be a continuation of those "peaceful" politics by forceful means. Hoxha acknowledges the "danger" of war but characterizes the politics of the imperialists as maintaining the "status quo." Hoxha tells us: "In all its strategic manoeuvrings the United States of America is not aggravating its relations with the Soviet Union beyond a certain point and it is continuing the SALT negotiations with it, although Carter stated that it was going ahead with the production of neutron bombs. Despite this, between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, there is an obvious tendency towards maintaining the status quo."⁵⁶ For Hoxha the SALT II negotiations only maintain the "status quo," when in fact they did nothing to preserve the "status quo." They were an agreement to increase armament on both sides. But even this proved to be a constraint on US imperialism in its frantic war preparations. Recent events are proving the bankruptcy of Hoxha's ultra-imperialist ideas, it could hardly be said that the US "is not aggravating its relations with the Soviet Union beyond a certain point." Russian's invasion of Afghanistan and its deployment of 50,000 troops in the mid-east and the US's Carter doctrine with its deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe and new forces in the mid-east is not for the purpose of maintaining the "status quo." But for a Kautskyite like Hoxha imperialism is a "policy" to be preferred or rejected by finance capitalism. Hoxha's task is to "stay the hand of the imperialists" by "forcing" them to maintain a policy for the "status quo" instead of a war for the redivision of the world, a redivision that could involve Albania.

Herein lies the essence of Hoxha and the PLA's position: their small state preservation and bourgeois nationalist interests. For all of the PLA's talk about the working class and the masses "staying the hand of imperialism," not even the PLA can have much illusion about a peace movement stopping a war. Even the PLA must know it does not exist. The PLA knows there is a "danger" of war and the most impor-

tant thing for them is to unite the small states in a struggle against the "superpowers." Not a revolutionary struggle, but a struggle for "independence" from them. This is why Hoxha works to unite the Marxist-Leninists with "the peace-loving forces and countries"⁵⁷ and he raises "defence of the fatherland" as the task of the day in Europe where he wants "to encourage the revolutionary and PATRIOTIC forces of these countries to oppose US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which want to subjugate them economically, politically and military, to exploit them and deny them their NATIONAL identity, etc."⁵⁸ The PLA made this all clear when it addressed itself to the other European states in relation to the Helsinki conference. The PLA said: "The government of the People's Republic of Albania holds that real security in Europe cannot be reached by means of conferences instigated and organized by the two superpowers. It WILL be achieved by the efforts of ALL the PEACELOVING European peoples and COUNTRIES. They must take the defense of their SUPREME NATIONAL interests into their own hands. The peoples of Europe will achieve REAL peace and security by strengthening their NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE and sovereignty, their independent development and the DEFENSE CAPACITY OF THEIR COUNTRIES. It is in the vital interest of all the European peoples to be opposed, to the AGGRESSIVE POLICY of the military blocs on our continent and in the regions adjacent to it, to struggle consistently, and through to the end for the liquidation of foreign troops from their own territories, to unite their efforts with the struggle for PEACE and SECURITY being waged by the other peoples of the world."⁵⁹

The PLA is preaching, as Lenin characterized it, "the philistine utopia of freedom for all small states in general under capitalism."⁶⁰ The PLA is going to achieve this "utopia" at least in Europe by uniting the "peace-loving countries" who will achieve "real peace" by strengthening "national independence," "sovereignty," "independent development" and "defense capacity." This is shameless capitulation to the bourgeoisie, total abandonment of the proletariat and the greatest of deceptions — that it is possible to have "real peace" without a series of revolutions.⁶¹

After conciliating with Chinese revisionism and social chauvinism for years, the PLA broke with them, in part, over the issue of war. China was disturbing the PLA's "utopia" by advocating war in Europe and by openly allying with the US imperialism and the imperialists in Western Europe, promoting NATO and the ECC. Although the PLA correctly compared the Chinese social-chauvinism with that of the Second International, the PLA does not take up the Leninist criticism of social-chauvinism in the Second International. Instead the PLA, in the name of Lenin, takes up a Kautskyite centrist position. The Chinese uphold that war is inevitable, in order to justify their alliance with the western bloc. What the PLA poses in opposition to this is not civil war and proletarian revolution but paci-

fism. If that fails and there is a war, then "defence of the fatherland." Hoxha says: "The main slogan of these parties which is also the slogan of Chinese policy, is that, in the present situation, the sole and fundamental task of the proletariat is to defend national independence, which is allegedly threatened only by Soviet social-imperialism. They are repeating, almost word by word, the slogans of the chiefs of the Second International who abandoned the cause of the revolution and replaced it with the thesis of defense of the capitalist homeland. Lenin exposed this false and anti-Marxist slogan, which does not serve the DEFENSE OF TRUE INDEPENDENCE but serves the instigation of inter-imperialist wars."⁶²

Then Hoxha gives a quote from Lenin about how every bourgeoisie becomes a participant in the plunder of an imperialist war but Hoxha turns this into an argument for the small bourgeoisies to maintain peace and "defense of true independence" by deliberately removing part of the paragraph that he quotes from Lenin.⁶³ The part of the quote expunged by Hoxha reads "I must argue, not from the point of view of 'my' country (for that is the argument of a wretched stupid petty bourgeois nationalist who does not realize that he is a plaything in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie), but from the point of view of my share in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution."⁶⁴ Hoxha also fails to extend the quote one more sentence which reads "that is the ABC that Kautsky has 'forgotten'"⁶⁵ Hoxha has "forgotten" these lines from Lenin because when talking about "defense of TRUE independence" he uses "the argument of a wretched stupid, petty-bourgeois nationalist who does not realize that he is only a plaything in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie." That Hoxha tries to ascribe these views to Lenin consciously distorting Lenin's words demonstrates the desperate revisionist depths Hoxha has sunk to.

"In the Western countries," Lenin said, "the national movement is a thing of the distant past. In England, France, Germany, etc., the 'fatherland' is a dead letter, it has played its historical role, i.e., the national movement cannot yield here anything progressive, anything that will elevate new masses to a new economic and political life. History's next step here is not transition from feudalism or from patriarchal savagery to national progress, to a cultured and politically free fatherland, but transition from a 'fatherland' that has outlived its day, that is capitalistically overripe to socialism."⁶⁶ The dream of Hoxha is "true independence," a "transition from feudalism or from patriarchal savagery to national progress, to a cultured and politically free fatherland." This may be Hoxha's petty bourgeois aspirations for Albania and the aspirations of other petty bourgeois in Europe but to try to ascribe it to Leninism "in our time" is criminal.

It is on this nationalist basis that the PLA's contradictions with China rest. The problem for the PLA in China's (and its supporters) support

for NATO and the EEC is that "they are assisting precisely those organisms which, in reality, have seriously violated the independence and sovereignty of their countries."⁶⁷ There is no doubt Hoxha argues "from the point of view of 'my' country."

Hoxha wants to unite all those who see things "from the point of view of 'my' country" in a grand struggle against the "superpowers," not to overthrow them but to "stay" their hand in unleashing a war. For Hoxha the way to defeat imperialism lies in small states uniting in "defence of true independence" and to oppose the "superpowers" because they have "seriously violated the independence and sovereignty of their countries." Hoxha, in "opposition" to the social-chauvinism of China, says that Chinese policy "advocates the alliance of the proletariat of the countries of Western Europe with the reactionary bourgeoisie of these countries."⁶⁸ What Hoxha advocates instead is for the proletariat to ally with "progressive" bourgeoisie in "defense of true independence." Hoxha says: "We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces, who through their struggle, WILL smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social imperialist warmongers."⁶⁹ Hoxha's program is this: "the peoples of Europe will achieve real peace and security by strengthening their national independence and sovereignty, their independent development and defense capacity of their countries."⁷⁰ But if all this social-pacifism should fail, then unite for a "liberation war" in "defence of the fatherland." Such is the total and disgusting abandonment of Leninism to which the PLA has sunk.

The PLA is quite right in attacking the Chinese revisionists for having taken up the social-chauvinist positions of the Second International, but the PLA has taken up the social-pacifist and social-nationalist positions of Kautsky and the "center" in the name of Lenin!

Three Trends Internationally

In Lenin's day the issue of the war divided the socialist movement and this issue has in one way or another continued a division among those who claim to be socialists. In the face of the coming war this division is becoming particularly pronounced. First there are the open social-chauvinists of the Socialist International, the Russian revisionists and their followers, and the Chinese revisionists and their followers. As Lenin said "these people are our *class* enemies. They have gone over to the bourgeoisie."⁷¹

The second trend is the "centre" made up of the PLA and its followers, as well as an array of opportunists, Maoists, semi-trotskyites and apologists of Russian imperialism. "The 'centre'" wrote Lenin, is the realm of honeyed petty bourgeois phrases, of internationalism in words and cowardly opportunism and fawning on the social-chauvinists in deeds."⁷² There are different centrists who "fawn" on different social-chauvinists. The PLA for years tried to "fawn"

on the Russian social-chauvinists and then the Chinese social-chauvinists. However for nationalist reasons "in our time" they claim to oppose both in words. Their deeds tell a different story. The PLA is part of a centrist trend that has emerged through opposition to Stalin, signing the Moscow declaration, etc. The CPC once took a more centrist stand, but now that its social-chauvinism is completely open "Gang of Four" Maoists are striking out on their own.

These centrists are more dangerous than the open social-chauvinists because their "honeyed petty bourgeois phrases" deceive revolutionaries and the proletariat and keep them away from the real positions of Leninism. Lenin said: "The Kautskyite 'centre' is doing more harm to Marxism than the avowed social-chauvinism... to any internationalist, hostility towards neo-Kautskyism must remain the touchstone. Only he is a genuine internationalist who combats Kautskyism, and understands that *even after* its leaders pretended change of intention, the centre remains, on all fundamental issues, an ally of the chauvinists and the opportunists."⁷³ Today we have the same neo-Kautskyism in the form of the PLA and "even after" the "pretended change of intention" of the "Gang of Four" Maoists, they remain united with the PLA in their betrayal of Leninism.

Opposing the social-chauvinists and the "centre" is an emerging trend of genuine Lefts. This trend, in the words of Lenin, "is characterized by its complete rupture with both social-chauvinism and 'centrism'..."⁷⁴ This trend is just emerging after years of sabotage by the social-chauvinists and the "Centre." But this trend is hampered by an incorrect understanding of centrism. There are many who think the PLA is making mistakes, that it is somehow literally centered between revisionism and Leninism. They need to understand what it means when Stalin says "Centrism must not be regarded as a spatial concept: the Rights, say sitting on oneside, the Lefts on the other, and the Centrists in between. Centrism is a political concept. Its ideology is one side of adaptation, of subordination of the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie, *within one common party*, this ideology is alien and abhorrent to Leninism."⁷⁵ This is, of course, the objective of present day centrists who want to submerge the proletariat in their "International," to have the international proletariat abandon proletarian revolution and take up pacifism and nationalism, to capitulate in face of the coming imperialist war. As before the genuine Lefts must aim their fire at the centrists and split from them.

Centrism is a phenomenon that was natural in the Second International of the period before the war. There were Rights (the majority), Lefts (without quotation marks), and Centrists, whose policy consisted in embellishing the opportunism of the Rights with Left phrases and subordinating the Lefts to the Rights.

What, at that time, was the policy of the Lefts, of whom the Bolsheviks constituted the

core? It was one of determinedly fighting the Centrists, of fighting for a split with the Rights (especially after the outbreak of the imperialist war) and of organizing a new revolutionary International consisting of genuine Left, genuinely proletarian elements... the Bolsheviks could not at that time but concentrate their fire on the Centrists, who were trying to subordinate the proletarian elements to the interests of the petty bourgeoisie... the Bolsheviks were obliged at that time to advocate the idea of a split.⁷⁶

Bolshevism is the Only Way Forward

In the face of the coming imperialist war there is an alternative to social-chauvinism and the social-pacifism and social-nationalism of the centrists, the only alternative, the only way to escape the inferno of imperialist wars. As Lenin said: "The millions who are pondering over the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realizing the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war and the imperialist peace... which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution."⁷⁷

There are many social-chauvinists and centrists who call themselves "Marxist-Leninists," but they do not adhere to the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism, they ignore Bolshevism as something not for "our time," as something Russian, and in the name of Lenin advocate the very politics Lenin, Stalin and the Bolsheviks fought against. Lenin has pointed the path forward. "Bolshevism... has become world Bolshevism, has produced an idea, a theory, a program and tactics, which differ concretely from those of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism... Bolshevism has created the ideological and tactical foundations of a Third International, of a really proletarian and Communist International."⁷⁸ A new International can only be really proletarian and Communist if its ideological and tactical foundations are the idea, theory, program and tactics of Bolshevism.

It is particularly urgent that all genuine communists, revolutionaries and advanced workers take up this task immediately because the internationalist forces are weak. We must use whatever remains of the imperialist "peace" to organize the internationalists and the proletariat to begin to prepare the conditions for turning the imperialist war into a civil war. Lenin said "that Bolshevism has indicated the right road of escape from the horrors of war and imperialism, that Bolshevism can serve as a model of tactics for all."⁷⁹ It is time for all who really want to escape the horrors of war and imperialism to study and apply this model to implement these tactics. The first step is to break from the PLA and the other centrists in order to take up the cause of Bolshevism. In the words of Lenin, "if perish we must, let us perish in the struggle for our own cause, for the cause of the workers, for

the Socialist revolution and not for the interests of the capitalists."⁸⁰

This article has concentrated on the Bolshevik line on imperialist war because this is the reality of the coming war. A great deal of confusion is created on the question of war by erroneous positions on World War II and the periods before it and after it. China calls Russia "fascist" and tries to use certain correct tactics in the struggle against fascism and applies them to a situation of imperialist war to justify their opportunism. The PLA does the same thing from a slightly different angle of treating both "superpowers" as if they were "fascist." In response to this distortion of the CPC and the PLA, there are those who adopt an infantile semi-trotskyite position of claiming World War II in its entirety was an imperialist war and that the tactics of the Comintern and the Soviet Union in the United Front Against Fascism and War and in World War II laid the basis of the revisionism and opportunism of the CPC and the PLA. All of these views are profoundly erroneous and all of them are helping the imperialists to prepare the war and are a deadend for the proletariat. The Bolshevik Union will be presenting its views on this aspect of the war question in the near future. The Bolshevik Union will also be taking up the question of war in terms of the practical tasks of today and how it relates to the national and colonial questions, the trade unions, the woman question, etc., as well as a continuing analysis of how the present international situation is leading to an imperialist war.

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NOTES:

1. *War and the Workers*, International Publishers, 1940, p. 30.
2. "Socialism and War," in *Collected Works of V.I. Lenin*, 1930, Vol. 18, p. 224.
3. *War and the Workers*, p. 6.
4. "Socialism and War," *Collected Works*, 1930, Vol. 18, p. 221.
5. "The government and the bourgeoisie of every belligerent country are squandering millions of rubles on books and papers blaming the opponent, arousing in the people a furious hatred for the enemy, stopping before no lie whatever in order to picture themselves as the country that was unjustly attacked and is now 'defending' itself. In reality, this is a war between two groups of predatory great powers, and it is fought for the division of colonies, for the enslavement of other nations, for advantages and privileges in the world market" (Lenin, "Appeal on the War" *Collected Works* 1930, Vol. 18, p. 211).
6. For the beginnings of an explanation of how this occurred see "The Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR and the Preservation of Capitalism in China," *Proletarian Revolution* no. 12, and "The Great Conspiracy Against Stalin," PR no. 19 supplement. Both of these will be reprinted in *Lines of Demarcation*, no. 15.

