

# PALANTE

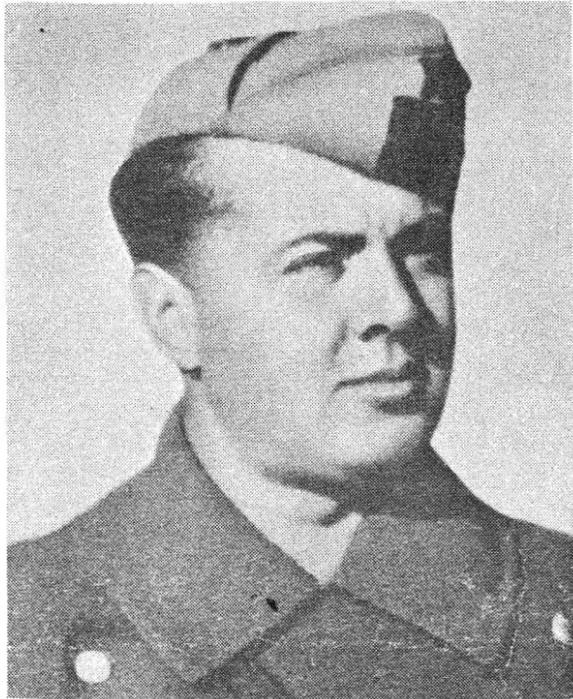
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MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE AND WIN  
THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM TO  
BUILD A GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY

July 1- August 1

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## EDITORIAL: Stand on The Method Of Leninism- Train The Party Cadres, the Proletariat and the Masses by Learning thru our own Mistakes - Revolutionary Wing



just recently at their May Unity Congress passed three resolutions 1) that all stand in opposition to the Genuine Wing, 2) Opposition to the Guardian, 3) that shades of differences be covered up for the sake of "unity".

These loyal lackies of the bourgeoisie along with WVO, ATM, WC, IWK, MLOC, Resistencia, the purged Mensheviks from the Revolutionary wing frenzied and desperate as the Revolutionary wing leads the intensification of the two line struggle forward, as we carry out Party building as the central and only task, exposing, isolating and defeating menshevism every step of the way, Bolshevism gathering strength hammering out the Party's basic line and program, building the mighty party of Lenin without which no revolution can succeed, this is our declaration of war with the bourgeoisie, no peace with the bourgeoisie, no conciliation with menshevism, no compromise with the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line

### Bolshevism On The Rise!

Standing on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought standing with the international proletariat, standing with the class that's growing stronger day by day. The Proletariat, comrades, the only consistently and thoroughly revolutionary class, the only class capable of leading the revolution, smashing the bourgeois state, setting up its rule the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and transforming all of society for the total abolition of classes.

Only yes, only, only standing with the Proletariat. Communists have no other interests but to serve the working class. From this stand we analyze society, using the weapon of analysis Dialectical and Historical Materialism, we analyze the struggle between the two lines, two roads, two classes, our most fundamental starting point. And it has been on this basis that we have come to the truth, that to serve the working class today we must build the Party as our Central and only task, the immediate interest of the Proletariat. This is how we view history, this is how we analyze forward motion. The future is indeed bright, in the Revolutionary Wing the party spirit reigns, the spirit of Revolution, struggling on the basis of principled unity-struggle-unity based on sharp and intense two line struggle, standing on the line of the Revolutionary wing, we analyze our history of advances and setbacks, disclosing our errors, learning from our own mistakes, the method of Leninism. For it is only in this way that we will imbue the Proletariat and the oppressed masses with the Party spirit. For only in this way will the Proletariat and the masses gain confidence in its developing U.S. Bolshevik Party. For only in this way will we assure that we stay on our course with clear orientation, revolutionary zeal and initiative hammering out through struggle the Party's basic line and program of action.

"We must put an end to these lax methods of work once and for all. We can never tolerate within the ranks of our Party people who think the Party of Lenin and Stalin is like the 2nd International, who consider it a refugium peccatorum\* (refuge of sinners), a place of refuge for loafers and sluggards, intriguers, careerists, cowardly elements with a petty-bourgeois spirit, with no spirit of sacrifice, and elements who regard our Party as a republic of comrades, a place where discipline and security are abandoned."

