

GUILTY BY OMISSION

"C" P "ML" Program 2: "We are Fighting for the Abolition of Class Society"

OR

Chapter 2 of Lessons in Revisionism: "We Are Fighting Against the Establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

Michael Klonsky & Co. make a bold claim in Chapter 1 of their 91 page program (perhaps they think sheer length impresses petty bourgeois intellectuals, which it does, and would derail the genuine Marxist-Leninists, which it doesn't). "Our Party has been forged in the heat of the class struggle. It is a Party of revolutionary struggle and stands in staunch opposition to revisionism, Trotskyism and all other forms of opportunism." (sic!) (Documents from the Founding Congress of the "C" P "ML", p. 63)

If this were true, of course, Klonsky wouldn't have to say it, for this is shown in the deeds of a Marxist-Leninist party, and has no place in a Marxist-Leninist program, which is a brief, scientifically formulated statement which determines the aim of the proletarian movement for a given stage, and guides the work of the Party for the achievement of that aim. "C" P "ML"'s program, however, being a revisionist program of reforms for the maintenance of capitalism, is full of bragging, self-flattery and pats on the back. Klonsky is compelled to resort to ridiculous claims and outright lies like the above, attempting to cover the revisionism and shameless opportunism abounding on every page.

After all the praise and self-congratulations in Ch. 1, "The 'C' P 'ML' is the vanguard party of the proletariat...etc.", Klonsky goes on to prove the very opposite with his staunch opposition, not to revisionism, but to

the dictatorship of the proletariat, to communism. That is the real meaning behind "We Are Fighting for the Abolition of Class Society". The entire 3 pages (!) devoted to "C" P "ML"'s distorted conception of communism and socialism argues against the seizure of state power by the proletariat, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

After the self-praise "introduction" in #1, "C" P "ML" moves on to "what they are fighting for". Is it perhaps the socialist revolution, the seizure of state power by the proletariat, the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and its conversion to public property? Oh, no. The renegades of "C" P "ML" stay far away from any principles of Marxism-Leninism. Instead, they entitle this section, "We Are Fighting for the Abolition of Class Society".

We assume "C" P "ML" wants the reader to think that this distortion means communism, because they go on to prattle about the achievement of communism, etc. Leaving aside for the moment the revision that appears in the title itself, we quote Comrade Lenin on such maneuvers and their meaning:

"The mercenary defense of capitalism by the bourgeois ideologists (and their hangers-on, like Messrs. the Tseretelis, Chernovs and Co.) consist pre-

cisely in that they substitute controversies and discussions about the distant future for the vital and burning question of present-day politics, viz., the expropriation of the capitalists, the conversion of all citizens into workers and employees of one huge "syndicate" -- the whole state -- and the complete subordination of the entire work of this syndicate to a genuinely democratic state, to the state of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies." (The State and Revolution, 1973 Peking Edition, p. 116)

In the U.S., its plain for all to see except those who don't wish to see, that proletarian revolution is on the order of the day, all the objective conditions are ripe. Our strategic objective is the seizure of state power by the proletariat and the organizing of the socialist society. This is precisely what "C"P "ML" stands in opposition to, and so they raise instead "communism", or rather Klonsky's revisionist ravings on the subject, to cover up their opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat, their anti-communism. Comrade Lenin hits the nail on the head in regard to the petty bourgeois phillistines, such as Klonsky & Co.--

" The first fact that has been established with complete exactitude by the whole theory of development, by science as a whole-- a fact that was forgotten by the utopians, and is forgotten by the present-day opportunists who are afraid of the socialist revolution--is that, historically, there must undoubtedly be a special stage or a special phase of transition from capitalism to communism."

Comrade Lenin continues, quoting from Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program",

"Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." (*ibid.*)

Standing with the class going out of being, the bourgeoisie, "C"P "ML" inevitably turns the world on its head, and everything is ass backwards; first, "C"P "ML"'s revisionist thesis on communism, second, distortions on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism.