7. "First All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, Speech on War," June 9, 1917, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25.
8. "Manifesto of the International Socialist Congress At Basle," Lenin's *Collected Works*, 1930, Vol. 18, appendices, p. 469.
9. See *Lines of Demarcation* no. 13 for a detailed explanation of this.
10. An explanation of this will appear in *Lines of Demarcation*, no. 15.
11. *Op. Cit.*
12. "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government" (July 1905).
13. "The Marxist-Leninist Stand of the Party of Labour of Albania on the Problems of War and Peace" *Albania Today*, no. 2, 1979, p. 4.
14. "Speech at a Meeting in the Polytechnical Museum" (August 23, 1918)
15. *Op. Cit.*
16. *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, Chapt. 6, International Publishers, 1952, p. 30.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
18. *The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of Communists, Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International — 1928*, Article II, p. 12.
19. *Ibid.*, Article 14 (b), p. 15.
20. Albania Telegraphic Agency, March 31, 1977. Reprinted in *In Light of the Ideas of the Seventh Congress of the PLA*, Norman Bethune Institute, Toronto, p. 141.
21. *Ibid.*
22. "The Marxist-Leninist Stand of the PLA on the Problems of War and Peace," *op. cit.*, p. 6.
23. "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart," (October 1917), *Collected Works*, Vol. 13.
24. "Conference of the Foreign Sections of the RS-DLP, Pacifism and the Peace Slogan," *Collected Works* (1930), Vol. 18, p. 149.
25. "The Marxist-Leninist Stand of the PLA on the Problems of War and Peace," *op. cit.*, p. 7.
26. *Op. Cit.* Article 6, p. 7.
27. "Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress on the Work of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B)" January 26, 1934, Section 2, "The Growing Tension in the Political Situation in the Capitalist Countries," in *Problems of Leninism*, FLP, p. 683.
28. Stalin said "Quite clearly things are heading for a new war" (*ibid.* p. 680) and "things are heading towards a new imperialist war as a way out of the present situation" (*ibid.*, p. 682)
29. *Ibid.*, p. 686.
30. "Appeal on the War," *Collected Works* (1930), Vol. 18, pp. 211-12.
31. "Position and Tasks of the Socialist International," November 1914, *Collected Works* (1930), Vol. 18, pp. 88-9.
32. *Ibid.*
33. "The Marxist-Leninist Stand of the PLA on the Problems of War and Peace", *op. cit.*, p. 7.
34. *Op. cit.*, Article 12(c), pp. 12-13.
35. "Speech Delivered at an International Meeting in Berne" (February 8, 1916).
36. *Op. Cit.*, Article 11, p. 12.
37. *Ibid.*, Article 6, p. 8.
38. *Ibid.*, Article 8, p. 10.
39. "The Marxist-Leninist Stand..." *op. cit.*, p. 7.
40. *Op. Cit.*, Article 13(b), p. 14.
41. "The War and Russian Social-Democracy," (Nov. 1914) *Collected Works* (1930), Vol. 18, p. 80.
42. *Foundations of Leninism*, FLP., Theory, Chapter III, section 3), pp. 26-27.
43. Report to Seventh Congress of the PLA, p. 191. quoted in "The Marxist-Leninist Stand..." *op. cit.* p. 7.
44. "The Proletariat and the War," October 14, 1914, *Collected works* (1930), Vol. 18, p. 71.
45. "The Collapse of the Second International," Section VI, *Collected works* (1930), Vol. 18, p. 298.
46. "Reports on the Subject 'The Proletariat and the War'" (October, 1914), *Collected Works*, Vol. 36.
47. "The Collapse of the Second International" *op. cit.*
48. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
49. *Ibid.*, Section III, p. 284.
50. *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, p. 372.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
52. "The Collapse of the Second International," *op. cit.*, section IV, p. 290.
53. *Ibid.* section V, p. 294.
54. *Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 372.
55. "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 295.
56. *Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 28.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
59. *Albania Today*, no 6, 1972, p. 49.
60. "The Peace Question," (August 1915), *Collected Works*, (1930), Vol. 18, p. 267.
61. "Instead of leaving it to hypocritical phrasemongers to deceive the people by phrases and promises concerning a possible democratic peace, the socialists must explain to the masses the impossibility of a more or less democratic peace outside a number of revolutions and revolutionary struggle in every country against their governments." (*Ibid.*, pp. 267-8.)
62. *Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 247.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 248. The quote Hoxha gives reads "If war is a reactionary imperialist war, that is, if it is being waged by two world coalitions of the imperialist, violent, predatory, reactionary bourgeoisie then every bourgeoisie (even of the smallest country) becomes a participant in the plunder, and my duty as a representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare for the world proletarian revolution as the only escape from the horrors of a world slaughter..."
- That is what internationalism means and that is the duty of the internationalist, the revolutionary worker, the genuine socialist."
64. "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 287, from the chapter entitled "What is Internationalism?"
65. *Ibid.*
66. "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 89.
67. *Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 249.
68. *Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 288.

69. Report to the Seventh Congress of the PLA, quoted in ATA, March 31, 1977, op. cit., p. 139.

70. Albania Today no 6, 1972, p. 49.

71. "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," *Selected Works* (1943), Vol. 10, p. 4

72. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

73. "Socialism and War" *Collected works*, Vol. 21, p. 327.

74. "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," op. cit., p. 6.

75. "Industrialization in the Country and the Right Deviation in the CPSU(B)," *Stalin's Works*, Vol. II, p. 293.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 293-94.

77. "The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," (October 14, 1921), *LCW* 33:58.

78. *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, FLP, p. 87.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

80. "Appeal on the War," op. cit., p. 213.

AUSTRIA-TURKEY

JOINT DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY MARXIST-LENINIST AND THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

- I. On the International Situation
- II. The Situation of the World
Marxist-Leninist Movement

In June, 1978, authorized representatives of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKP-ML) and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria (MPLÖ) met for a fraternal discussion. The present international situation, the current situation in the world Marxist-Leninist movement, and the problems of the revolution in Turkey and Austria were discussed in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and close communist friendship.

In the course of this meeting, both sides determined — with great satisfaction — the extensive agreement between our views and standpoints, and we took this opportunity to learn from each other and to exchange the rich experiences of the struggles of the proletariat and the working masses of our countries, as well as that of their vanguard parties.

It was therefore decided to publish the following joint declaration on important problems of the international situation and the Marxist-Leninist world movement in the name of the Central Committees of both parties.

I - THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Epoch in Which We Live.

The epoch in which we live today is still the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution. This epoch, which is one of dying capitalism, i.e., imperialism, is characterized by the intensification of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system — intensification to an extreme limit beyond which revolution begins.

Thereby it is decisive of this epoch that the step-by-step realization and victory of the proletarian revolution is not only an ideal nor a distant possibility, but is a current, actual problem which must be solved. The main characteristic of this epoch is that the proletarian world revolution — despite temporary setbacks — is steadily moving forward to victory, while imperialism, social-imperialism and other reactionary forces — despite temporary victories — are steadily moving towards their defeat.

In its essence, this epoch has not changed since the time of the great proletarian leaders Lenin and Stalin who scientifically analyzed and clarified the character of this epoch. And as long as the imperialist system continues to exist, the character of our epoch cannot and will not fundamentally change.

Today's World is Characterized by the Existence of Two Opposing Camps

In this epoch, the world is finally and irrevocably split into two camps. On the one side are imperialism, social-imperialism, and all reactionary forces in the world which are directly or indirectly connected to them. On the other side is the front of the proletarian world revolution, the front of the world proletariat, and the masses of people of the oppressed nations under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties.

Both of our parties agree that the proletarian world revolution is made up of different revolutionary processes in different countries which have different features according to the social and economic structure of the respective country. These different revolutionary currents work however in the same direction, and join together in the end with the common goal of the complete defeat of imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction.

The Role of the Socialist States

The socialist states, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat was built and is consistently being consolidated, are powerful supports in the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and all other reaction for the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale. They are the living embodiment of the hopes and strivings of the proletariat and millions of working people for a bright future without exploitation or tyranny; they are both the product of and example of the heroic struggle with the goal of the final creation of a truly free, that is, classless communist society.

The existence and development of such states, the struggle of communists to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in these states, the successes of the masses of people under the leadership of the proletariat in building socialism, the proletarian-internationalist support given by those states in which the dictatorship of the proletariat exists, to the proletariat of the still capitalist countries as well as to all of those

people fighting for national and social liberation — all of these are powerful contributions to the proletarian world revolution which has an invaluable basis in the existence of and further development of these socialist states.

It is the unconditional duty of all communists, regardless of nationality, to view these outstanding centers of the world revolution as their own revolutionary fatherland, to regard all matters of these countries as their own, and to protect and defend these states — with all means — against all forms of attack, whether from external or from internal reactionaries.

The Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania: The Bright Beacon of Socialism

From this standpoint, it follows that both our parties will do everything in our power to propagate as broadly as possible and to support this bright beacon of socialism, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as well as to decisively defend her against all enmity and attacks.

Likewise, neither of our parties regard the grave events which have taken place in the People's Republic of China with indifference; nor have we taken a "wait-and-see" type of attitude towards these events. Rather we feel obliged to raise our voices and to make our contribution in the struggle for the defense and restoration of the revolutionary accomplishments and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

The Struggle of the Proletariat in the Capitalist Metropolises

The struggle of the proletariat in the imperialist (and social-imperialist) metropolises constitutes an important part of the world-revolutionary process. In this struggle, the proletariat stands in irreconcilable contradiction to the imperialist (and social-imperialist) bourgeoisie. In these countries, there is no national bourgeoisie of a similar or the same type as existed or still exists in the semi-colonial semi-feudal countries. The bourgeoisie, in these former countries has long become imperialistic, has lost all of its progressive possibilities, can neither partially nor temporarily be a partner or ally of the revolutionary forces. In these countries, it is the immediate task of the proletariat to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus through a socialist revolution of the armed masses of people under the leadership of the proletariat. The MLPÖ has determined that Austria belongs to this group of countries.

In these imperialist countries, the bourgeoisie has been able to and is still able to at times corrupt considerable sections of the working class through super-profits extracted by the direct and indirect exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial countries; to create levels of a worker-aristocracy and worker-bureaucracy; and to harness these sections for the bourgeoisie's own exploitative goals. These different strata (of the working class) which is bound to their "own" bourgeoisie for better or worse, are the decisive

representatives of the various ideologies of opportunism, reformism and the different varieties of old and new revisionism. Their strivings, which constantly take on new forms, can be partially and temporarily successful in duping the workers and all working people, and in holding them back from the revolutionary struggle, but in the long run, this cannot last for long. The facts increasingly and clearly show that the class struggle of the proletariat and of the rest of the working people in the imperialist countries cannot be stifled, rather that it is increasingly intensifying and will continue to intensify as the crisis of the capitalist-imperialist system deepens and as this system reveals its undisguised reactionary, parasitic and inhuman character. For the Marxist-Leninist parties of these countries, increasing possibilities arise for bringing revolutionary socialist consciousness to the working class, to mobilize the working class and other working people for the revolutionary struggle and to, in general, organize.

The struggle of the Masses of People in the Colonial/Semi-Colonial Countries

The struggle of the masses of people in the colonial/semi-colonial countries for national and social liberation comprises another very important part of the process of the proletarian world revolution. In these countries the masses of people struggle, under the leadership of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party, against imperialism and its native lackeys, namely against the comprador bourgeoisie and feudal lords. In the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in many colonial/semi-colonial countries, the liquidation of feudalism, which represents the main prop of imperialism in the broad rural areas, is the most important task of the revolution. In such countries, the agrarian revolution is the main link. The TKP-ML has determined that Turkey belongs to this group of countries.

The Relationship of the Great Currents of the World Revolution to One Another

On a world scale today, the struggles of the masses of people in the colonies and semi-colonies of imperialism are increasingly intensifying and the revolutionary struggle in these areas has taken on much sharper forms than the class struggle in the metropolises. But from that, it should not be concluded that the revolution in the imperialist countries is unilaterally dependent on the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Certainly no less incorrect and misleading is the opposite notion that the revolutionary movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are unilaterally dependent on the revolutions in the imperialist metropolises. The chauvinistic European tendency to replace the correct demand that the international proletariat lead the proletarian world revolution by the viewpoint that it

is allegedly up to the proletariat of the metropolises to direct the struggles of the oppressed people in the colonies and semi-colonies must be decisively struggled against and entirely repudiated.

The Hegemony of the Proletariat is Irrevocable

In our epoch, the revolutionary uprisings of the masses of people in imperialism's colonies and semi-colonies cannot lead to actual independence from imperialism unless they are led by the proletariat of the country involved and by its vanguard party as part of the proletarian world revolution. That does not exclude that certain uprisings which do not take place under proletarian leadership can still temporarily weaken imperialism or social-imperialism. In this case, such revolutionary movements are direct reserves of the proletarian world revolution, and are to be supported, but one shouldn't nurture any illusions about the limitations of this potential nor about the instability and short-lived success of these movements.

Therefore, all of the following revolutionary processes:

- the struggle for the construction of socialism, the struggle to consolidate and perfect the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist countries;
- the struggle of the proletariat in the imperialist metropolises for socialism;
- the struggle of the masses of people in imperialism's colonies and semi-colonies for the new democratic revolution;

all of these revolutionary processes wear away the imperialist world system, supplement and mutually support each other directly and indirectly.

The Camp of Counter-Revolution

Regarding the camp of international counter-revolution: Today's situation is characterized by the fact that this camp is deeply split. Of course, all imperialists, social-imperialists and other lackeys, as well as all reactionaries in general are united in their striving to oppress the revolutionary movement in the whole world with all available means. Although they constantly and extensively work together in this direction, they come, nonetheless, to blows when the booty must be divided up. For this reason neither collusion nor rivalry should be seen as absolute within this camp, and in any case, both always go on at the expense of the masses of people.

US Imperialism and Russian Social-Imperialism are Equally Aggressive and Dangerous

In view of their size, and the quantitative difference between them and the other imperialist powers, the US imperialists and Russian social-

imperialists stand out in the counter-revolutionary camp. They are presently the biggest international exploiters, weapon-dealers, and world gendarmes, all areas in which however, other imperialist big powers are evidently moving closer to them. In order to correctly evaluate the role of U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism, it is fundamentally important to recognize them as equally reactionary, aggressive and dangerous. Revolutionaries must, therefore, struggle against them in an equally irreconcilable, uncompromising and determined manner.