(Circular to the Party Organizations of The Tirana Region on the Strengthening of the Party and the Revolutionary Spirit Enver Hoxha Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 65)

No one can deny that the state of the Communist Movement in the U.S. is characterized by intense two line struggle; two fundamentally opposed lines on Party Building from which flows two fundamentally opposed lines on every question.

Two wings in our movement, one Menshevik the other the Bolshevik wing.

The sham wing serving the bourgeoisie, the revolutionary wing serving the proletariat. The sham wing riddled with the petty-bourgeois spirit composed of splitters and wreckers, careerists, factionalists, spreading pessimism slandering the Bolsheviks holding the Proletariat in contempt. All this stemming from their metaphysical and idealist world view standing on their belief that the bourgeoisie is strong and the Proletariat weak. Analyzing everything from whats going out of being, their thoroughly bankrupt Menshevik line, thus falsifying totally distorting the historical development of the Communist Movement; their idealist interpretation of history of the struggle between the two lines, two classes and two roads, slipping into the subjective idealist analysis that Menshevism is strong and Bolshevism is weak. Always turning things upside down, the Mensheviks aiding fully the bourgeoisie as they mount concentrated efforts of their attacks on the Bolshevik wing. The O.L. for example

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## Method Of Leninism

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### Cadre Training In The Heat of The Two Line Struggle

In this polemic, with the aim of further drawing lines of demarcation, we will expound further on the line of the Revolutionary Wing, our stance with the Method of Leninism - its application as specifically related to cadre training which can only be done in the heat of the two line struggle.

The Mensheviks have historically revised the principle of cadre training, treating the question as either "ideological" or organization. The Bolsheviks distinguishing ourselves once again, for only the Bolshevik Party cadres stand on the fact that in order that we may be trained to serve the interest of our class and no other we must know how to distinguish between the two lines, two classes, two roads. Cadre Training is a matter of Bolshevization, the strategic principle in Party Building, it is a matter of ideological, political and organizational principles. In this period of party building it is by grasping the key link, the hammering out of the Party's basic line and program and by standing on the Bolshevik line of the Revolutionary wing that we have in fact flushed out, exposed, isolated, the Mensheviks who have suffered defeat after defeat. In fact the direction of the main blow inside the Communist Movement has been correctly aimed at the bankrupt Menshevik line of the sham wing of our movement. But we have not stopped there, inside the revolutionary wing there are two lines in sharp antagonistic struggle. On the one hand, there is the line of the Revolutionary wing, the Bolshevik line, the Marxist-Leninist line, the line on which all Bolsheviks stand and fight for. On the other hand, there is a second line, the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line which is being flushed out in the heat of the two line struggle between Menshevism and Bolshevism. The Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line and its proponents is the main danger in the revolutionary wing and has been since 1972 when the line between Menshevism and Bolshevism was decisively drawn. Hiding amongst the ranks of the Revolutionary wing, its proponents borrowing from the Bolshevik line in an attempt to cover themselves seek to bring to power the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line which is characterized by consistent conciliation to the Menshevik line, to Menshevism, covering up the Mensheviks, both serving as a cover for the paid bourgeois agents in our midst, a cover for the state.

In the intense struggle to continue drawing lines of demarcation with the Menshevik line, with Menshevism we have in fact strengthened the Bolshevik line, and have flushed out the second line in the Revolutionary wing, the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line and its main proponents who together with the hidden Mensheviks and the paid bourgeois agents have had a plan and have been conducting their operations inside the Revolutionary Wing, attacking and subverting the line of the Revolutionary wing, with a plan to isolate and overthrow the leadership of the Revolutionary Wing, and to bring the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line to power as a step towards degeneration into Menshevism, as the way to blow up the Revolutionary wing from within.

The more we struggle to hammer out the Party's basic line and program of action, the more we insist on the application of the Method of Leninism, the more we carry out Party Building as the central and only task, the more we persevere in the struggle, the more desperate, the more vicious, the right opportunist conciliationist line has reacted and as a sign of its weakness it came to the fore as the main ally of the Mensheviks in an attempt to pull a coup in the Revolutionary wing. The Bolshevik leadership of the revolutionary wing trained to recognize the enemies of the Party internal and external has uncovered the plan, the main proponents and further unmasked the state's operations inside the Revolutionary wing.