But what is the purpose behind this obvious stupidity? The purpose of these mercenary defenders of the bourgeois order is to present communism as sheer utopia, reducing it to an absurdity by cutting the revolutionary heart out of the Marxist doctrine, and substituting instead a thoroughly unscientific, muddled distortion, proceeding then to the same "treatment" on the question of the transition from capitalism to communism, the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat--the aim is to thereby propagate that capitalism is permanent, the underlying premise of "C"P "ML"'s program of reforms.

But, as Marxism-Leninism clearly teaches, first the proletariat must establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, must lead the masses in the building of socialism, then and only then is it possible to conceive of, in practical terms, the achievement of classless, communist society. Let us examine, then, what "C"P "ML" has to say about the seizure of state power by the proletariat, and the organizing of the socialist society.

"Socialist society covers a considerably long period during which classes and class struggle

still exist. In order to ensure the triumph of socialism, prevent capitalist restoration, and achieve communism, the working class must smash the bourgeois state apparatus and establish its own class rule--the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." (Documents of the Founding Congress of the "C" P "ML", p. 68)

As usual, with this wretched, stinking mass of sophistry, "C" P "ML" turns everything completely around and upside down. The first sentence is correct, but in this context amount to borrowing a phrase, window dressing to prettify the horrible mess that follows, since it adds nothing in the way of explanation, which they profess to be making. The distortions that follow it are of more interest to us--which are in "C" P "ML"'s very own revisionist words. What we have is the following:

In order to ensure:

1. triumph of socialism
2. prevent capitalist restoration
3. achieve communism

that is, therefore, the working class must smash the bourgeois state apparatus and establish its own class rule, the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus, Klonsky & Co. allege that the bourgeois state must be smashed in order to ensure 1., 2., and 3. But this is an utterly ridiculous line of reasoning!

In order for the revolution to be successful, that is, in order for the proletariat to seize state power and establish the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, it is necessary for the proletariat to smash the bourgeois state apparatus. Comrade Lenin, writing in defense of the teachings of Comrade Marx, had this to say:

"The words 'to smash the bureaucratic military machine' briefly express the principle lesson of Marxism regarding the tasks of the proletariat during a revolution (our emphasis-ed.) in relation to the state. And it is precisely this lesson that has been not only completely forgotten but positively distorted by the prevailing, Kautskyite 'interpretation' of Marxism." (The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, 1965 Peking Edition, p. 13)

And--

"Today, in England and in America, too, the preliminary condition (our emphasis-ed.) for every real people revolution is the smashing, the destruction of the 'ready-made state machinery' (perfected in those countries between 1914 and 1917, up to the 'European', general imperialist standard)." (The State and Revolution, pp. 44-45)

Thus, it is clear that the smashing of the bourgeois state must be accomplished in order for the proletarian revolution to be successful, to establish on its ruins the dictatorship of the proletariat and NOT the way "C" P "ML" makes it appear--as if the proletariat smashes the bourgeois state during the building of socialism. The smashing of the bourgeois state is a precondition for the building of socialism! It is when the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, during the building of socialism, that the question of the triumph of socialism, of preventing capitalist restoration, and achieving communism are the prob-

lems taken up for solution by the proletariat led by its Party. "C" P "ML", as we have always pointed out, in defending their own bourgeoisie, covers up the role of the state (see for example, the article "C" P "ML" Covers Up the Role of the State", in Bolshevik, Vol. 8, No. 3). This is what compels the Klonskyite renegades to propose such absurdities as "smashing" the bourgeois state during the building of socialism!

What this adds up to is "peaceful transition to socialism". For, in "C" P "ML"'s distorted scheme of things, the proletariat peacefully "elects" "socialism", then, in order to supposedly ensure 1., 2., and 3., the bourgeois state is "smashed", and the "dictatorship of the proletariat is established". All of this is evolutionary, peaceful and legal in Klonsky's eyes, following in the footsteps of his idol William Z. Foster, who bragged about being one of the first to develop the notorious revisionist theory of "the constitutional, legal, peaceful road to socialism" in the U.S., which is nothing but a theory for the maintenance of the bloody rule of the bourgeoisie, a theory which aims to disarm the proletariat.

But as Marxism-Leninism and life itself teaches us, revolution is a violent act, an illegal act, and the smashing, the destruction of the bourgeois state must be accomplished in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to organize the socialist society. But of course, "C" P "ML" has no intention of smashing anything belonging to the bourgeoisie, only protecting it, since they have no intention of expropriating the bourgeoisie, which is conveniently omitted from their program.