Against the Construction of Fundamental Differences Between the Imperialist Powers

Both of our parties not only reject all construction of qualitative, that is to say, fundamental differences, between U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism as necessarily leading to opportunistic deviations, but we also put great value in stressing that a qualitative difference or contrast between both of the biggest imperialist robbers (on the one hand) and the rest of the imperialist powers (on the other hand) should not by any means be presumed to exist. The drive to expand, the readiness to aggression, the striving to re-divide the world in their own favor, the struggle to attain world hegemony — by all possible means, including imperialist war — are part of the nature of imperialism and are characteristics shared by all imperialist powers. World imperialism as an entity is our enemy and not only one or two among the big imperialist powers. Therefore, it is impossible to carry out a real anti-imperialist struggle if one takes a position on the side of one or on that of the other rival groups of imperialists, if one or the other momentarily appears to be, or actually is, weaker. It is the task of communists, to make this constantly clear to the masses of people using concrete examples and facts, in order to strike down the attempts of the various imperialist wolves to appear in sheep's clothing, and to spread illusions about their real essence, and to pursue further their peace-demagogy.

The Concept "Superpower" Causes More Harm than Good

In this context, both our parties express the opinion that the designation "superpower" for U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism is highly questionable and dangerous in so far as it falsely leads to the assumption of a qualitative and fundamental difference between U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism on the one hand and the rest of the imperialist powers on the other hand. As the facts show, this conceptual category causes more damage rather than being useful; it stirs up confusion and spreads illusions about all big imperialist powers which are not said to be "superpowers".

The Other Imperialist Powers

Both our parties see it as necessary to call attention to the dangerous development of such big imperialist powers as Japan, England, France and particularly to West Germany, all of which are characterized by steadily increasing armaments spending and growing external-directed expansion and aggression, often which goes hand-in-hand with the increasing tendency towards fascism at home. The forced export of capital by these powers, their intensive economic expansion in important parts of the world, their intensifying exploitation of the colonial/semi-colonial and dependent countries — which today takes place under the deceitful guise of "close cooperation" with the countries of the so-called "third world" — should not be underestimated.

West German Imperialism, Militarism and Revanchism

Of particular importance in this context is the revival and constant driving forward of West German imperialism, militarism and revanchism (drive for revenge) in Europe as well as on other continents. West German imperialism, which is grossly underestimated by many, continues to pursue its expansionist goals which remained unfulfilled in the course of the two world wars it lost. West German imperialism ruthlessly exploits its key location in Western Europe as well as its great economic potential and its chance to undertake enormous militarization under the pretense of carrying out a "peaceful political course". In its internal tendency towards facism and in its military operations in foreign countries — allegedly carried out to protect its own security and the "freedom" of the other NATO countries — West German imperialism plays an "avant-garde" role in Western Europe.

West German imperialism presents a real danger for all the peoples of the world, particularly for the European peoples. In Austria and Turkey it is increasingly gaining ground and expanding its political and economic weight and influence. As Comrade Stalin predicted already in 1952, West German imperialism has once again become one of the biggest imperialist powers and an independently dangerous war-monger, following the law of uneven development of the imperialist countries. The necessity of the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism should not in the least lead to negligence of the struggle against the worldwide advancement of West German imperialism and other imperialist powers.

The Danger of a New World War

Regarding the danger of a new world war, our two parties stress that: Comrade Mao Tse-Tung's conclusion that either the revolution prevents war or war brings about the revolution is fundamentally and in a worldwide sense still correct.

That means, in our opinion, that the outbreak of a new world war can only be stopped by the determined democratic and revolutionary struggle of the people, and only through successful revolutions in the crucial countries can a new imperialist world war be prevented.

That means, furthermore, that in the event the outbreak of war cannot be prevented, it is the task of the Marxist-Leninists of any given country to turn the imperialist war into civil war; in the imperialist countries with the direct goal of proletarian revolution; and in the colonial/semi-colonial countries in the form of an anti-imperialist national war of liberation with the goal of a new democratic revolution.

The struggle of the imperialists for a re-division of the world and for world domination, which is currently driving towards a new imperialist world war, is today particularly the competition between the western imperialist powers of the U.S. — led NATO block and the revisionist states joined together in the Warsaw Pact with the Soviet Union at the head. Just because U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism stand out in bringing about the danger of an imperialist world war does not mean that the other imperialist powers do not play an important role with their own thoroughly aggressive plans and expansionist actions; nor does this mean that they are not also dangerous war-mongers.

In the imperialist countries therefore, the struggle against a new world war must be carried out by struggling against war drives and preparations by the "native" bourgeoisie. If the struggle is not carried out in this way, it would not be possible to seriously undertake the tasks of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war and to lead the struggle against imperialist war with the decisive goal of the proletarian revolution constantly in the foreground.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the various countries should not, under any circumstances, neglect the struggle against the outbreak of a new imperialist world war; rather they must put it in a foremost position in that they expose war preparations on their own front within the class struggle, in that they denounce the war-mongers and their lackeys especially in their own country, and in that they lead the struggle against them.

By the same token, our two parties regard it as the duty of all genuine communist parties to take a stand against war hysteria which leads to class collaboration and betrayal of the revolution and which spreads the completely false notion that a new world war is the impending and inevitable fate of humanity and cannot be prevented, even through peoples' struggle. This world-war type of fatalism — although it appears to be opposed to the social-democratic and revisionist propaganda ("The irreversible development of world peace" and "a new world war is unthinkable!") — essentially has the same goal as this propaganda: to lame the struggle of the masses of people against imperialism and to bring them to a renunciation of revolution.

II. THE SITUATION OF THE WORLD MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT

The subjective Factor Must be Raised to the Level of the Objective Possibilities

The TKP-ML and the MLPÖ agree that on a world scale today, the objective factors of revolution are in general developing favorably, but that the development of the subjective factors are not keeping pace with the objective factors, are tailing behind the objective factors and do not correspond to the requirements and to the possibilities presented by our times. In this sense, self-satisfaction, peaceful reflection and euphoria are completely out of place. Revolutionaries can hardly rely on history to run its own course; instead everything depends on bringing the revolutionary subjective factor, the consciousness and organization of the working class and other working people to the necessary level through the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties in each country, in order to make the existing possibilities a reality.

The Struggle Against Krushchev Revisionism

The betrayal of the modern Krushchev revisionists had very heavy consequences in the weakening of the Marxist-Leninist forces. The attacks by the modern Krushchev revisionists on all basic principles of Marxim-Leninism, particularly their wild slander campaign against the individual as well as the works of Comrade Stalin, the systematic transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and in other formerly socialist countries into reactionary dictatorships of new exploiting classes, the splittist, undermining and divisive activities of the Krushchev revisionists within the traditional communist parties of all countries — this all did a great deal of damage to the world Marxist-Leninist movement. Despite this, the movement has shown its indestructible vitality and capacity to regenerate; it has re-formed in struggle against Krushchev revisionism and it has had significant success in the course of more than a decade of intense struggle.

A New Opportunist Trend Arises

But within the newly-formed Marxist-Leninist world movement which took up the struggle against modern-type Krushchev revisionism, a new and dangerous trend of modern revisionism has developed, which is being vehemently pushed by the present leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The Chinese Communist Party has forced the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary forces of all countries to take an open and unequivocal position on this issue in that they hold the so-called "Theory of the Three Worlds" up as their banner and in that they spread this theory as the single correct new "strategy of the world Communist movement".

The "Theory of the Three Worlds" is Counter-Revolutionary and Must Be Completely Defeated

Our two parties vigorously declare the so-called "Three Worlds Theory" to be deeply hostile to Marxism-Leninism and counter-revolutionary. We reject it as a whole as well as all of its components and we stress the necessity of carrying out a decisive struggle against this theory until it has been completely exposed and its influence totally destroyed. The "Theory of the Three Worlds" is based on the denial of class struggle, a denial of the character of our epoch, the denial of the historic mission of the world proletariat and of the proletariat in each individual country, the denial of the development of the essential contradictions which define our epoch, the denial of the necessity of revolution, and it completely confuses friend with enemy. To put it shortly, the "Three Worlds Theory" — whether as model, as theoretical concept, or as strategy — exclusively serves the counter-revolution on a world scale as well as in each individual country. It represents the most massive attack on Marxism-Leninism within the world Communist movement since Khrushchev revisionism.

This attack not only gave the Khrushchevite revisionists new material for an attack of their own, it also temporarily led honest revolutionaries and conscious Marxist-Leninist astray and led to serious mistakes which must be, consciously uncovered, analyzed, and corrected.

In this context, both of our parties have summed up, in the spirit of self-criticism, that we also recognized the essence of this "Three Worlds Theory" rather late so that we temporarily accepted and propagated important theses of this theory, although we carried out an increasingly vigorous struggle against the capitulationist ramifications of the schema of the "Three Worlds". This mistake was not only the result of some theoretical unclarity, but also a part of the false understanding of solidarity with the Chinese Communist Party and an incorrect understanding of the necessities in the preservation of the unity of our world movement.

The PLA's Seventh Party Congress — An Historical Turning Point

Our two parties view Comrade Enver Hoxha's report at the 7th Party Congress of the PLA as a powerful contribution in the struggle against the newly-arisen opportunist trends in general and in particular, against the "Three Worlds' Theory". At the same time, however, we think that the struggle against these revisionist tendencies, which are joined under the banner of the "Three Worlds' Theory, is just beginning.

We believe that Marxist-Leninists are faced today with a very important task, that of fundamentally and completely refuting and exposing the "Three Worlds' Theory", of researching and unearthing its historical roots as well as completely eliminating the passing influ-

ence of this "theory" and of its individual theses from our own ranks, which still has not been done on a broad scale. In the course of fulfilling this task, which involves a broad international campaign against opportunism in a new form, against revisionism and social-chauvinism, fraternal conferences between individual Marxist-Leninist parties, bilateral and multilateral meetings and principled joint positions and declarations could be of important help. It is decisive however, that every individual party contribute the maximum and above all, that every party pursue and defeat these new opportunist currents in its own area of influence.

A position on the "Theory of the Three Worlds" as a whole as well as on its singular theses, and the consistency and resoluteness of the struggle against it, is one of the most important tests today — although certainly not the only one — which separates real Marxist-Leninists from the opportunists who mask themselves as pseudo Marxist-Leninists.

Both of our parties view it as imperative to take notice of the tendency on the part of many forces who have criticized and rejected the "Three Worlds' Theory" not to thoroughly and self-critically break with this reactionary theory, but instead to retain individual theses of this schema and to further propagate them. We see this as a retreat in the face of opportunism and as the assumption of a conciliatory and centrist position towards it.

On the Terms "Superpowers" and "Main Enemy of an International Scale"

The TKP-ML and the MLPÖ see it as extremely necessary to subject the terms "superpowers" and "main enemy on an international scale" to critical tests. The concept "superpower", which treats the individual big imperialist powers as a special category and contrasts them with the other imperialist powers, is obviously a direct and essential part of the schema of the "three worlds" and thereby directly introduces the revisionist construction of a "first world". The direct relationship to the "Three Worlds' Theory" becomes even clearer in the thesis that the "two superpowers" are the "main enemy on a international scale". This thesis obliterates and negates the decisive and fundamental fact, that our struggle must always be aimed at world imperialism as a whole — also in the course of all partial offensives and individual actions. This thesis leads to the mistaken view that the other imperialist powers are not real enemies or that they could even temporarily be friends or partners. From this thesis that the "two superpowers" are the "main enemy on a world scale", it is only a small, almost imperative step to the claim that the balance of forces between the two big imperialist robbers — which certainly isn't always the same — has changed in favor of one over the other, so that the one imperialism becomes the "main enemy on a world scale" and all of the other imperialist powers, if not actual temporary allies, are not real enemies.

The decisive step which led to such low-level type of argumentation was, in our opinion, the absolutely unacceptable transfer of concepts which may have been appropriate in relation to individual questions such as the question of the danger of world war, to the whole question of the proletarian world revolution. One can without a doubt speak of a "main enemy on a world scale" in relation to the danger of world war and in this sense, this concept was used on the eve of the Second World War. But, in our viewpoint, in relation to the whole question of the proletarian world revolution, the "main enemy on a world scale" can only be world imperialism.

The Necessity of Open Discussion and Criticism

Both of our parties are convinced that the struggle against the various forms of revisionism and especially against its newest appearance in the international arena, can only be effectively carried out when a spirit of lively exchange of opinion, candid discussion and open mutual criticism among Marxist-Leninist parties prevails. We see this as one of the most decisive forms of mutual help and support. Along these lines exists the shining tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as that of the Communist International, and it would be valuable for us to join in this tradition.

Regarding the questions of the form of the struggle against opportunism and the irreconcilability of this struggle as well as the question of the norms governing the relationships between Marxist-Leninist brother parties and forces, we should turn to examples from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and we should revive the revolutionary heritage of the Third International. In both areas of discussion, there is no place for "diplomacy", and it should be rejected.

Study the Classics More Thoroughly!

Both parties would like to stress the pressing necessity, in view of the current situation, of thorough and extensive study of the immortal classics of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in the original and not only in the form of secondary literature, and of the evaluation and propagation of these classics. The great works of Comrade Stalin in particular — which are of immense current value and will remain so — must be offensively defended against all opportunist and revisionist attacks.

For a Clear, All-around Evaluation of the Works of Mao Tse-tung

On the basis of defending the teachings of Marxism-Leninism which include those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, it is also necessary to take up a clear and principled position on Comrade Mao Tse-tung. On this question, the TKP-ML and the MLPÖ have determined:

1) Comrade Mao Tse-tung brought forth imperishable historical accomplishments in the victory of the new democratic revolution and the construction of socialism in China; he also made outstanding contributions to Marxism-Leninism and to the triumph of Communism on a world scale. All genuine Marxist-Leninists must gratefully evaluate this revolutionary Marxist-Leninist heritage of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, particularly his historical contributions to the theory and practice of revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries, to the question of the new democratic revolution, to the strategy and tactic of peoples' war, etc. and they must defend these contributions in the struggle against all revisionists who misuse his name and who shamelessly falsify and distort his teachings.

Both our parties stress this once again and at the same time reject all attempts to define our present epoch as something other as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution and all attempts to construct an alleged "epoch of Mao Tse-tung Thought" which goes against Leninism. We also take up struggle against all attempts — under the hypocritical pretense of praise of Mao Tse-tung — to transfer his teachings on the new democratic revolution and on the revolution in China in general in a crude and uncritical manner to all countries in the world and even to the character of the course of the world revolution, in which case the teachings of Leninism are regarded as "out of date" and are allegedly revised.

Further, the TKP-ML and the MLPÖ recognize with great gratitude the irrefutable fact of world-historical importance, that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the world-changing great Chinese revolution made significant contributions in the struggle against Krushchev revisionism and later, at the helm of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he dealt heavy blows to revisionism in China as well as to international revisionism, blows which today still call forth cries of rage.

2) We stress at the same time, that the belief that the revisionist deviations in the line of the C.P.C. "achieved influence only after the death of Comrade Mao Tse-tung" expresses a dangerous underestimation of the extent and depth of the problems and for this reason must be rejected. In our opinion, the roots of the revisionist deviations in the line of the C.P.C. can be traced back over a long period of time which also includes the lifetime of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. These roots can also be found in certain of Mao's individual viewpoints. In this sense and as Chairman of the Communist Party of China for many years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung does carry a certain amount of co-responsibility.