What has been the character of the intensity of the two line struggle inside the Revolutionary Wing? Further summation of the struggle has in fact confirmed the correctness of the line of the Revolutionary wing. That no doubt about it, Party Building is the central and only task, Political Line is the key link to Party Building, that the line of the Revolutionary Wing on periods, fusion, chief form of activity, tactical and strategic principles, the main danger, the Revolutionary Wing's political line, is a clear manifestation of the application of the Universal Principles to our concrete conditions, the revolutionary practice of building the advanced detachment of the proletariat.

"Our people need a Party to lead, and a leader. Even though our struggle is by no means ended, we can see that the victories grow greater day by day and that we will continue

to win. Our line is out in the open, clear and open. Schemers can never win." (from an interview in New China, Jan. 1976)

### BOLSHEVIK PARTY CADRES TRAINED TO RECOGNIZE THE ENEMIES OF THE PARTY NO MATTER WHAT FORM IT TAKES

The Mensheviks and the Right Opportunist Conciliators attack the line as ultra leftist, as abstract, a dogma they claim, all in an attempt to try to isolate the line and the leadership of the Revolutionary wing, an attempt to create waverings in our ranks, in an attempt to come to power.

The essence of both the Menshevik line and the right opportunist conciliationist line is that it is a **bourgeois line** which has to hide, which is characterized by conspiracy and intrigue, splitting and wrecking, both lines spelling treason trying to get over through bourgeois maneuvers, gossip, slander, falsifying our history, the history of the fight for the Party, for its line and program; both the Menshevik full system of views and the right opportunist conciliationist line to the Menshevik line serve the interest of the bourgeoisie.

Some comrades raise that the Menshevik line and the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line are the same in essence and form. Here is where we must draw the line again. We unite that the Menshevik line and the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line is the same in essence. But we draw the line as to form. The Menshevik line is a full system of views, ideology is the key link, Party Building from below; Political line key link is a new cover for ideology key link; there are no advanced workers, they are "winning the broad masses"; agitation is the chief form; the left is the main danger; there is no fusion; there are no periods to Party Building only a pre-period to Party Building, brief period to Party Building; Central task is to build the mass movement, they have already built their Menshevik Parties; "Unity" is the growing trend; "two line struggle is the exception" Marxism-Leninism is optional, their rag sheets mandatory - in short as summed up in Palante No.5 Vol.6. These are the general characteristics.

Denial of vanguard role of the Proletariat in the Revolution

Denial of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tse Tung Thought, e.g. that the ideological root of all opportunism is the worship of spontaneity - (we add denial of the universal truths to Party Building most especially an attack on Stalins' work "The Party Before and After the Seizure of State Power", the Mensheviks claiming that these principles are just some brief notes, etc.)

This then resulting in:

A disdain for Marxist-Leninist theory and a belittlement of the role of the conscious element trying to divert at every turn the central and only task, Party Building.

attack of the fundamental Bolshevik principles of organization - Democratic Centralism, Criticism and Self-Criticism, resulting in factionalism, conspiring, intriguing, wrecking and scheming.

Disdain for the masses, crystallized in an attack on the advanced resulting in liquidation of the factory nuclei, (propagating a loose-knit organization, and social democracy, liquidation of the illegal unit).

Raising the left to cover the right - resulting in agitation as the chief form of activity, creating paper organizations, tailing the Union bureaucrats, and revisionists, bowing to the backward stratas, pretending and propagating that we're in the transition period of winning the broad masses, attacking the Bolsheviks as ultra-leftist and dogmatist, really attacking the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

The Right Opportunist Conciliationist line, claims to see the "kernel of truth" in the Menshevik line. This is the theoretical justification to then go back and forth from Build the mass movement to build the Party - back and forth from Political Line key link to ideology key link, back and

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# ATM Traitors to the Proletariat Mensheviks to the bone! by the Revolutionary Wing

The international struggle between the two classes, two lines, two roads, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between what is rising - coming into being and what is dying - what is going out of being has greatly intensified in the last several months. Inside the international anti-revisionist communist movement, the proletariat has emerged even stronger, has cleaned house of capitalist-roaders, revisionists and traitorous mensheviks, has beat back several bourgeois plans designed to destroy from within. In both the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania, capitalist-roaders have been exposed and removed from positions of power by the proletarian forces, the revisionist line has been repulsed once again, and the broad masses, led by the proletariat have rallied in support of the vanguard. This revolutionary practice taken in its general aspect has greatly added to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought.