"Peaceful transition to socialism" is the cry of the modern revisionists, old and new, and "C" P "ML" follows in the footsteps of Bernstein, Kautsky,

Krushchev, Foster, Tito, Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, clamouring for the proletariat to give up its historic mission. Could it be that this is why Klonsky "forgot" to mention the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie in this section of the program? What he doesn't say is damning enough, but let us continue with what is said:

"This new state, which for the first time in history represents democracy for the great majority of the people, suppresses the overthrown bourgeoisie and newly engendered bourgeois elements and guides the construction of socialism." (Documents, p. 68)

First of all, when the dictatorship of the proletariat is established in the U.S., it will certainly not be the first time in history. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia was the first time the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in history, thanks to the correct guidance of the CPSU(B) of Lenin and Stalin, thanks to the heroic and sacrificing struggle of the Russian proletariat and toiling masses, thanks to the uncompromising struggle against opportunism waged by the CPSU(B) of Lenin and Stalin. What the social-chauvinists of "C" P "ML" deny here is the legacy of Lenin and Stalin what they are denying is the lessons of revolutionary practice summed up by the great teachers Lenin and Stalin, as well as Marx and Engels, which they advance a hollow claim to be fighting for. Klonsky & Co. will undoubtedly go down in the history of the U.S. revolution as some of the most cowardly, opportunist agents of the bourgeoisie--when the bourgeoisie says "jump", Klonsky says, "how high?", trampling underfoot the glorious traditions of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which the international proletariat holds near and dear.

Klonsky goes on from there to sing

praises to Kautsky, even borrowing Kautsky's "majority", "minority" argument. Here is what Comrade Lenin had to say about "majority in general, minority in general, democracy in general":

"Kautsky argues as follows:

1. 'The exploiters have always formed only a small minority of the population.' (p. 14 of Kautsky's pamphlet).

That is indisputably true. Taking this as the starting point, what should be the argument? One may argue in a Marxist, a socialist way; in which case one would take as the basis the relations between the exploited and the exploiters. Or one may argue in a liberal, a bourgeois-democratic way; and in that case one would take as the basis the relations between the majority and the minority.

If we argue in a Marxist way, we must say: the exploiters inevitably transform the state (and we are speaking of democracy, i.e., one of the forms of the state) into an instrument of the rule of their class, the exploiters, over the exploited. Hence, so long as there are exploiters who rule the majority, the exploited, the democratic state must inevitably be a democracy for the exploiters. A state of the exploited must fundamentally differ from such a state; it must be a democracy for the exploited, and a means of suppressing the exploiters; and the suppression of a class means inequality for that class, its exclusion from 'democracy'." (Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, p. 30)

Klonsky, like his forefather Kautsky, argues like a liberal, a bourgeois-democrat, propagating the same lies as the

U.S. bourgeoisie, who are always proclaiming that "democracy for the great majority of the people" is the "American way". As Marxist-Leninists, our proletarian internationalist responsibility is to expose the fraud of bourgeois democracy, to thoroughly smash democracy for the exploiters, and fight with all our might to establish proletarian democracy in its place--democracy for all the exploited and oppressed, such as has been established in the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania, the socialist homeland of the international working class.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes--

"In the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania, the working class, the cooperative peasantry and other working people exercise power through the representative organs as well as directly. In Albania the mass of the people actively participate in governing the country, in managing the economy, in discussing laws and economic plans, in checking up on the activity of the organs of power, and so on. They have the right to air their views freely on all problems concerning society or themselves. They have been given this right by the Party under the Constitution, therefore in socialist Albania alone, there can be talk of democracy in the real meaning of the word, which is not only proclaimed in words but guaranteed in deeds as well. These rights are formally proclaimed by the bourgeois and revisionist Constitutions, too, but in reality, they do not guarantee the premises for the implementation of the rights proclaimed. Attacking the bourgeois deception of the so-called equal rights in the capitalist state, Stalin wrote that they