But in our opinion, all of this still gives no one the right to suddenly rank together and list either the alleged or the actual mistakes of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in an unserious, irresponsible, one-sided and demagogic manner, in order to make or at least to suggest an overall negative judgment (of Mao Tse-tung). Such an unprinci-

pled "critique" of Mao Tse-tung, which resembles in method those used by bourgeois journalism, stands not only in sharp contradiction to historical truth; it is also doing a pronounced favor for all revisionists who, under the demagogical banner of the application of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" falsify and throw overboard everything which constitutes the lasting revolutionary content of the works of Mao Tse-tung. In addition, it isn't by chance that exactly those who were the biggest flatterers and exorbitant glorifiers of the personage of Mao Tse-tung and who exulted "Mao Tse-tung Thought" as the Leninism of our epoch, pose today as the "accusers" of Mao Tse-tung and publish catalogues of his mistakes. In one way or another they expose their unprincipled opportunism which make them capable of all possible twists and turns (in ideology).

3) Finally, both of our parties emphasize that a fundamental and all-encompassing scientific evaluation of the works of comrade Mao Tse-tung has not yet been undertaken despite its importance for the entire Marxist-Leninist world movement and for each of its individual parties. Both parties stress that since no sufficient nor comprehensive documents are available especially from the last years of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's life, and because those documents which are available are fragmentary, often contradictory, if not directly questionable in their authenticity, an evaluation of this period is not possible today. In view of this, both of our parties stand for an all-encompassing and exact investigation, of the contributions and mistakes of Mao Tse-tung and we will contribute to this investigation, corresponding to our forces and the possibilities at hand.

On the Relationships Between Marxist-Leninist Parties

Regarding the relationships of Marxist-Leninist organizations to one another, both our parties stand for the consistent application of proletarian internationalism.

We view it as our duty to mutually support one another as well as to support all other Marxist-Leninist parties and forces in the world. We view it particularly as our duty to support, according to our forces, the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania, which today represents the international bulwark of socialism and to defend it against all attacks. We declare that we will do all possible to advance and protect the fighting unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Both of our parties stand for an effective and not only a formal equality among all Marxist-Leninist parties, and we reject all types of mother party-daughter party relationships. We represent the standpoint that in view of current conditions of the absence of a common international organization, each party should take up and nurture its relationships to other Marxist-

Leninist parties and groups in terms of its own experiences, knowledge and judgment.

Both of our parties are of the opinion that a much more lively and candid exchange of opinions should go on among Marxist-Leninist parties, that the revolutionary principle of open fraternal criticism should be more broadly practised among one another, and specifically, that open questions and differences of opinion should be discussed thoroughly and without timidity.

The uniting of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and forces on an international level on a common and principled basis as well as the joint composition and determination of the correct international strategy and tactic present us with an important and pressing task. But we see this task only as resolvable if we are not satisfied with the status quo of current relationships and mutual "recognition", only if we fundamentally examine the present system of these relationships and bring it to the level of current possibilities and requirements. Every party must conscientiously make its contribution in this direction.

The Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria

The TKP-ML and the MLPÖ have decided to deepen and build-up our relationship to one another which is still young, to remain in regular contact with one another and to work together in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We view this cooperation as a contribution to the struggle for unity in the whole Marxist-Leninist world movement and as an important source of strength in the fulfillment of our tasks in our respective countries.

Our two designated parties declare our close bonds and solidarity in the struggle for the fulfillment of the historical tasks which we face:

- in the struggle of the peoples of different nationalities under the leadership of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party against imperialism, comprador-capitalism, and feudalism, for a peoples' democracy in Turkey;

- in the struggle of the working class and the struggle of the working masses led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party against the bourgeoisie and all reaction, for a socialist revolution in Austria.

Long live the TKP-ML! Long live the MLPÖ!
Long live all Marxist-Leninist parties, organizations and forces in the world!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!
Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples of all the world, unite!

Long live the proletarian world revolution and proletarian internationalism!

Down with revisionism and opportunism of all shades!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Central Committee of the TKP-ML

Central Committee of the MLPÖ

Unofficial translation

from *Rote Fahne* no. 168.

July 1978

ON THE
"THIRD INTERNATIONAL
YOUTH FESTIVAL"
HELD IN SPAIN, FROM
AUGUST 3 TO 15, 1979

MARXISM-LENINISM WILL TRIUMPH IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

*Open Letter from CPC/ML
(Organising Committee)
to all anti-fascists,
anti-imperialists, revolutionaries
and communists*

Friends, Comrades...

A delegation from our party went to attend the "3rd International Youth Festival", which was held in Spain during the 3rd-15th of August 1979.

The youth festival came to our notice through leaflets that were distributed in the name of:

- 1- Portuguese Revolutionary Communist Youth Union
- 2- Marxist-Leninist Youth Union of Italy
- 3- Marxist-Leninist Youth of Spain
- 4- Youth Organisation of the Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninist, The Red Guards
- 5- Youth of the Communist Workers' Party of France
- 6- Youth Organisation of the Communist Party of Greece/Marxist-Leninist

In these leaflets the festival was declared an anti-fascist, anti-imperialist festival and all the socialists, progressives, anti-fascists and anti-imperialists of the world were asked to meet in this camp. We, the communists are the most decided fighters of the proletarian cause and most consistent anti-fascists and anti-imperialists. Therefore though not officially invited, on the basis of the open invitation we decided to send a delegation to the youth festival. Our aims in attending the festival were:

a) To inform the revolutionary youth of the world about our organisation, which is a young one.

b) To learn about other revolutionary and communist parties and groups, and to establish fraternal relations with them, as well as exchanging views.

c) To learn about the struggles of the proletariat and oppressed peoples in other countries of the world.

d) To strengthen the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist international solidarity of the world's progressive youth.

We believe these aims were all consistent with the requirements of Proletarian internationalism. We thought that the camp would be such a media to strengthen relations and International solidarity between revolutionary and communist parties, organisations and groups from all corners of the world.

However, this was not the case. Things turned out to be different. The camp was organised by a group of parties who claim to be communist, and who are basically united (or pretend to be so!) around certain important political positions. These positions, they assess to be Marxist-Leninist positions. Any other group or party who did not share the same views with the festival organisers, or rather, anybody who opposed what they called "the line of world Marxist-Leninist Movement(!)" was kept out of the camp. These issues are basically:

- i) Question concerned with the criticism of the Three World's Theory.
- ii) Evaluation of Mao Zedung.
- iii) Certain methodological questions concerning the relations between communist parties.

AN ANTI-FASCIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST CAMP HOSTILE TO COMMUNISTS!

Attitude of the Festival Committee Towards Our Party

We arrived to the camp on the 31st of July. When we applied for an official representation in the camp, the representatives of the festival committee asked: "Do you oppose the line of World Marxist-Leninist Movement?" Of course, all they meant was 'do you agree with everything we say?' Clearly we did not. But, naturally we agree with the line of World Marxist-Leninist Movement and we believe that at present this line is still represented by the correct line of the Comintern. So we answered the question "Yes, we do".

The festival committee representatives could get no where by such elastic questions which can be pulled in any direction. After the committee discussed our application, they refused us to attend the festival officially but only as individuals. The reason was: "You are not a CP, but a student movement abroad". The festival Committee could not prove that claim and it went politically bankrupt on the issue. We had come from a corner of the world as a young organisation to meet other revolutionary organisations to exchange information and to establish relations with each other. The committee, who had very little or no information about the CPC/ML could give such a blatant lie as a reason for not admitting us to the camp, without any hesitation. We accept

this as a very naive provocation against our party and also an attitude that only suits policemen. By saying that the CPC/ML is a "student organisation abroad" the festival committee is only helping the police and no one else.

Despite this provocation we decided to join the camp as individuals with the aim of meeting other groups and parties. The festival committee, being unable to prove their blatant lie, were obliged to allow us to exchange leaflets with other groups and have meetings with them, though they prohibited us the right to exhibit our books and written material publicly.

Our presence in the camp was disturbing the festival committee who was afraid of any other view to spread apart from their own. So they looked for new reasons to kick us out of the camp.

In one occasion when we were involved in a very healthy discussion with certain individuals and a group from Turkey, (The so-called Revolutionary 'Communist' Party of Turkey-Construction Org.) together with a comrade from the 'West Berliner Communist' group, the festival committee interrupted the meeting. It offered the German comrade to leave the camp or else they would call in the police! We assess this behaviour as a counter-revolutionary one.

Later, on the 4th day of the camp we agreed to meet with the Communist/Workers Party of France, using our right 'granted' to us by the festival committee. But the French Party, although they promised for a meeting, came to the meeting place with the members from the festival committee. The committee 'condemned' us for wanting to have a meeting and claimed that we ought to ask the political bureau of the camp if we wanted to meet with any organisation. The committee said: "you want to provoke the camp. You are continuing the Turkish provocation which was outside the camp, inside. You are agent provocateurs. You all have nothing to do what so ever with anti-fascism and anti-imperialism". These are very important accusations for us, communists. Therefore we asked the festival committee to put this claim in writing and substantiate it. But they did not. Instead they banned us from joining the camp any more.

Such was the attitudes of the festival committee at the 3rd anti-fascist, anti-imperialist youth festival against us.

Attitudes of the Festival Committee towards other Marxist-Leninist and Anti-Fascist, Anti-Imperialist Groups

ATIF (Federation of Workers From Turkey in West Germany), ATÖF (Federation of Students From Turkey in West Germany) whom we have known to be consistent upholders of anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggles of the workers and students from Turkey in W. Germany, as well as consistently supporting the struggle of people's democratic revolution in Turkey; PARTIZAN (Communist Periodical published in Turkey), TKP/ML, TMLGB (Communist Party of Turkey/

Marxist-Leninist and its Youth Union (Union of Marxist-Leninist Youth of Turkey) were faced with a pre-decided judgement about themselves when they arrived at the camp on the 31st of July.

These anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and communist groups from Turkey were not allowed to join the camp by the decision of the festival committee. The reason was: "ATIF, ATÖF, PARTIZAN, TKP/ML, TMLGB are all enemies of Marxism-Leninism!" The proof for this was non-existent! Offering no proofs for their claims had become a tradition of the festival committee. This committee had also tried to equillize ATIF, ATÖF which are democratic mass organisations, to TKP/ML which is an illegal party in her country. This attitude of the festival committee again extremely provocative and it serves the police, the Turkish and German police who are hand in hand trying their best to ban ATIF and ATÖF.

The main reason for not allowing TKP/ML into the camp is that she criticises the KPD/ML (German Communist Party/ML) and the so-called Revolutionary 'Communist' Party of Turkey-Construction Organisation (TDKP-İÖ) as being opportunist groups as well as criticising the PLA (Labour Party of Albania) on certain international questions of Marxism-Leninism.

ATIF, ATÖF, PARTIZAN, TKP/ML-TMLGB responded to the ban by issuing and distributing leaflets and opening banners at the entrance of the camp. The camp committee forced them to move from the space in front of the camp. But they continued their just action which we wholeheartedly supported by the side of the nearby road. A traffic ward and a gendarm who tried to stop the action were persuaded to allow leafleting to go on for another hour. But the members of Communist Party of Spain/ML who were in the festival committee arrived before the police abandoned the area. After a short conversation between authorities from PCE/ML and the fascist Spanish police, the police forced the comrades from Turkey to stop their action or else they would be arrested.

By this action the festival committee and particularly PCE/ML have actually proved that they are prepared even to collaborate with the fascist police in order to prevent the spread of communist views that criticise their own views. But there was more to come.

The Austrian Marxist-Leninist Party (AMLP) was not allowed to propagate their views and distribute their pamphlets in the camp. AMLP was also 'advised' to stop collaborating with the 'agent-provocateurs'. The Austrian Marxist-Leninists did not obey such anti-Marxist regulations and decided not to join the camp officially.

The representatives of two communist groups from W. Germany and West Berlin GDS (Against the Current) and WBK (Westberliner Communist) were not allowed in as well. The reasoning against them was about the same. They are criticising the social-chauvinist and opportunist line of the KPD/ML and for this reason they are stamped out as 'agent-provocateurs' by this party.

We are against such slanders and lies. We obtained the chance to establish relations and exchange views with these groups. We found out that we generally agree on most basic issues of Marxism-Leninism both of international and national levels. We evaluate these groups as fraternal and basically communist groups. We are in favour of working together with these groups. Anybody who claims that they are 'agent provocateurs' must persuade us that this is true so that we will not be making mistakes! We believe that real provocation comes from those who have no words to answer the correct criticisms made to them and chicken out simply by lies and slanders and by harming the unity of international communist movement, labelling fraternal parties and groups as agent-provocateurs.

The Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Canada, In Struggle! was also obliged to join the camp not officially but on an individual basis, again for similar reasons that this fraternal group is an 'enemy of Marxism-Leninism' and an enemy of the Communist Party of Canada/ML. Clearly In Struggle! is criticising Canadian CP/ML on a number of issues, and this makes it an enemy of Marxism-Leninism in the eyes of the festival committee. This attitude of the festival committee is doubtlessly anti-Marxist.

The last phase of provocation was directed to the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile (RCP-Chile). This party evaluates Mao Tsetung as basically Marxist-Leninist and opposes all who declare him a counter-revolutionary. They are also in favour of open debate on all questions of Marxism-Leninism on which there are disagreements. This is in fact the only ML method of resolving disputes. This attitude of RCP-Chile is contrary to the method of the parties forming the festival committee who are in favour of secret discussion on matters of disputes.

The festival committee had initially agreed with the RCP-Chile that the RCP would be free in their propaganda. But soon they changed their attitude. They accused the Chilean comrades for being 'agent-provocateurs' and that they would either not make any written or oral propaganda particularly on the issue of Mao Tsetung or they had to leave the camp.

As you can see, the term 'agent-provocateur' is such a cheap label that the festival committee sticks on the forehead of all groups and parties who have ideological disagreements with them. They do not seem to understand the importance of such accusation and the responsibility they undertake in proving their slanderous lies to all revolutionary and communist groups.

The Chilean comrades issued leaflets against this decision of the festival committee and consistently went on distributing their pamphlets on Mao Tsetung. The wrong attitude of the festival committee went to its peak against the RCP-Chile and they attained a definitely counter-revolutionary one. They attacked the comrades from Chile while they were distributing their leaflets. The Chilean comrades defended themselves. But they were not alone. They obtained the support of Colombian, Brazilian and Uruguayan

as well as some Spanish comrades. They were beaten, wounded and finally expelled from the camp. The Colombian, Uruguayan, Brazilian and some Spanish comrades also protested the camp by leaving together with the RCP-Chile.

The festival committee has proved by this attitude that in order to prevent correct ideas from spreading, in order to avoid debate with Marxist-Leninists they can not only collaborate with the fascist police but also physically attack revolutionaries. This is a counter-revolutionary attitude. The festival committee have handled the contradictions between us and ourselves as antagonistic ones and acted accordingly all through the festival.

That is they acted as if CPC/ML, TKP/ML, PARTIZAN, ATIF, ATÓF, AMLP, WBK, GDS, The Organisation of Canada-In Struggle!, RCP-Chile are counter-revolutionary organisations, agent-provocateurs. They proved this by collaborating with the police, by all sorts of preventive action against the above groups and finally by physical attack. They are now faced with the responsibility of proving their claims and justifying their attitudes.