And in the U.S., too, the proletarian forces, the Bolsheviks, have been taking care of business, fulfilling our internationalist duties, exposing and purging the mensheviks of ATM from the Revolutionary Wing, thus setting the conditions to intensify the struggle against the right opportunist conciliators, hidden mensheviks and paid bourgeois agents still hiding within the wing, to defeat yet another bourgeois plan to destroy the future U.S. Bolshevik Party.

Among the ranks of the Bolshevik Party cadres, the Revolutionary wing of the U.S. anti-revisionist Communist movement, the Party spirit indeed prevails. Working tirelessly to hammer out the Party's basic line and program of action, uniting genuine Marxist-Leninists, and winning the advanced to communism, we are engaging in the revolutionary practice of fighting for the final aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat by correctly fighting to build the Bolshevik Party which is in the immediate interest of the proletariat, the only class we serve. In carrying out Party building as our central and only task, we spit in the eye of the bourgeoisie and its theory of spontaneity, based on metaphysics and idealism, and in the eye of its agents, the Mensheviks of the opportunists wing, the hidden Mensheviks and right opportunist conciliators within the Revolutionary wing itself, and the paid provocateurs who hide behind these opportunists. The two-line struggle in the communist movement, a reflection of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, is intensifying as each battle brings the Revolutionary wing to the head of the movement, thus, bringing closer the First Party Congress of the U.S. Bolshevik Party.

The advances, the positive development of the revolutionary wing stand in fundamental contrast to the rapid degeneration of the sham wing. Allow us to give a few examples:

- (1) The Revolutionary wing, through grasping the key link of hammering out the Party's basic line and program of action, through applying its line on Party building to the concrete conditions of the U.S., has been able to swell its ranks with new forces, genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers, won, not through some social-democratic, broad unity conferences, but through the correct Marxist-Leninist method of factory nuclei style of work. While bringing forward new forces, we have continued to purge our ranks of mensheviks and opportunist conciliators ridding ourselves of old baggage, dangerous agents of the state, certified and uncertified. Compare this with the sham wing. No longer stopping at recruiting "every striker, every high school student", the sham wing now has as a principle to recruit every purged element from the Revolutionary wing, thus swelling their ranks

with more slime. And the October League goes even a step further. Flowing from their Menshevik line that police are in the working class, they went so far as to recruit a patrol officer - that's right, a pig, into their ranks. If that's not a sign of taking a stand with all that is decadent and moribund in society, with what's going out of being, then nothing is.

- (2) The Revolutionary wing has been carrying out the chief form of activity, propaganda, aimed at the Bolshevik party cadre, at Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers. The Mensheviks have frantically called out "Stop that propaganda - agitation should be the chief form." But we have stood firm, and responded, "We must do more and better propaganda." Standing on this, we can see the continued development of the Bolshevik Press, with Palante more and more emerging at the head of the movement, providing timely summations of the two line struggle, deepening and broadening the Bolshevik line on party building, and further isolating - preparing to defeat the Menshevik line. Palante has also contained propaganda supplements on the major working class holidays, designed to be used in study groups to unite Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced to communism. The Revolutionary wing has also developed a theoretical journal, Bolshevik, which will continue to aid in raising to a theoretical plane our revolutionary practice, continue to fulfill the ideological duties the Revolutionary wing has always carried out through grasping the key link of political line.

These contributions to hammering out the Party's line and program, this centralization of polemics, this development of the Party's Press has gone to a higher level, despite bourgeois schemes to halt production of our propaganda, especially Palante. And as the Revolutionary wing makes these advances the sham wing continues to back-slide even further into the marsh, the only struggle inside their ranks being between Menshevism and total revisionism. This is manifested in the further degeneration of the Call, organ of the O.L., which only needs to print, "Independent Newsweekly" on the cover to be an exact copy of the Guardian (Carl Davidson has proved to be a good student of Irwin Silber). The longest polemic in the weekly Call to date has been one-half of one page, attacking the Revolutionary wing, something they claimed six months ago didn't exist.

From WVO we get the "Baby Blue Book", 150 pages of distortions, a university paper on "Hustlerism" their latest premise. Like Engels said about the book written by Duhring attacking Marxism, this "Baby Blue Book" will only be remembered because of the polemics waged against it.