'talk of equality of citizens, but they forget that there can be no genuine equality between

boss and worker, between landowner and peasant, so long as the former are in possession of wealth and political power in society and the latter are deprived of both, so long as the former are the exploiters and the latter the exploited." (Proletarian Democracy is Genuine Democracy, 9-20-78)

In this period, fighting to establish proletarian democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, means carrying out our central task, building to completion the U.S. Bolshevik Party, hammering out the Party's line and program of action, the key link to Party building. Hammering out the Party's line and program can only be accomplished in a tit-for-tat struggle against all forms of opportunism and revisionism, bringing out to the light of day the traitorous stance of the renegades, social-chauvinists and defenders of capitalism like the "C" P "ML", while defending the purity and authenticity of Marxism-Leninism. On each and every question, "C" P "ML" propagates a thoroughly revisionist line, in a frontal assault on Marxism-Leninism, slinging mud at our beloved teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and slandering the great cause of communism. We can see that "C" P "ML", feeling secure in the knowledge that their revisionist forefathers of the "C" PUSA spread revisionism in this country for years before them, gloating about the fact that the belittlement of theory has been a serious historical weakness in the U.S. working class, act all big and "bold" because they have been "recognized" by the revisionist leadership in China. So shameless and brazen they have become, that the Call even recently endorsed the police "strike" in Memphis, openly propagating what they said long ago but were forced to retreat on due to the polemics waged against them--that police are a part of

the working class! Little wonder, then, that Klonsky so totally distorts and revises Marxism-Leninism on the role and nature of the state--after all, according to Klonsky & Co., when a part of the military arm of the bourgeois state, the vicious and brutal murdering police go on "strike" for more blood money, this "is a sharp indication of the growing militancy nationwide of public employees." (The Call, Vol. 7, No. 32, p. 4) All of this while the bourgeoisie is preparing to institute fascism and head for war, one of the principal manifestations of this being the rapid expansion and centralization of the police force.

As to the rest of "C" P "ML"'s treacherous statement on the dictatorship of the proletariat, "...and newly engendered bourgeois elements and guides the construction of socialism", this is an open attack on the role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, and the stern ideological, political, and organizational struggle that must be consistently waged to thoroughly expose and defeat any "newly engendered bourgeois elements" like Nikita Krushchev, Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng; etc., and "C" P "ML" is propagating right here that the restoration of capitalism is inevitable, that "newly engendered bourgeois elements" (immediately after the seizure of state power?!) simply pop up and are "suppressed". But what they are covering up is that it was from within the Party itself that the infamous Krushchevite revisionists made their all-out attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat and launched their plans for the restoration of capitalism. It was they who were the "newly engendered bourgeois elements", just as Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng are today.

"All the Marxist-Leninist parties destroyed or transformed into revisionist parties up till now have been destroyed or become revisionist because they have deviated from the Marxist-Leninist principles and

allowed opposing lines and factional anti-Marxist trends to be formed and operate within their ranks, thus being unable to combat and liquidate them. The Krushchevite revisionist trend which finally crystallized after the death of Stalin, managed to triumph over the Marxist-Leninist line and liquidate the Bolshevik Communist Party when this party became bogged down in routine, bureaucratic and lost its vigilance, and consequently, was not capable of using the revolutionary methods of struggle which it had once used to destroy the Mensheviks, the Trotskyites, the Bukharinites, the Zinovievites and other enemies, to eliminate the Krushchevite revisionists." ("The Party of Labor of Albania Has Always Pursued a Single Marxist-Leninist Line", by N. Plasari, pp. 1-2, reprinted from Albania Today by the Lenin Press of the U.S. Leninist Core)

It is the Party which guides the construction of socialism, and exercises overall leadership in all spheres of life in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. This is explained and defended by Comrade Stalin, in his classic work, The Foundations of Leninism:

"The Party is the highest form of organization of the proletariat. The Party is the principal guiding force within the class of the proletarians and among the organizations of that class. But it does not by any means follow from this that the Party can be regarded as an end in itself, as a 'self-sufficient' force. The Party is not only the highest form of class association of the proletarians; it is at the same time an instrument in the hands of the proletariat for achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat when that has

not yet been achieved and for consolidating and expanding the dictatorship when it has already been achieved."