The International Youth Festival has been a failure. It has been the bankruptcy of opportunism. It proved that opportunists;

- i) are lying and slandering to revolutionary and communist groups without feeling the responsibility of proving their claims.
- ii) collaborate with the fascist police
- iii) physically attack revolutionaries and communists in order to prevent the spread of correct ideas.

The Communist Party of Cyprus/Marxist-Leninist Organising Committee claims that the festival committee and each single party involved in it establish a clear position on the following questions:

- i) Is the CPC/ML-OC an agent-provocateur?
- ii) Are TKP/ML, TMLGB, PARTISAN, ATIF, ATÓF, AMLP, GDS, WBK, IN STRUGGLE!, PCR-Chile agent provocateurs?
- iii) If so, what is the reasoning?

The CPC/ML-OC urges all communist, revolutionary parties and organisations to establish a clear stand on whether they evaluate the above mentioned organisations as counter-revolutionary and agent-provocateurs? If so, reason? If so, cut all contacts with the above organisations and expose them where ever you are present. If not, then claim that the festival committee and each single party involved with it will self-criticise and correct themselves.

The CPC/ML-OC also wants to clarify that she does not evaluate the festival committee and parties involved with it generally counter-revolutionary. But we feel it is our duty to point out that the attitudes of the festival committee all through this *particular* occasion have been counter-revolutionary and provocative. We would like to warn them that if they do not revise and correct their attitude it will not take them a very long time to join the ranks of counter-revolution. If they do not self-criticise we shall expose and condemn them where ever we are present.

Dear friends,

Such was the state of affairs at the 3rd international youth camp in Spain, in August 1979.

Through this letter we invite you to take a clear stand on this allegation of agent-provocateur to our party and to all other fraternal groups and parties, to put it in writing and substantiate it. If you do not consider that we are right, then also take a stand against us and substantiate it in writing.

We shall only wait for two months for your written reply. Then we shall take whatever steps we consider appropriate.

10/09/79

Fraternal greetings,
Communist Party of Cyprus/Marxist-Leninist
External Relations Bureau (in the name of the
Organising Committee)

WEST GERMANY

"THIRD INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CAMP AT VALENCIA CARRIED THROUGH SUCCESSFULLY"??

Common Leaflet of
Gegen die Strömung
Westberliner Kommunist

Instructions carried out, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries are arrested and dispersed! Open debate is prevented!

At the "Third International Youth Camp" at Valencia, members of ATIF and ATÖF (TÖK), as well as representatives of the TKP/ML, *Gegen die Strömung* and *Westberliner Kommunist* were not allowed into the camp at all, while members of the RCP of Chile and the MLPÖ, which had taken part in the camp, were expelled. Why? Let us look closely at the background of the current situation.

More than ever, the current situation of the world revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist movement shows the importance of leading the struggle against modern revisionism and the forces of "three-world" opportunism through a broad open debate on all questions which might uncover the reasons for the relatively great defeat of the world communist movement which has been brought about by the openly revisionist course of the Communist Party of China.

The Party of Labour of Albania, at its Seventh Party Congress of 1976, was still designating Mao Zedong as an "outstanding Marxist-Leninist" whom the Albanian communists and the Albanian people "always hold in esteem" (see the Report to the 7th Party Congress of the PLA, p. 207). Today the PLA, in a startling, almost complete turnabout in its position on Mao, which denied him any merit as a Marxist-Leninist, has made clear in deed the importance of a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the works and the actions of Mao Zedong, of the CP of China, and of the Chinese revolution.

At the same time, however, the Party of Labour of Albania resists the open and public debate of its new line. Some parties and organizations, which have attached themselves at an enormous pace to the new line of the PLA on Mao Zedong, have demonstrated and are demonstrating that they have no interest at all in public criticism and self-criticism.

The importance of a Marxist-Leninist self-criticism in view of these flagrant turnabouts in the position on Mao Zedong and the CP of China is averted through the declaration that we have "been right all along." At the same time, the struggle against modern Khrushchevite revisionism is brought into disrepute, in that with the criticism of Mao Zedong the arguments of the Khrushchevite revisionists are used, without at the same time considering the importance of the distinction from modern revisionism, perhaps with the criticism of the Cultural Revolution in China.

At the camp in Spain it was shown, in the crassest form to date, how far some organizations will go to evade criticism of these aggravating mistakes. In the preliminary discussions on the procedure of the camp and on the invitations, the camp had been announced as an antifascist and anti-imperialist camp, at which the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile had been clearly guaranteed the right to propagate its line and its views freely even on Mao Zedong. It was just these assumptions that brought *Gegen die Strömung* to visit this camp in order to put forward and discuss its views but also its criticisms. But at the camp, things looked entirely different.

The bombardment of insults leveled against all those who were not ready to submit to the dictates of a few parties and organizations (25 organizations were detailed in the communique to have allegedly been present in the camp, but only nine signed it), barely concealed the reactionary procedures against revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces (among which, contrary to what was produced in the communique, was the delegation of Westberliner Kommunist). These insults, reproduced on the overleaf to this tract, are included in the communique of nine organizations and also in the article in *Roter Morgen*.

As Marxist-Leninists, we can do no other than to come out today in favour of open discussion of all problems, questions and tasks which exist in the international Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary movement. Already in the past we have met with open resistance by the opportunists in this respect, resistance which has certainly a new high point both in degree and in method. The so-called "camp management claimed its official authority even outside of the camp, perhaps in order to proceed against the excluded members of ATİF and ATÖF, who were distributing leaflets. The participants in the camp wanted to make them known and even made them known. But not only that. The camp management was aware the comrades from Turkey were not intimidated by these opportunists and would

not even let themselves be expelled or even frightened away, and so they conferred with the fascist police of Spain before the eyes of the "excluded" anti-imperialists, anti-fascists and Marxist-Leninists. In the communique, this reactionary procedure is shabbily justified with the excuse that our revolutionary comrades from Turkey, together with the comrades from Cyprus, the TKP(ML), the delegation of the MLPÖ and the RCP of Chile, as well as *Gegen die Strömung* itself, allegedly aims "to attain the intervention of the police and the Civil Guard." But they could not thereby sweep under the rug the fact of who called the fascist police.

The leaflets which were given out, including also the leaflets of the RCP of Chile, are certainly going to "spread unrest among the camp participants," a vocabulary which is very well known to us from the propaganda of the bourgeoisie; they will give rise to unrest about the way and manner in which the internationalist spirit is violated by a few organizations, including of course the youth organizations of the KPD(ML) and Halkin Kurtuluşu but also the PCE(ML) from Spain and the PCP(R) from Portugal, while a few organizations are practising an open censorship over other organizations.

The procedure against the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile is particularly exposed. What is harmlessly designated in the communique as the "seizure of provocateurs" was in fact a hunt of all of the Chileans in the camp, who eventually were completely arrested.

The leader of the RCP of Chile was injured in the process. All of the Chileans were confined in a room together and detained for the entire day, in order to "interrogate" them. During that time, the methods of interrogation of the forces of the bourgeois police were utilized.

How have other participants of the camp, dealt with all of these atrocious incidents? Have these opportunists not thereby demonstrated that they are ready to seize hold of the rudest methods against criticisms from their own ranks? *Gegen die Strömung* and Westberliner Kommunist regard the application of all these revisionist methods as a declaration of bankruptcy of all of the organizations which have signed the communique. Above all, they express their solidarity with the heroic comrades of the RCP of Chile, who were persecuted by such revisionist methods.

We greatly hope that the Party of Labour of Albania and other Parties will clearly and plainly distance themselves from such methods. We hope that the PLA and all truly Marxist-Leninist parties and forces openly and sincerely participate in the discussion of the burning problems of the day. The public and consistently led debates for the defense of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin can be prevented by nobody, whoever they may be, come what may.

Gegen die Strömung
Westberliner Kommunist

CANADA

PROPOSAL FOR A JOINT STATEMENT ON THE EVENTS OF THE "THIRD INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CAMP" IN SPAIN

Bolshevik Union of Canada

Comrades,

We are writing to express our disgust with what happened at the "Third International Youth Camp" and with the joint statement of 11 parties under the title "Communique on the Various Provocations Against the Third International Youth Camp." This "Communique" is a fraud because it does nothing to prove its many slanderous accusations against organizations and parties which it condemns as "provocateurs." It is obvious that the only so-called "provocation" these organizations and parties committed was to attempt to provoke a discussion of important questions of the world revolution. It is only those bankrupt with opportunism and deadly afraid of criticism that could interpret such discussion as "provocation."

It is a typical tactic of opportunists to try to sabotage the political debate by refusing to participate and by slandering their critics with baseless charges of agent provocateur activity. Real communists have no fear of criticism because they know Marxism-Leninism can defeat revisionism and all forms of bourgeois ideology. The opportunists are aware of this too, which is why they are so deathly afraid of open debate and discussion.

It is not surprising to us that parties who have a disgusting history of doing this in their own countries would unite on an international level to try to accomplish the same thing — the hegemony of their political line through force rather than through proving its validity in theory and practice. This activity is particularly dangerous at this time because after years of suppression of discussion by so-called "norms" of international relations, there is finally begin-

ning an international debate and discussion that will break the stranglehold the opportunists have tried to keep on the international movement. It is furthermore not surprising that those who have failed to entirely suppress discussions through "norms" are now more and more passing over to armed force and open collaboration with the police to achieve their reactionary aims. We are all quite familiar with how the proponents of the theory of "three worlds" engaged in this kind of activity to try to stop criticism of this revisionist theory; now many of the self-proclaimed "opponents" of the theory of "three worlds" are doing the same thing to defend their own brand of opportunist politics.

Our proposal for a journal of *International Correspondence* was put forward precisely to encourage the development of this debate and discussion on an International level. We consider it very important to oppose this attempt at sabotaging the necessary discussion and debate that will be the necessary prerequisite for real unity of the international communist movement.

The "Communique" and the activities it defends are completely contrary to the purpose for which *International Correspondence* was proposed. We propose that the first issue of *International Correspondence* take up this question. This would be in addition to what has already been proposed, i.e. we still call on organizations and parties to put forward what they consider most important for international debate. But in addition to this we are suggesting positions on this matter. We are already aware that open positions are being taken, and no doubt more will be. We think that *International Correspondence* is an appropriate means of internationalizing this discussion.

The Bolshevik Union also proposes an international joint statement that condemns this sabotage of the international communist movement. This would not be a statement of Marxist-Leninist unity, but a condemnation of attempts to sabotage the international debate and discussion which is necessary to establish a real, principled and lasting unity that is actually based on Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. We propose that this statement be published in the organs of the signing organizations and parties and in the first issue of *International Correspondence*. We in no way see this in contradiction to other joint statements that might be made, for example by the organizations and parties that were excluded from participation in the camp. This would no doubt help establish the facts of what happened, but we think it is also the duty of organizations and parties who were not at the camp to take a stand and oppose the "Communique" and the activities it represents. So the joint statement we are proposing would be limited in scope. We do not expect organizations and parties who were not at the camp to attest to a particular version of events of which they have no direct

knowledge. Rather, we propose that the statement condemn the "Communique" as unproven accusations and therefore slander, an impediment to the unity of the international communist movement, and a totally unprincipled manoeuvre to avoid answering criticism. Also to call on all organizations and parties that claim to be Marxist-Leninist to either take a stand to support the "Communique" and to prove the charges or to repudiate the "Communique."

In order to facilitate the accomplishment of these tasks, we will postpone the deadlines for the first of *International Correspondence* by one month. We will also send responses and criticisms to this proposal for a joint statement to all the organizations and parties.

Central Committee
Bolshevik Union of Canada

October 26, 1979

Joint Statement Condemning the
 "Communique on the Various
 Provocations Against the Third
 International Youth Camp"
 Admitted Actions of
 its Signatories

The undersigned organizations and parties condemn the "Communique on the Various Provocations Against the Third International Youth Camp" signed by 11 parties or their youth organizations as unproven accusations against other parties and organizations. This "Communique" proves nothing other than parties and organizations, with whom the organizers of the camp had political differences, attempted to participate in the "Third International Youth Camp". The "Communique" does nothing to elucidate these differences or to criticize the views of these parties and organizations. Instead only unproven accusations of "provocation" are presented, which indicates that those parties who signed the "Communique" consider any criticism of them is an act of so-called "provocation." The "Communique" and the admitted actions of the signatories represents a totally unprincipled method of dealing with differences in the international communist movement and the undersigned parties and organizations call on all Marxist-Leninists to condemn this "Communique."

Furthermore, the undersigned parties and organizations condemn the use of unsubstantiated charges of "provocation" as a method of avoiding response to political criticism internationally or in any country. The charges in the "Communique" are in essence nothing but slander which serve to sabotage the international debate and discussion that is necessary to build the real unity of the international communist movement.

The undersigned parties and organizations make this joint statement not as a statement of Marxist-Leninist unity, but as a commitment to the international discussion and debate that is necessary to build a real unity, a unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in practice as well as in word.

Linea Bolchevique of Puerto Rico

Bolshevik League of the United States

Bolshevik Union of Canada

WEST BERLINER KOMMUNIST,
 "GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG,"
 MLPÖ
 ON THE PROPOSAL FOR
 THE JOINT STATEMENT

We have received your proposition for a joint statement in regard to the events at the so-called "International Camp" in El Saler, Spain.

We salute your desire to protest against the revisionist practices of some parties in the camp and that you want to condemn the "communiqué." Nevertheless we regard your proposition for a joint statement as improper and we have decided not to sign. We will briefly explain our reasons.

If we make a joint statement with another organization or another party, we want to have a clear evaluation of it. But we are, all things considered, just beginning to study your line and to evaluate you.

Moreover, we do not know which organizations and parties you have invited to sign.

In your proposal, you write that it is not a statement of Marxist-Leninist unity. But if we sign a joint declaration with organizations which claim to be Marxist-Leninist, we want to make a Marxist-Leninist statement, that is to say, a statement based on Marxist-Leninist points of view. (This implies the possibility of compromise on those questions which are not questions of principle.) We struggle only for declarations which express a real unity and which may also express the differences. We are against statements which hide differences and present a situation which does not really exist.

Considering all this, we think that a joint statement on the subject of the camp in El Saler such as you propose can not effectively contribute to the international struggle against modern revisionism and all opportunism; even if we can establish that there are no faults of content in your proposition.

There are already a number of statements on the events in El Saler and the "communiqué." For example "Gegen die Strömung" and "Westberliner Kommunist" made a joint statement. The next number of "Rote Fahne," central organ of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria will deal with the events at El Saler and will publish the diverse statements which already exist.

We propose that you take a position yourselves and publish the joint statement of "Gegen die Strömung" and "Westberliner Kommunist" and the position taken by MLPÖ and the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) (TKP/ML).

TURKEY

ANSWER OF TKP/ML TO THE PROPOSAL FOR A JOINT DECLARATION

1.2. 1980

Dear friends,

We received your joint statement about the "Third International Youth Camp." We do not believe that it is correct to give a signature for this joint statement. According to our view; such a joint statement might come to a meaning that the ones who sign this joint statement agree on the basic problems of the movement of Marxism-Leninism in the world today, but not alone on the matters which arose in the "Camp." Whereas the real situation does not appear in that way. For example; there are differences on many subjects between your organization and us. And we are in the period of discussion with you on these matters. We do not see that it is correct to sign a joint statement with any organization unless this period of discussion completes and there will be a unity on some basic matters.

We brought our opinions on that matters in the statement which was signed by us. We do not intend to do more of this on this matter.

Your position on this matter and your protest the attacks of the opportunists to our organization and the other organizations is positive and makes us pleased. We hope that our discussion will continue.

Greetings,
Bureau of International Relations
of TKP/ML (Communist
Party of Turkey - Marxist-Leninist)

ANSWER OF
OCML EUGENE VARLIN
TO THE PROPOSAL
FOR A
JOINT STATEMENT

We cannot associate ourselves with the project for a joint declaration proposed by the Bolshevik Union of Canada, on the subject of the "Communiqué on the Various Provocations Against the Third International Youth Camp."

And this is because the project presents the serious failing of being *apolitical* and of restraining the criticism of opportunism, which is only reproached with "sabotaging the debate and international discussion." This point of view is not correct, on more than one count. To raise the socialist consciousness of the advanced workers (which must be the constant pre-occupation of communists, including tactical questions), it would have been necessary to tie the attitude of the "eleven" parties to their *political line*, to their *petty-bourgeois class character*, it would have been necessary to clearly characterize these parties as *alien elements* in the working class, as bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution. In short, it would have been necessary to clearly draw a *line of demarcation* in relation to them instead of substituting for political criticism, accusations (moreover perhaps justified, in certain cases, we are quite willing to admit) of "openly collaborating with the police." The already old history of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist movement" in France has given us too numerous examples of organizations accusing each other one day of being police and making up the next morning with great embraces and reciprocal forgiveness, for such an argument to appear sufficient to us when it is not linked to a serious political criticism.

Now, not only does the project of the Bolshevik Union of Canada not deal with the political questions, but it is written: "the communiqué and the familiar actions of its signatories constitute a method, totally devoid of principle, of dealing with divergences in the International Communist Movement." But precisely, these parties do not belong to the International Communist Movement. They are part, like the trotskyite groups the essence of whose analyses and positions they share, of the general current of petty-bourgeois democracy. If it is absolutely necessary to polemicize with them, it is only with the aim of *unmasking them, of winning to communism the workers they influence*; it is not in any way a question of "dealing with the divergences" with these parties, nor of entertaining the illusory hope of transforming these profoundly petty-bourgeois parties into communist organizations, with whom it would be possible to one day realize unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Such is the essence of our criticisms of the project, and that is why we cannot sign it. On the other hand, we are ready to associate ourselves to any proposition drawn up in the spirit we have just indicated. Only such a declaration, it seems to us, would really educate the advanced workers, by showing them the depth of the antagonism between opportunism and Marxism-Leninism and calling on them to strengthen the nascent international communist current.

PUERTO RICO

CENTRIST SLANDERS OF THE "COMMUNIQUE ON VARIOUS PROVOCATIONS" AGAINST THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CAMP

Linea Bolchevique

On september 15, 1979, in the newspaper, *Unite*, of the centrist, opportunist CPUSA (M-L), a "communique" was published regarding the "Third International Youth Camp," which took place in the Hippodrome in El Saler, Valencia, Spain. The camp was directed by the international centrist current, which is led by the Party of Labor of Albania.

Upon reading this "communique," we were able to realize that it is replete with pure demagogy, having as its only purpose to destroy the true Marxist-Leninist line on the building of the unity of the international communist movement.

Supposedly, this conference had as its purpose an anti-imperialist anti-fascist struggle, but what took place was the opposite. Thus they attacked organizations that struggle against imperialism, as well as against fascism, accusing them of being "provocateurs" when they attempted to raise open discussion and debate regarding their differences with the organizations in the "camp." They raised a series of quite serious accusations against several parties, such as, Communist Party of Turkey (M-L), (M-L) Party of Cyprus, M-L Party of Austria, Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, and other organizations, accusing them of coming to the conference with the "aim of destroying and splitting the conference." They were accused of being "provocateurs," of "attempting conflicts" and, above all, of coming to Spain to "sabotage" the "camp." These accusations are serious and dangerous. To accuse an organization of being provocateurs one has to have concrete and substantial proof of the accusations of provocation. But the "communique"

says nothing to substantiate and prove the attacks, it is only a continuation of the attacks against these parties saying that, "They distributed leaflets, intending to spread unrest amongst the camp's participants," and that "their work consisted of purely and simply arousing attacks against the camp, hurling slanders and insults to sow division and confusion amongst the participants." Is this the proof the "communique" gives us against these so-called "provocateurs"? Does distributing a leaflet on the differences in the international communist movement amount to intentions of "spreading unrest" amongst the participants? These accusations are pure slander, typical of all opportunists, the purpose of which is to prevent exposure of the differences in the international communist movement.

The "communique" does not say one word about the differences that exist and does not even criticize the positions of these parties. It only accuses them of being provocateurs. Does wanting a frank open discussion amongst communists amount to an act of provocation? Of course not! We uphold the Leninist principles that only open discussion and debate lays the basis necessary to build and achieve genuine unity. Only the opportunists try to sabotage and repress open debate because they know only too well that Marxism-Leninism can conquer revisionism, (represented by the two international currents; the social-chauvinists who are openly collaborating with U.S. imperialism or Russian or Chinese social-imperialism, as well as centrists who are grouped under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania with their theory of the "three superpowers," supposedly "opposed" to the "theory of three worlds," the Maoists and semi-trotskyites) because the Marxist-Leninists do not fear criticisms. As for the opportunists of all shades, they tremble when they hear mention of any criticism directed at them and use even social-fascist methods of physical attack to avoid facing these criticism.

We condemn this "communique" for the use of unsubstantiated accusations of provocation, and for the unprincipled methods used to resolve the differences in the international communist movement!

Being conscious of the fact that it is not Marxist-Leninist unity, but rather, a commitment to debate for building genuine unity based on Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism, we commit ourselves to participate in international discussion and debates. We take the position of denouncing this summer camp for the reasons already stated.

March 4, 1980

UNITED STATES

A FOOL'S PARADISE

*The Bolshevik League
of the United States*

Two opinions are currently expressed regarding the state of affairs within the communist movement, both internationally and in the U.S. One opinion, the dominant one, is that the prevailing lack of Leninist norms is a favorable condition in that questions of politics and tactics cannot be debated and discussed. This is the position of opportunism (of whatever shade) which lives in mortal fear of the open discussion of politics, in mortal fear of polemics.

Lenin expressed the second position to which we also hold:

"Open polemics, conducted in full view of all Russian Social-Democrats and class conscious workers, are necessary and desirable in order to clarify the depth of existing differences, in order to combat the extremes into which representatives of various views, various localities or various "specialities" of the revolutionary movement inevitably fall. Indeed, we regard one of the drawbacks of the present day movement to be the absence of open polemics between avowedly differing views, the effort to conceal differences on fundamental questions" ("Draft Declaration of Iskra and Zarya," LCW 4:328, Moscow, 1972).

Only the politically blind could fail to see the absence of open polemics today, a condition caused by and lauded by the opportunists. We, too, are interested in combatting the extremes of opportunism that the social-nationalist leaders and their henchmen have "inevitably" fallen into. We are greatly interested in finding

out, through open polemics, the depth of existing differences; we are willing to discuss disputed questions from all angles, etc. This however, does not meet with approval from our opponents — in point of fact this position of principle regarding the question of international relations meets with either the continued “conspiracy of silence” or open repression and hostilities.

The dominance of bourgeois relations in the communist movement has given birth to a particularly vile and dangerous variant of opportunism, a trend that carries the silent renunciation of Leninist norms to their bloody end. Violent suppression of debate has come to challenge the recent slogan issued by the Bolsheviks to the effect that the “Ice Must be Broken.”

Recent events in Valencia, Spain (forceful suppression of discussion at the so-called Third International Youth Camp) and in Greensboro, North Carolina (the killing of five “communists” by the Klu Klux Klan) reflects the rise in violent social-fascist activity on the part of our opponents or at least a section of our opponents.

The workers must be educated to repel the attempts of the social-fascists who conceal with communist catchwords their terrorist program of violent suppression of debate to gain further influence in the working class. The trend of social-fascism has arisen with the aid and encouragement of both the social-chauvinists and the centrists, and has its origins in the suppression of Leninist norms and their replacement with philistine silence that began some twenty six years ago, after the death of Stalin and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

In 1957 and again in 1960, the Moscow Declarations, signed by twelve (1957) and later eighty one (1960) “workers” and “communist” parties signalled the official international renunciation of Leninist norms of relations and struggle. Social-democratic niceties replaced Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism in the international “communist movement” as the slogans of “fraternal relations” and “non-interference in the affairs of others” were placed in command. Whenever disputes broke out (the “Sino-Soviet Split”) they broke out not for ideological-political reasons, but for reasons of economic dependence or independence from the Moscow leaders. The aforementioned Sino-Soviet dispute only arose when Russia refused more “economic aid” to China, who in her turn had refused to follow Moscow’s dictates to the letter. The Albania-Tito dispute became a matter of public record when the Russian leaders in their rapprochement with the renegade Tito had determined that Albania’s economic and political significance did not warrant the amount of “aid” she was receiving and this money could be better spent on Tito.

The renunciation of Leninist norms was seen in the complete refusal to engage in debate and polemics within the “communist movement.” An air of social-democratic philistinism prevailed

within all the parties and in each party’s relations with another.

Is it not clear that the slogans “fraternal relations among parties” and “non-interference in the internal affairs of others” had the effect of unleashing anti-Leninist relations among all the parties in the “International Communist Movement”? Social-Democratic niceties, however are only effective means of placation to a point, as is proved by the history of the suppression of various opposition factions within both the CPC (Lin Piao, Liu Shao-Chi) and PLA.

Slowly, and with great pains, Bolshevism is being re-established. It is this fact, more than any other, that has resulted in the use of tactics within the “communist movement” (among the opportunists) that are rightly called social-fascist. The communist movement is in deep crisis — years of philistine social-democracy are giving way to vicious social-fascism. Dimitrov was a thousand times right when he said it is social-democracy that paved the way for fascism in Europe in the 1920’s and 30’s. It is the same social-democracy that has paved the way for the wave of social-fascist activity that has become so prevalent of late.

The lack of Leninist norms that have chartered international relations since the death of Stalin are under challenge from Bolshevism. Debate on crucial questions of the proletarian revolution world-wide is being re-kindled. Against this new situation is flung the twin brother of social-democracy, social-fascism.

Imperialist economism, the relegation of the proletariat to the economic struggle alone, the attempt to secure from imperialism’s superprofits a better deal for workers of the great power countries — is the political expression of social-democracy; while on the other hand, the suppression by whatever means, of Bolshevism is the political expression of social-fascism. The revisionist dominated “international communist movement” attempted to quell opposition to its policies of support for the bourgeoisie through the “peaceful” means of burying scientific socialism and renouncing Leninist norms. This has proved to be fruitless in the face of the call for re-establishment of Leninist norms, in the face of the attempts to break the ice surrounding the questions of socialist revolution. A section of the opportunists internationally has taken it upon themselves to aid the struggle against Leninism through the employment of tactics of social-fascism. We consciously use the term tactics because ideologically (as regards outlook) there are not major disagreements among those following the “peaceful” and “violent” roads to the suppression of Leninism. Social-Democracy had transformed into social-fascism. Unless this is understood it is impossible to understand anything at all in the present international opportunist movement.

Many people have failed to understand the danger posed to the communist and working class movements by the activities of the social-fascists. This failure to understand and combat with all one’s strength this dangerous trend will

result in the further degradation of communism in the eyes and minds of the proletariat. Refusal to combat this trend places one in the position of an abettor of social-fascism. Therefore to rally to the side of open debate, to resolutely and unflinchingly expose all manifestations of social-fascism is required in our present situation, in order to sweep away the confusion that has been placed in the proletariat's minds by the opportunists regarding the aims and activities of Bolshevism.

The American working class is miserably deficient in its revolutionary thought and action. This state of affairs has been brought about by the historically "pure" development of capitalism, the rapid domination of bourgeois democratic traditions and the "democratic" illusions resulting therefrom, and in the absence historically of any traditions of Bolshevism. This situation is compounded by the position of U.S. imperialism, as the leader of one of two major blocs, enjoying the ability to bribe a sector of the most highly paid workers through its plunder of the colonies and semi-colonies. The bourgeois influence of this labor aristocracy is great (especially in the trade unions) and enhanced even more by the existence of its political representatives (parties) that call themselves "communist."

Historically marxism has had to fight every step of the way for hegemony within the workers movement. The opponents of Marx and Engels often referred to themselves as "Marxists" (especially after the two great leaders' deaths) in order to seek influence among the proletarian masses. Marxism-Leninism has had to confront the same problem — that of exposing those bourgeois pseudo-communists who cloud the thinking of the proletariat with their shielded opportunism.

There presently exist in the U.S. no fewer than five so-called communist parties, all claiming leadership of the workers' movement and all either tailing helplessly behind the spontaneous outbursts (Communist Party M-L) and Communist Party U.S.A. (M-L) or terroristically attempting to incite the proletariat into engaging in suicidal battles with one or another reactionary force (Communist Workers Party, Revolutionary Communist Party).

These parties are made up almost entirely of labor aristocrats (albeit many of these are "transformed" students) intent on securing greater wages at the expense of the oppressed colonies and nations; or by utterly frenzied petty bourgeois anarchists (such as Bob Avakian, Chairman of RCP) bent on excitatively forcing a working class they consider stupid and docile to commit acts which satisfy the frenzy of the petty bourgeois leaders for the spilling of blood.

It is the anarchist social-fascist parties who are leading the way in the present spreading of confusion and mistrust among the proletariat for the banner of communism. The other opportunist parties, far from being "critical" of these terrorist elements, laud the fact that they have succeeded where others have failed — in slandering the name of communism in the headlines

of the American (and we might add, the international) press with their recent activities.

No one incident so pointedly proves our assertion of the social-fascist character of these parties than the recent events in Greensboro, North Carolina. The Communist Workers Party (formerly the Workers' Viewpoint Organization) provoked the killing of five of its members by the reactionary Klu Klux Klan and Nazi Party at a demonstration called under the slogan "Death to the Klan" (A Strange turn of events indeed!)

No one — not even CWP — disputes the fact that these killings were provoked. On the contrary, say our social-fascists, they provide the basis to further the growth of the CWP! The Greensboro incident is not an isolated occurrence, it is rather the natural result of the provocative politics that the CWP and its forerunner, Workers Viewpoint, have engaged in. This insidious organization, born in secrecy in the mid 1970's and emerging openly in 1973 has long been known as the advanced detachment of the social-fascist current. Unable to refute the criticism of its political line, WVO resorted to physical beatings to quell the debate. The most widely known incidents of their social-fascist activity have been directed since 1976 against not only the lefts but even against their fellow opportunists, who were unwilling at the time to follow the excitative path.