He explains further,

"Now, what does to 'maintain' and 'expand' the dictatorship mean? It means imbuing the millions of proletarians with the spirit of discipline and organization; it means creating among the proletarian masses a cementing force and a bulwark against the corrosive influences of the petty-bourgeois elemental forces and petty-bourgeois habits; it means enhancing the organizing work of the proletarians in re-educating and remoulding the petty-bourgeois strata; it means helping the masses of proletarians to educate themselves as a force capable of abolishing classes and of preparing the conditions for the organization of socialist production. But it is impossible to accomplish all this without a party which is strong by reason of its solidarity and discipline." (1970 Peking Edition, pp. 111-113)

Of course, "C"P "ML" does not stop at revising Marxism-Leninism on only one question--the state. "C"P "ML"'s program is revisionist through and through; as we have already pointed out, these renegade social-pacifists also deny the necessity of the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Lenin said of Kautsky:

"Kautsky finds it necessary to interpret dictatorship as a 'condition of rulership' (this is the literal expression he uses on the very next page, p. 21), because then revolutionary violence, and violent revolution, disappear. The 'condition of rulership' is a condition in which any majority finds itself under... 'democracy' ! Thanks to such a fraudulent trick,

revolution happily disappears!

But the trick is too crude and will not save Kautsky. One cannot hide the fact that the dictatorship presupposes and implies a 'condition', one so disagreeable to renegades, of revolutionary violence of one class against another." (Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, p. 12)

Naturally the renegades of "C" P "ML" see no need for the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, since they also conveniently omit, incredible as it may seem, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and the abolition of private property! Instead, "C" P "ML" says this:

"Under socialism the proletariat, through its state, will seize the factories, mines, land, and banks and other means of production and social wealth and will transfer them into the hands of the working class. The working class will control production and distribution under socialism." (Documents, p. 69)

With this, Klonsky pays his respects to another idol of his, "President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia", as The Call is fond of saying. For what we have here is the revisionist fraud of "workers self-administration", a theory developed by the arch-revisionist lackey of U.S. imperialism, Tito, another version of which is "control by the ministry concerned" revisionist program of Teng Hsiao-ping--Hua Kuo-feng. This is only the logical outcome of the unities of the "C" P "ML", Tito, Hua and Teng on the revisionist theory of three worlds and "non-alignment". For what all these variations on the same theme have in common is their opposition to this essential principle of Marxism-Leninism:

"We have seen above, that the

first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise (our emphasis-ed.) all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible." (Manifesto of the Communist Party, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 1975 Peking Edition, p. 59)

Rather than adhere to the principles laid down in the Communist Manifesto and the other classics of Marxism-Leninism, "C" P "ML" propagates "the working class will control (our emphasis-ed.) production and distribution under socialism", which leaves out entirely the question of ownership. Leaving things "unsaid" is a hallmark of opportunists, taking from Marxism only that which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie and cutting out its revolutionary heart. We are sure that the owners of capital in the U.S., that blood-sucking greedy minority, the bourgeoisie, tip their hats to Mr. Klonsky & Co., for the service they have rendered them, their promise of "hands off" the private property the bourgeoisie so jealously protects. Furthermore, as usual, "C" P "ML" puts the whole question backwards. "Under socialism,...the proletariat will seize...and will transfer, etc." (our emphasis-ed.) As we have already seen, the purpose of using "seize" and "transfer", which are deliberately vague terms, is so that "C" P "ML" can sneak around and avoid the central issue: ownership. But even if the "C" P "ML" were speaking here of the social ownership of the means of production, that is a precondition for the building of

socialism. It is not something which occurs 2 or 3 years after the seizure of state power by the proletariat, or even 2 or 3 months--the principal means of production are expropriated from the bourgeoisie immediately--this is the only way in fact that a socialist society can be organized, the only way to resolve the fundamental contradiction in capitalist society, that between the social character of the process of production and the private ownership of the means of production. As Comrade Stalin has taught us,

"This means that the capitalist relations of production have ceased to correspond to the state of productive forces of society and have come into irreconcilable contradiction with them. This means that capitalism is pregnant with revolution, whose mission it is to replace the existing capitalist ownership of the means of production by socialist

ownership." (Dialectical and Historical Materialism, International Publishers, p. 38)