It is without question that the bourgeoisie desires the slander of communism far more from "communists" themselves, than from the avowed anti-communists commentators (William F. Buckley, etc.) who have no influence within the working class movement. The massive amount of press that the Greensboro incident received bears this out. The strength of the social-fascist trend lies precisely in its *alliance* with the bourgeoisie — in the fact that the bourgeoisie, through its press, has displayed the willingness to follow and publish, the absurdities carried on by the social-fascists under the stolen banner of communism. How many articles have appeared in the bourgeois press concerning the split with opportunism, the rupture with social-chauvinism and centrism that has been affected by the Bolsheviks in recent months. This, of course will not be made known to the workers through the bourgeois press — this fact is of great worry to the bourgeoisie and hence the terrorist activities of the "communists" are all we can expect in the pages of bourgeois (and petty bourgeois) yellow journalism.

The Bolsheviks, and only the Bolsheviks, must and will publicize the dangers of terrorism and social-fascism to the workers. The Bolsheviks must break the ice (and cracks are already to be observed) in regard to open debate.

The proletariat suffers greatly from the picture of communism painted by the social-fascists and framed by the bourgeoisie. Our most immediate task must be the thorough exposure of the social-fascists and their programme of terror that is being advanced no longer in their miserable rag sheets alone; but increasingly by the bourgeois and liberal press as well. Failure to carry out

this pressing exposure will cripple the ability of Bolshevism to secure for itself, first a foothold, and later, complete authority among the class conscious workers whose consciousness is daily endangered by the social-fascists. A fool's paradise is a wise man's hell and the present hellish state of affairs threatens the proletariat and the young Bolsheviks with languishing in "paradise" unless victory is achieved in the routing of the social-fascists.

It is not enough to be content with the fact that the social-fascists are unable to win large numbers to their side, from the ranks of the workers. This fact is of little consolation so long as the *alliance* of the social-fascists with the bourgeoisie continues (and it will continue so long as imperialism exists). Complacency regarding the esteem of Bolshevism in the minds of the workers, especially the class conscious among them, will result in the further domination of opportunism in the working class movement. Failure to open the debate that the opportunists (particularly now the social-fascists) have closed will result in the continued subjugation of Leninist norms and hence the continued burying of differences and disputes. We are in a critical situation, one that requires the utmost in skill and perseverance from the Bolsheviks if the twenty odd year history of philistinism and opportunism is to be buried. We must resolve not to let another day pass where the activities of social-fascism go unexposed.

Let the social-fascists' paradise soon become their hell!

December 1979

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this pressing exposure will cripple the ability of Bolshevism to secure for itself, first a foothold, and later, complete authority among the class conscious workers whose consciousness is daily endangered by the social-fascists. A fool's paradise is a wise man's hell and the present hellish state of affairs threatens the proletariat and the young Bolsheviks with languishing in "paradise" unless victory is achieved in the routing of the social-fascists.

It is not enough to be content with the fact that the social-fascists are unable to win large numbers to their side, from the ranks of the workers. This fact is of little consolation so long as the alliance of the social-fascists with the bourgeoisie continues (and it will continue so long as imperialism exists). Complacency regarding the esteem of Bolshevism in the minds of the workers, especially the class conscious among them, will result in the further domination of opportunism in the working class movement. Failure to open the debate that the opportunists (particularly now the social-fascists) have closed will result in the continued subjugation of Leninist norms and hence the continued burying of differences and disputes. We are in a critical situation, one that requires the utmost in skill and perseverance from the Bolsheviks if the twenty odd year history of philistinism and opportunism is to be buried. We must resolve not to let another day pass where the activities of social-fascism go unexposed.

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December 1979

CANADA

On the "Third International"
Youth Camp" in Spain:
**PROVOCATION UNDER
COVER OF CRIES
AGAINST
PROVOCATION**

Bolshevik Union of Canada

During the summer the international centrist trend headed by the Party of Labour of Albania held the so-called "Third International Youth Camp" at Valencia, Spain. This was allegedly an "anti-imperialist anti-fascist" youth camp. But the reality was quite another matter. The "anti-imperialism" consisted of attacking organizations that struggle against imperialism. One of the participating centrist parties, the so-called "CPUSA(ML)," said "the delegates did not shrink from the battle against imperialism when it presented itself at the conference" (*Unite!*, September 15, 1979). The camp organizers showed their "anti-fascism" by calling upon the Spanish police to disperse the so-called "imperialists" who were "sabotaging" the camp by distributing a leaflet.

Eleven centrist parties or their youth organizations have put out a "Communique on the Various Provocations Against the Third International Youth Camp" which puts forward unsubstantiated slanders about "provocations," but which in fact only exposes its signatories.

In order to cover for themselves the centrists said that holding the camp was a victory against the Spanish government. The "communique" says "the success was won against the Spanish government which had forbidden but was forced to lift its ban the day before the Camp opened" (*Unite!*, September 15, p. 3). But how did this motley crew of opportunists "force"

what they call a "monarcho-fascist" regime to allow them to have this camp? It is certainly not because of fear of these eleven centrist organizations. We are tempted to suspect that it must have something to do with "the battle against imperialism when it presented itself at the conference" since the Spanish police helped the camp organizers "battle against imperialism" by threatening to arrest not the camp organizers but the so-called "provocateurs"!

The Communist Party of Cyprus/Marxist-Leninist (Organizing Committee) described what happened in an open international letter. The camp organizers prohibited the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) (TKP(ML)) and several Turkish anti-fascist anti-imperialist mass organizations from participating in the camp on the grounds that they oppose "KPD(ML)" of Germany, an opportunist sect in Turkey (TDFP-IÖ) and criticize the PLA "on certain international questions of Marxism-Leninism" (Open Letter). And then this is what the CPC/ML(OC) tells us happened.

ATIF, ATÖF, Partizan, TKP(ML)-TMLGB responded to the ban by issuing and distributing leaflets and opening banners at the entrance of the camp. The camp committee forced them to move from the space in front of the camp. But they continued their just action which we wholeheartedly supported by the side of the nearby road. A traffic warden and gendarme who tried to stop the action were persuaded to allow leafletting to go on for another hour. But the members of the Communist Party of Spain/ML who were in the festival committee arrived before the police abandoned the area. After a short conversation between authorities from PCE/ML and the fascist Spanish police, the police forced comrades from Turkey to stop their action or else they would be arrested.

By this action the festival committee and particularly PCE/ML have actually proved that they are prepared even to collaborate with the fascist police in order to prevent the spread of communist ideas that criticize their own views.

The centrists try to cover this up by saying in their "communique" that "primarily Turkish provocateurs occupied part of the camp. They attempted to provoke clashes in order to allow the police and civil guard to intervene. They distributed leaflets intended to spread unrest among Camp participants." But it was the camp organizers that invited "the police and Civil Guard to intervene." The opportunists reason that someone disagrees with us, this is a provocation, so we must call the police to stop this provocation, this is why those we disagree with "allow the police and Civil Guard to intervene." Those who invite the police "battle against imperialism" and those who the police are invited to arrest are allowing the police to intervene — this is the reasoning of the philistines that organized this camp.

And how were these so-called "Turkish provocateurs" spreading "unrest among Camp participants" through leaflets? The leaflet of the CPT(ML) said:

The CPT(M-L) defends the principled unity of all Marxist-Leninist forces in the international arena.

The CPT(ML) is against the reconciliation with the mistakes of each other and flattering among the fraternal M-L parties. The CPT(M-L) holds the view that discussion, criticism and self-criticism among the revolutionary and M-L forces is not harmful for principled unity; on the contrary it is a necessary condition.

The CPT(M-L) is also against hiding principal and important disagreements among fraternal organizations. It is for an open and public criticism. This attitude of the CPT(M-L) is in line with the theory and practice of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, who are the classics of M-L.

But our attitude is considered wrong by many forces. One section of those who consider our attitude wrong, as far as we are concerned, is Marxist-Leninists who commit important mistakes for the sake of "unity." The other section is the opportunist forces. They want to destroy the activities of Marxist-Leninists for setting up a principled unity and are frightened from open criticism and discussion. They take criticism to be a kind of "confession" continuously vacillating and after every mistake are saying "we did not make mistakes of principles any way." They try to prevent discussions in their hands.

It is obvious why this would "spread unrest among Camp participants" because it exposes the fraud the Camp organizers were engaged in and because it "provoked" "Camp participants" to discuss important questions rather than "testifying" their loyalty to the Camp organizers and the PLA. In addition to CPT(ML) there were a number of other parties and organizations who were there to have an open discussion of views who are all lumped together by the centrists as "various Maoist groups and provocateurs" who "carried out actions against the camp... to impede holding the camp and hinder its success." How is it that these groups "impeded holding the camp" by wanting to participate in it? Obviously it is their participation that would "hinder its success" — that is the success of the opportunists in suppressing any open and principled discussion. The centrists try to give the appearance of a political criticism by saying all of these groups are Maoist, but in fact the Camp organizers were all open adherents of Mao Tsetung Thought until the PLA told them to drop it, as the PLA had done. None of them have put forward any meaningful criticism for their adherence to Mao Tsetung Thought and still uphold the revisionist essence of Mao Tsetung Thought under the banner of "Hoxha Thought." These centrists also cover up the fact that some of these groups criticize Mao Tsetung Thought. But the problem for the centrists is that these groups say they want an open discussion of this important question. This is supposedly "provocation."

The centrists tell us that "the Third International Youth Camp replied to all provocations and took decisive measures. Prohibitions were declared, provocateurs were seized, and finally, all provocateurs were thrown out of the camp." To slightly reword this statement will show what really happened. It should read like this:

The Third International Youth Camp replied to all discussion and criticism by preventing it and

took decisive measures like collaborating with the police. Censorship was declared, any one who disagreed with us was seized, and finally those we disagreed with were beaten by our thugs and thrown out of the camp for the police to harass and take pictures of.

The centrists follow this by saying "This has been a new experience which shows that the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist unity and the revolutionary struggle of youth can be strengthened only when every type of repression is met head on and all varieties of collaboration and provocation are combated." This should read:

This has been a repeat of an old experience which shows that fascist and imperialist unity and the counter-revolutionary struggle of lumpen and petty bourgeois youth can be strengthened only when every type of criticism is met head on with clubs and all varieties of Marxist-Leninist unity and criticism are combated.

Sectarianism or Social Fascism?

The "communique" says that "all this provocative cooperation with the fascist movement in Spain failed." This indeed is certainly misleading because the "provocative cooperation with the fascist movement in Spain" by the camp organizers certainly did not fail. The "PCE(ML)" and the others succeeded in allying with Franco's police to drive away anti-imperialists and anti-fascists from the camp. No wonder the Spanish government "lifted its ban the day before the Camp opened."

Stalin and the Comintern long ago exposed the relationship between fascism and social-fascism as being opposite sides of the same coin. We would be sadly deluding ourselves if we thought social-fascism is a thing of the past or that it is limited to the avowed followers of social-democracy or to avowed followers of Russian and Chinese revisionism. The facts are that the organizers of this camp operate with a social-democratic, menshevik, revisionist line that they try to mask as Marxist-Leninist and their activities at this camp show their willingness to not only carry out fascist-like repression but to openly collaborate with the fascist police. They are socialists only in words, they are fascists in deeds. Whether or not social-fascism characterizes the general work of all of these organizations in no way changes the fact that this activity in Spain was social-fascist and represents social-fascism of this trend internationally. Of course we know only too well that Bains' so-called "Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)" is a social-fascist group, something we have proven before. The most recent example is when a fascist gang and Bains' gang tried to destroy a demonstration of Blacks protesting police killings by provoking a fight with each other that allowed the police to move in.

The analysis of the camp made by the Canadian group "In Struggle" is profoundly mis-

taken and opportunist. In Struggle labelled what happened as "sectarianism" and thereby tries to cover up the political contradictions that exist and pretends that the only problem is sectarianism which can be corrected by everyone ceasing to be "sectarian."

This is an old tactic of In Struggle who never struggled against the social-chauvinist, right opportunist and revisionist line of the "CCL(ML)" (now the "Workers Communist Party (ML)" and instead called them sectarian for not "desiring unity" with In Struggle and not wanting to participate in In Struggle's conferences. In Struggle said that the Bolshevik Union was "sectarian" for participating in the conferences and raising differences and for attacking the League. The League is a gang of social-fascists who use the techniques of the camp on a regular basis. They even put In Struggle cadre in the hospital. In Struggle decided that the contradiction with the Bolshevik Union was antagonistic and thereafter engaged with the League and CPC(ML) in social-fascist attacks on the Bolshevik Union.

In Struggle is repeating this today by criticizing these forces as "sectarian" but calling on them to unite in one international organization with In Struggle. The Bolshevik Union are "police agents" and "agent provocateurs" according to In Struggle. Thus In Struggle does all the things they criticize as "sectarianism" to the Bolshevik Union.

In Struggle has never put forward one bit of proof of these slanderous accusations; they simply use them to avoid responding to our polemic. In Struggle reveals its utter hypocrisy with statements like "methods such as calling in the police or physically attacking other communists are totally inadmissible" (*In Struggle*, October 2, 1979, p. 14). But In Struggle used these very methods against the Bolshevik Union. Of course In Struggle could say we are not communists but this is exactly what the organizers of the camp said about those they used these methods against. And like In Struggle they offer no proof of this whatsoever.

The point, however, is that these methods are not only inadmissible, those that use them are not communists. Do communists "call on the police" to aid them in their disagreements with other communists? Do communists "physically attack other communists"? Simply to pose these questions shows the bankruptcy of In Struggle's position. Only for opportunists like In Struggle do "Communists" use such "inadmissible" methods.

In Struggle further exposes its utter hypocrisy by saying "However, what is even more serious is that these actions are signs of an utter refusal to debate openly questions which divide the communist movement." What is it a sign of when In Struggle uses these same actions to avoid debating openly with the Bolshevik Union?

Let us review a little history. Since In Struggle

gave its "definitive demarcation" against the Bolshevik Union because we say there is an antagonistic contradiction between Marxism-Leninism and the theory of "three worlds," In Struggle has carried out systematic repressive activity against the Bolshevik Union. At its next conference In Struggle not only physically attacked and ejected members of the Bolshevik Union, but also people who applauded our interventions and workers who disagreed with In Struggle's programme who had nothing to do with the Bolshevik Union. We will never forget the spectacle of In Struggle dragging away from the microphones and ejecting welfare recipients who criticized In Struggle for having the same programme on welfare rights as the bourgeois parties. They dragged away one 75 year old woman who they knew had a delicate heart condition. Four of their male security goons pushed around a 50 year old woman. They threw out a nine month pregnant woman who had to fight her way back in to get her other child from the daycare center — her crime: applauding the Bolshevik Union.

Ever since In Struggle has physically attacked us for distributing at their meetings and at other meetings. They have openly allied with the League and "CPC(ML)" to attack us. They helped the League publicly circulate the names of some of our cadre and they take pictures of our militants that no doubt fall into the hands of the police.

They have even tried to throw us out of mass organizations and physically attack our distributors at factory gates, picket lines and demonstrations. Why does In Struggle do all of this to what they call a "fringe group," a "small sect," "library rats" who "do no nothing in the working class"; it is because there is nothing In Struggle fears more than the Bolshevik Union — not because we attack them physically, because we never have — it is because we attack them ideologically with Bolshevism. And In Struggle has no mental defence.

If there is anyone who does not believe what we say about In Struggle, we invite them to come with one of our distributors to an In Struggle meeting and they will see for themselves. In Struggle is a group that thrives on hypocrisy so it does not bother them to condemn other groups for the very things they themselves do.

In Struggle's stand about the camp, however, is not principally a reflection of its hypocrisy, it is consistent with its Trotskyite aim of conciliating and uniting different international factions and trends. In Struggle is only criticizing the organizers of the camp because this kind of activity gets in the way of their ambitions. It is indeed strange that In Struggle nowhere mentions in its publications that it was at the camp and was excluded from participating as an organization. It is also strange that the "communique" does not mention In Struggle's "provocations." In Strug-

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gle will not take a firm stand against these parties because this would limit its ability to manoeuvre and intrigue in order to reconcile different factions of mensheviks into a grand alliance against Bolshevism. "Sectarianism is an obstacle" to In Struggle's plans.

The PLA Stands Behind the Events at the Camp

In Struggle in all its talk about "sectarianism" avoids the political reality behind the actions of the centrists in Spain. What unites the signatories of the "communique" is their common adherence to and recognition by the PLA. The PLA is no more receptive to international debate and criticism than any of these parties. The PLA does not respond to criticism and unites with and encourages the kind of activity engaged in by these opportunists. Of course the PLA does not get involved directly in such a dirty affair, but when Raul Marco, leader of "PCE(ML)" and other centrist party leaders assembled, recently, to place a wreath on the grave of Hysni Kapo it would be naive to think nothing was discussed but general declarations about the "purity of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism."

The PLA, however, does not just oppose the answering of criticism, the PLA has specific foreign policy interests in encouraging the kind of activity that happened at the camp in Spain. This is why the focus of the slander campaign is on the Turkish party. The PLA has placed a great deal of emphasis on developing good relations with the regimes in Turkey and Greece, especially since it strained relations with China. The PLA has declared Turkey and Greece to be "sovereign and independent countries" which obviously has nothing to do with reality. Turkey is clearly a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country languishing under the yoke of imperialism and is increasingly the object of the struggle to redivide the world among the imperialists. Turkey is a country torn by economic and political crisis and social upheaval. The spontaneous resistance of the workers and peasants is greatly increasing in the face of massive unemployment and staggering inflation. The Kurdish nation and the other oppressed nationalities are also waging an intense struggle against national oppression.

The Turkish regime has responded to this with more and more armed repression of the masses. Martial law exists in much of Turkey and where the state does not carry on direct attacks on the workers and peasants it uses "unofficial" fascist gangs that terrorize the people unimpeded by the state. The PLA says it does not have relations with fascist countries but it is proud of its relations with the Turkish regime.

In the face of this tremendous development of the objective factors of revolution, at a time when the imperialists themselves are announcing far and wide that Turkey is a weak link in the imperialist chain, what is the PLA doing to aid the Turkish proletariat to lead the revolu-

tion? The answer can be seen in works like *Imperialism and the Revolution*, where Hoxha does not talk about it. Here is a country close to Albania that is moving closer and closer to the brink of revolution and what does the PLA do? The PLA prettifies the regime as "sovereign and independent," covers up its fascization and is pleased with its good attitude to Albania. Turkey is on the precipice of revolution and Hoxha says:

With Turkey also, we have friendly relations, which we would like to develop further. We are pleased to see that the Turkish AUTHORITIES have warmly and enthusiastically welcomed the performances of our artistic ensembles in their country, which strengthen the friendship between our peoples. (E. Hoxha, *Albania is Forging Ahead Confidently and Unafraid*, Tirana, 1978, p. 31)

But the PLA is not only taking a "neutral" stand for the sake of developing trade and relations, it is, as is proved with the events in Spain, working against the revolution. Not only did the camp organizers try to ban the CPT(ML), they tried to get them arrested knowing that it is an illegal party which faces particularly intense repression in Turkey and knowing this could lead to the worst of consequences, but they also tried to do this to members of Turkish mass organizations. But even worse they tried to equate these mass organizations with the Party which only can help the Turkish regime and the West German government to outlaw these groups. The CPC/ML(OC) points out that the camp organizers "tried to equalize ATIF and ATOF which are democratic mass organizations, to TKP/ML (CPT(ML)) which is an illegal party in her country. This attitude of the festival committee again is extremely provocative and it serves the police, the Turkish and German police who are hand in hand trying their best to ban ATIF and ATOF."

West Germany has extensive investments in Turkey as well as over two million immigrant Turkish workers in Germany who are tremendously exploited and militant in their resistance. Now that West Germany wants to recruit immigrants into its army it will even be more interested in suppressing ATIF and ATOF because of their work among Turkish immigrants in Germany. ATIF and ATOF in a leaflet distributed at the camp said "we consider that it is wrong and harmful to equalize democratic mass organizations with illegal parties and make such propaganda." We would be naive to think the camp organizers did not know this and in fact deliberately lent assistance to the Turkish and German police — just one more example of their social-fascist activity.

The position of the PLA can be seen most clearly in its support for the so-called "Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey — Construction Organization" that helps the Turkish regime by denouncing CPT(ML)'s armed self-defense against fascist attacks as terrorism, opposes the armed struggle and prettifies the regime in Turkey. It is no coincidence that this organization came into existence with a great

deal of assistance and aid of "KPD(ML)" from Germany which openly allies with the Schmidt government.

The CPT(ML) has openly attacked this opportunist sect from Turkey and "KPD(ML)" and this is a grave threat to the PLA and its trend because the "KPD(ML)" also plays an important role in the PLA's foreign policy. "KPD(ML)" takes the position that if Strauss is elected Chancellor of Germany in the next election it will be the same thing as Hitler getting elected in 1933. It will mean fascism in Germany and therefore keeping Schmidt, the social-democrat, would be better.

The question of fascism, however, is not what is involved here. There is no question that Strauss is a reactionary. But he is no Hitler and not any more reactionary than Schmidt. What is at issue for the PLA here is not a resurgence of fascism but the difference in foreign policy between Schmidt and Strauss. The issue of fascism is the PLA's excuse to ally with one faction of the German bourgeoisie against another. Hoxha puts it this way, "the fascist group around Strauss, the Hitlerite generals, the powerful real revanchists of Bonn, are openly advertising themselves as China's closest allies." (*Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, p. 32)

What the PLA is getting at is illustrated in Hua Kuo fung's recent visit to Germany where Schmidt gave him a rather cold reception, presumably making Schmidt not one of the "REAL revanchists of Bonn," whereas Strauss was very open in his praise for Hua and his support for an alliance with China, making Strauss the "REAL revanchist of Bonn"! The PLA prefers one set of German revanchists to another because of their attitude to China and raises the pretext of fascism to justify supporting the "progressive" group around Schmidt instead of "the fascist group around Strauss."

It is in this context that the camp organizers attacked a West German group. The "Communique" talks about "the German provocateurs and liquidators of the group 'Against the Current'." This group is attacked because of its relations with CPT(ML) and because of their history of opposing the chauvinism and opportunism of "KPD(ML)". They are called "liquidators" because they split from "KPD(ML)" and opposed its revisionist thesis of allying with certain factions of the bourgeoisie against other factions. As to being "provocateurs" this is the same unproven slander "KPD(ML)" peddles in Germany to try to cover its total inability to answer criticism.

The communique also attacks "the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria" because of its relations with CPT(ML) and Against the Tide and because of its criticisms of "KPD (ML)." This comes after most of these parties earlier this summer signed a joint declaration with the Austrian party about Stalin. The most "damning" criticism they can come up with is that "the MLP of Austria did not lift a finger in the organizing of the Camp or in program activities." This is supposedly

"provocation," unlike collaborating with the Spanish police! Of course they cover up that "The Austrian Marxist-Leninist Party (AMLP) was not allowed to propagate their views and distribute their pamphlets in the camp. AMLP was also 'advised' to stop collaborating with the 'agent-provocateurs.' The Austrian Marxist-Leninists did not obey such anti-Marxist regulations and decided not to join the camp officially" (Open Letter at CPC/ML (OC)).

The PLA considers Austria to be a "well-intentioned" imperialist power (Hoxha, *Albania is Forging Ahead Confidently and Unafraid*, p. 29). And despite its long-time relations with MLPA, apparently this is less important than "friendly approaches and normal trade and cultural relations" with the Austrian imperialists.

The "communique" attacks "a group of petty bourgeois students who have declared themselves to be the Marxist-Leninist Party of Cyprus." The Cyprus party states that "by saying the CPC/ML is a 'student organization abroad' the festival committee is only helping the police and no one else." No doubt the reactionaries in Cyprus try to say communism is something "foreign" to Cyprus and only comes from students who go abroad; they will no doubt use this "communique" to "prove" their point. This is the kind of lie the Tsarist police used to spread about the Bolsheviks. The PLA says very little about the situation in Cyprus. They have no desire to offend Greece and Turkey by condemning their reactionary participation in the partition of Cyprus.

If the PLA were a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, it would completely disassociate itself with what happened at the camp and condemn it, but the fact is the PLA supports this kind of social-fascist activity, and not simply because role of the PLA. It is totally erroneous to separate methods of struggle but because of its own nationalist interests. The PLA was the "silent partner" in what happened in Spain.

What happened in Spain cannot be properly exposed and combated without exposing the role of the PLA. It is totally erroneous to separate these centrist parties from the PLA. It is not enough to demarcate from this or that party. The PLA does not recognize and promote all these opportunist parties because it is a Marxist-Leninist party. If the exposure of the camp in Spain is confined to the opportunists directly involved, it will only cover for the PLA's continuing activities to sabotage the international communist movement. It is time to judge the PLA not by its incessant phrasemongering but to judge it by its practice. Where does the PLA stand on Vietnam, Iran, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua, Turkey, etc. — against the proletariat. Where does the PLA stand on the events in Spain — it stands behind and encourages social-fascism and counter-revolutionary activity. It is time to stop conciliating with these opportunists and organize an international split against them. The longer we wait the more damage they will do. How much will it take for some to stop conciliating with the PLA?

Agent Provocateurs

The baseless accusations of the "Communique" about "provocation" is just one example of a very disgusting practice that has been in prevalent use by opportunists around the world. In Canada we are quite use to the incessant accusations of being "agent-provocateurs," "police socialists," etc. All the opportunists are united together in throwing these labels at the Bolshevik Union. Of course they never stick but this is not the objective. It is to protect themselves from our Bolshevik criticism. The "CPC(ML)" and the League have always tried to insulate their cadre from the point of view of other groups to cover for their theoretical impoverishment. In Struggle finally succumbed to this openly after having engaged in it through rumours for a long time. In Struggle was losing more and more cadre to the Bolshevik Union because of its complete inability to respond to our polemic. So it engaged in the vilest slander campaign internally to get its cadre to stop reading our publications and has since made one unproven accusation after another. What happened to In Struggle in Spain is only what it has done to us for a long time.

We totally denounce this method of opportunists to avoid debate and criticism, but we have no illusions that they will abandon it. It is part of their arsenal against Marxism-Leninism. The opportunists and revisionists have learned from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin that engaging in a polemic with Bolsheviks means the exposure and defeat of the mensheviks, however they disguise themselves. So they try to slander communists and even competing cliques of opportunists.*

But only the naive and fools would think there is not a serious problem of provocateur activity in the international communist movement. The Comintern long ago exposed the nature of this kind of activity and we should learn the lesson. The Comintern stated that "the secret police deliberately spread rumors about provocation within the Party, themselves accused others of acts of provocation in order to cover their own tracks" (see article in *Lines of Demarcation* no. 14). The Comintern talks about how "various groups, for a number of years, accused each other of being provocateurs" and we are seeing a repeat of this experience today.

It is important to understand that provocateurs fall into several categories. There are the trained agents of the secret police who infiltrate communist organizations or who set up phoney organizations. Then there are their collaborators

*In this regard it is interesting to note that the "Communique" is signed by the Youth delegation of "CPC(ML)" and "CPUSA(ML)." Bains directly runs a group in the US called "COUSML" that calls "CPUSA(ML)" an organization of agent provocateurs. We have yet to find the "communique" in Bains' paper.

bribed or coerced into betraying the proletariat. But there are not only provocateurs that work for the western imperialists, there are those that work for the revisionists. As the Comintern said "the social-fascist party can slip 'its man' into every group of workers which splits from it and joins the Communist Party." Certainly during the split with the Russian revisionists they slipped 'their man' and even 'their parties' or factions that formed new parties into the international communist movement. Certainly the Chinese revisionists did the same thing in the split over the theory of "three worlds." The Albanian revisionists today are doing the same thing.

The general state of ideological confusion that reigns internationally is a perfect terrain for this swarm of agents to operate in, a place where they can promote this confusion and channel its development in certain directions. No doubt in many organizations there are competing factions of agents who represent different revisionist and imperialist interests, or even different factions from the same revisionist party.

For all the talk opportunists engage in about agents they never expose any in their own ranks, they are always from other groups or people who leave the party or who are purged for political reasons. This alone is proof of no real struggle against provocateurs. The Comintern said:

Such a point of view is absurd. It must be emphasised once more that provocation is one of the methods in the class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Is it not obvious that the ruling class, utilising the entire apparatus of class rule, will — sooner or later — find ways and means of placing its spies in the party? It is enough to put the question to make it clear that there is not a party in which the enemy is unable to place its agents. That being so, it is not the open exposure of a provocateur that compromises the Party, but the inability to expose him, the inability to deal with this question seriously.

There is not the slightest doubt that it is much more difficult to discover provocateurs in the capitalist countries at the present time than in the old Tsarist times in Russia. The enemy has learned a great deal.

Since the death of Stalin revolutionaries have not learned much because they have abandoned the struggle against provocation. Now it is only used as a means of slander against opposing politics. This allows the real provocateurs to go about their work totally unimpeded.

Not only have we carried out a consistent struggle to prevent the infiltration of our organization, we have waged a persistent struggle against the infiltration of In Struggle and for this In Struggle has called us "provocateurs"! In Struggle is a large, loose organization that almost anyone can join and if it denies it is infiltrated, In Struggle is only showing its own total bankruptcy. Our articles on this matter

were reprinted in *Lines of Demarcation* no. 14.

We will say much more on this subject in the future, but at this point we want to stress the line of the Comintern that "it is not so important for the Communist Party to expose individual provocateurs as to fight against provocation as a system to deprive the bourgeoisie of this weapon of disrupting the revolutionary working class movement.

"Thus the struggle against provocation can be correctly carried on only as a component part of the general revolutionary class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. And likewise there can be no real class struggle against capitalism unless a relentless struggle is waged against provocation as a means of disrupting the working class, as an instrument of bourgeois rule.

"But that means that it is fundamentally wrong to undertake the struggle against provocation as a separate campaign, carried through as a shock campaign, after which the matter is allowed to rest. Not a campaign, but systematic, persistent daily attention."

The activity of the centrists at the camp in Spain is a part of the system of provocation and it cannot be combated without realizing it.

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To get in touch with the groups whose addresses we cannot publish at the present time, we suggest that you send your correspondence in a sealed envelope addressed to the organization and place it inside another envelope addressed to the Bolshevik Union. We will see that it gets to the organization in question.