"C"P "ML" continues along the road of treason with this apology for capitalist exploitation and oppression:

"It will replace the anarchy of capitalist production with planned socialist production, will guarantee jobs and abolish unemployment." (Documents, p. 69)

So, "C"P "ML"'s only gripe is that capitalist production is anarchic, they want to teach the bourgeoisie how to plan out the further exploitation and impoverishment of the U.S. proletariat, how to plan out and intensify the further enslavement and robbery of the colonies and neo-colonies. For without touching the question of the private ownership of the means of production, which is the cause of the anarchy of capitalist production, "C"P "ML" is whistling in the wind. Secondly, "C"P "ML" por-



"At your service gents... and I'll be happy to sweep up any crumbs you spill..."

trays the ending of unemployment as some magical bureaucratic decree, rather than as part and parcel of the socialist society, which doesn't "guarantee jobs and abolish unemployment", but which is based on the elimination of the exploitation of man by man. Unemployment is a built-in contradiction of capitalist society, the drive for maximum profits of the ruling capitalist class, the owners of the means of production, demands a surplus army of labor (unemployed) to depress the wages of the entire working class. When the proletariat expropriates the bourgeoisie, thereby eliminating the drive for maximum capitalist profits, unemployment will also be eliminated. "C"P "ML"'s cry for "guaranteed jobs" has nothing whatever to do with ending the horrible cancer of unemployment, which can only be ended through proletarian revolution, but rather, is a part of "C"P "ML"'s social-chauvinist program to "save the fatherland", an echo of "Jobs or Income Now". For when is unemployment the lowest under imperialism? It is precisely when the bourgeoisie enters war--enslaving wars to redivide the world with the other imperialist powers, or imperialist wars of aggression and intervention intended to suppress the national liberation wars in the colonies and neo-colonies.

"C"P "ML" continues,

"Under socialism, the principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work' will operate, eliminating the exploitation of man by man and unleashing the great productive and creative capacity of the masses. Under socialism all forms of national and women's oppression will be eliminated." (Documents, p. 69)

Here in one of their most twisted and vicious distortions, the socialist principle of distribution, which is a defect inherited from capitalism, an

injustice that cannot be immediately resolved, in fact, "bourgeois right" which must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is turned into the very source of the great liberating force of socialist society. Anything will do for these phillistines, to preserve private ownership and maintain material incentive, which must be thoroughly eliminated under socialism. Anything to avoid the principle that it is in fact exactly the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and the concentration of ownership of the means of production in the hands of the State, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will unleash the great productive and creative capacity of the masses, whose interests the state represents.

How much more clear could it be?

"Hence, the first phase of Communism cannot yet produce justice and equality: differences, and unjust differences, in wealth still exist, but the exploitation of man by man will have become impossible, because it will be impossible to seize the means of production, the factories, machines, land, etc., as private property. While smashing Lassalle's petty-bourgeois, confused phrases about 'equality' and 'justice' in general, Marx shows the course of development of communist society, which is compelled to abolish at first only the 'injustice' of the means of production having been seized by individuals, and which is unable at once to eliminate the other injustice, which consists in the distribution of articles of consumption 'according to the amount of labor performed' (and not according to needs).

Marx not only most scrupulously takes account of the inevitable inequality of men, but he also takes into account the fact that the mere conversion of the means of produc-

tion into the common property of the whole of society (commonly called 'Socialism') does not remove the defects of distribution and the inequality of 'bourgeois right' which continues to prevail as long as products are divided 'according to the amount of labor performed.' Continuing, Marx says,

'But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby.'

(V.I. Lenin, The State and Revolution, p. 111)

The blatant twisted revision on the part of "C" P "ML" of "bourgeois right" is a clumsy attempt to jump to the defense of their mentors, the revisionists of the present leadership of the CPC, led by Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng, who justify the introduction of material incentives in their plan of restoration of capitalism in China by the socialist principle of distribution.

In order to further untangle this mess of sophistry, we must go to Comrade Stalin on the question "C" P "ML" is here addressing, or rather distorting and confusing.

"The basis of relations of production under the socialist system, which so far has been established only in the USSR, is the social ownership of the means of production. Here there are no longer exploiters and exploited. The goods produced are distributed according to the labor performed, on the principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat.' Here the mutual relations of people in the process of produc-

tion are marked by comradely cooperation and the socialist mutual assistance of workers who are free from exploitation. Here the relations of production fully correspond to the state of productive forces, for the social character of the process of production is reinforced by the social ownership of the means of production.

For this reason, socialist production in the USSR knows no periodical crises of overproduction and their accompanying absurdities.

For this reason, the productive forces here develop at an accelerated pace, for the relations of production that correspond to them offer full scope for such development." (Dialectical and Historical Materialism, pp. 38-39)

Whereas "C" P "ML" states that the principle of distribution is what eliminates the exploitation of man by man, Comrade Stalin clearly teaches us that the elimination of exploitation comes about when the means of production are socially owned. By this time, Klonsky must have twisted himself into a pretzel trying to avoid that nasty, persistent "little" question of the abolition of private property. From this absurdity he moves on to the next, that the principle of distribution under socialism unleashes "the great productive and creative capacity of the masses". Comrade Stalin clearly states above that the social ownership of the means of production is the reason for the fact that "the productive forces here develop at an accelerated pace". Apparently, the "great theoreticians" of the "C" P "ML" wrangled for hours on end as to how to cover up their anti-Leninism, their anti-communism, learning from their forefathers Kautsky and Foster that it simply won't do to come right out in the open with "save the fatherland" and "peaceful transition to socialism".

As to the rest of this statement, "Under socialism, all forms of national oppression and women's oppression will be eliminated", this is perfectly true. However, in leaving out the concrete measures to be taken by the proletariat to assure this, "C"P "ML" attacks these principles by making it appear as a utopian dream. Comrade Stalin made very clear what the proletariat must do to eliminate national oppression:

"Thus, our views on the national question can be reduced to the following propositions: (a) recognition of the right of peoples to secession; (b) regional autonomy for nations remaining within the given state; (c) special legislation guaranteeing freedom of development for national minorities; (d) a single, indivisible proletarian body, a single party, for the proletarians of all nationalities of the given state." ("Report on the National Question", from Selections from V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin on National Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House, p. 107)

The right of nations to self-determination, up to and including political secession, this is what "C"P "ML" opposes tooth and nail. This is why they are purposely vague on the question of eliminating national oppression. All social chauvinists sell out the interests of the international proletariat in exchange for the bribes, the privileges they are extended by their own bourgeoisie which come from the super-profits they reap from the super-exploitation and bloody oppression of the colonies and neo-colonies. Thus the social-chauvinists of "C"P "ML" give all-out support for the Panama Canal Treaty; reduce the struggle of the oppressed Afro-American Nation to one of "civil rights"; and welcome their fellow social-chauvinists of Hawaii into their petty-bourgeois party of the United States. Much to the horror of the "C"P "ML", the dictatorship of the

proletariat will abolish national oppression, as well as sweep away the likes of them, those who thrive on the bloodstained crumbs of the imperialist banquet table. Their hollow words will not save them, for they have proven a thousand times over that they are enemies of the proletariat, and stand in direct opposition to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and hence to the elimination of national oppression.

"Hence, the triumph of the Soviets and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a basic condition for the abolition of national oppression, the institution of national equality and the guarantee of the rights of the national minorities." (Stalin, "Thesis on Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection with the National Problem", op. cit., p. 123)

As for the emancipation of women, this, too is part and parcel of the proletarian revolution, made possible by the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production. No idle wish, as "C"P "ML" would like us to believe, but an integral part of the organizing of the socialist society. Whereas under capitalism women are doubly oppressed (by capitalism and her home and family subservience), under socialism she is emancipated because,

"Then woman will be the rightful owner, on a par with all the members of the working class, of the means of production and distribution. She will participate in the management of industry and she will assume an equal responsibility for the well-being of society." (Theses and Resolutions Adopted at the Third World Congress of the Comintern, 1921, p. 159)

As usual, "C"P "ML" leaves the question of the emancipation of women a big mys-

tery, not a word of the socialization of household labor, i.e., public dining halls, public laundry service, free child care for all, which frees women to participate on an equal footing with men in production and all spheres of the new, socialist society; as well as the socialist constitution, which guarantees women full equality with men and does away with all the old bourgeois laws intended to keep women "in their place". "C"P "ML" is mum about these things because they are opposed to the only thing that can bring it about: proletarian revolution, and with it the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production. No, instead "C"P "ML" directs their cadres to the Houston ERA conference to applaud speeches by Rosalyn Carter and Betty Ford and tries to spread the poison of bourgeois feminism in the working class movement. Instead, "C"P "ML" wants to institute "wages for housewives", a thoroughly bourgeois scheme intended to keep women as household slaves where their political consciousness can be kept at a low level. There isn't anything these phillistine lackeys wouldn't do for their bourgeois masters.

"C"P "ML" goes on to wind up their little discussion of revisionist theories:

"During the entire period of socialism, the proletariat and its party must take class struggle as the key link, relying on the masses to combat revisionism and prevent capitalist restoration." (Documents, p. 69)

Copying from the program of the 10th Party Congress of the CPC, "C"P "ML" borrows another phrase, this time to cover up the liquidationism that follows. It is the Marxist-Leninist Party which must have revolutionary vigilance in combatting any and all forms of revisionism; it must resolutely fight for a single Marxist-Leninist line, and

thoroughly smash any anti-party elements or group that seeks to overthrow the Marxist-Leninist line and bring another line, an opportunist or revisionist line to power. "The masses build socialism, the Party makes them conscious", teaches us Comrade Enver Hoxha, and it is this Marxist-Leninist principle which "C"P "ML" here attacks. Furthermore, "C"P "ML"'s sneaky maneuver of separating the spread of revisionism from capitalist restoration, is nothing but a cover-up of the modern revisionists in power who have been responsible for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and China and other formerly socialist countries. In a socialist country, revisionism means the restoration of capitalism, and this clumsy attempt to put the blame on the masses will not get over.

In a capitalist country, revisionism means prolonging the daily suffering of the masses, it means propping up the capitalist order; in an imperialist superpower such as the U.S., it means maintaining the plunder and rape of the colonies and neo-colonies, the bloody iron heel of U.S. lackies such as Mobutu, the Shah of Iran, Somoza of Nicaragua, Geisel of Brazil, all the torture and genocidal acts by which imperialism is maintained in power. This is the whole reason for the existence of "C"P "ML". They go on to say:

"The working class will wage a continuing struggle against the bourgeoisie, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, gradually eliminate bourgeois right (sic!) and all vestiges of classes and class society." (Documents, p. 69)

It's hard to make out what "C"P "ML" is talking about here, since they never come right out in the open with anything they're really trying to say, but here we find the same revision propagated as appears in the title of this section of the program. We do know this: communists

are not fighting to abolish a society, but are committed to building a new social order which is based on the abolition of private property and which is the further development of society.

"The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.
(Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1975 Peking Edition, pp. 50-51)

"C" P "ML" 's only commitment is to tamper with and revise every single principle of Marxism-Leninism, so as to aid their own bourgeoisie. As to "abolishing a society", Comrade Stalin clearly teaches us,

"Hence, the party of the proletariat should not guide itself in its practical activity by casual motives, but by the laws of development of society, and by practical deductions from these laws.

Hence, socialism is converted from a dream of a better future for humanity into a science."
(Dialectical and Historical Materialism, p. 20)

What "C" P "ML" therefore, is trying to negate, is the inevitability of socialism, of communism, which our beloved teachers Marx and Engels proved to be true over a hundred years ago. It is only scoundrels like the "C" P "ML"

and their cohorts, following in the footsteps of their forefathers of the "C" PUSA, those miserable, good-for-nothing phillistines and renegades, who have stood in the way of the advanced class, the only consistently revolutionary class, the proletariat, marching to worldwide victory since the dawning of the era of Leninism, marked by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

But no reaction in the world can stop the wheels of history from turning. The invincible world proletarian revolution will sweep away all oppression and exploitation, all that is old, rotten, parasitic and decaying, and on its ruins build the new social order, free of poverty, hunger and want, free of the exploitation of man by man, proudly joining our comrades of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania in socialist construction and onward to classless, communist society!

The international working class shall be the human race!