The sham wing is producing rag sheets faster than roaches produce babies, even IWK is on the band wagon, coming back out with "Getting Together", the contents of which make it crystal clear that they aren't. All these rag sheets are another manifestation of the growing strength of the Bolshevik line of the Revolutionary wing, for the one thing they all unite on is their attack on the "ultra-leftism" of the Revolutionary wing, in essence, their attack on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought.

- (3) The Revolutionary wing has always boldly disclosed our errors. We have stood on the Leninist method and in its application have sought to educate the masses through public self-criticism. This

Leninist tradition is continued in this issue, where we sum-up the secondary aspect of the contradiction in the Revolutionary wing, compromise with a right opportunist line of conciliation to Menshevism. But the sham wing, continuing the tradition of the Second International, tries to cover up its principle aspect, Menshevik line, does sham wrist slaps, and like the OL does out front in its resolution to cover up "shades of difference", bureaucratically stifles struggle and rams through the consolidation of its Menshevik line. The stance of the Revolutionary wing, one of strength and determination, the sham wing, one of fear and isolation. Yes, indeed, Bolshevism is on the Rise!

#### ATM - Traitors to the Proletariat



"Our Party is a union of the advanced class-conscious fighters for the emancipation of the working class."  
(Lenin)

It is in the light of the overall development of the struggle between Bolshevism and Menshevism, of the development and rise of the Revolutionary wing and further degeneration into the swamp of the sham wing, that we must look at the traitorous betrayal of the August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM), once members of the Revolutionary wing, now thoroughly opportunist, slimy struggling for hegemony of the opportunist wing.

These Mensheviks have broken unities that have been fought for and achieved in the heat of two-line struggle, have subverted the line of their own Unity Congress of 1974, and have tried to cover their opportunist line in the correct line of the Revolutionary wing, trying to hitch-hike on what's coming into being, only to later attack it.

But the Revolutionary wing has once again stood firm, refused to compromise with Menshevism, and in this article will continue the exposure of Menshevism, particularly the line of ATM. As known, polemics with ATM have been going on for some time with major differences on line publicly laid out, and it has been the persistent struggle over differences that has dragged out the full system of Menshevik views that is ATM's degenerated line.

Our polemics in the past have been based on unity, proceeding to struggle for greater unity. But these hegemonic snakes have broken all our former unities as they systematically developed their opportunist line in unity with the sham wing, and from now on our polemics with these scoundrels will be like our polemics with all opportunists, coming from struggle, expose, isolate and defeat. This particular article will deal with ATM's Menshevik line on "two-line struggle is an exception", and flowing from this their line that the central task is to build the mass movement against war and fascism, using "political line" (which for them and all Mensheviks is simple formulations developed by a few "great theoreticians") to build a Social-Democratic party from below, "to lead the struggle for reform",

that is to keep the proletariat under the hegemony of the theory of spontaneity, tied to the bourgeoisie.

#### Two Line Struggle: For Bolsheviks The Rule, For Mensheviks The Exception

"To view a situation correctly we should analyze social phenomena in the basic context of the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines. This is our most fundamental starting point."

(emphasis ours, "Seeing the Essence of Problems," Study Philosophy, pg. 21)

It is from this, the most fundamental starting point that we must analyze the historical motion of the two great movements, the communist and workers movement, in this period of the formation and consolidation of our Party. Two classes, two lines, two roads - our most fundamental starting point. And we use this, the two line struggle as our starting point in all that we do. This especially applies to training the Party's cadre, to prepare for battle. The Bolshevik method is to train cadre in two-line struggle, the Menshevik method, to train cadre in spontaneity, in reform, in peaceful debates. This training in the two-line struggle, taking the struggle between two lines, classes and roads as the most fundamental starting point is a Marxist-Leninist principle of Bolshevization. But the Mensheviks of ATM denounce this principle of Bolshevization, slander the great Stalin and attack Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought and we must punish them for this, by quoting them. In a document, "Paper for Leadership Training Conference on Left and Right Errors - Two Line Struggle in ATM", these Mensheviks consolidated themselves around this:

"Comrades have been making the "left" error of calling all line struggle in ATM "two line" struggle. All line struggle is not two line struggle, in fact, two line struggle is and should be an exception."

Bolsheviks, repulse this line, revisionism, straight up, no cover - naked as a jay bird.

ATM, who at one time did carry out the task of Party building, did train the Party cadres, now, in revising Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, attack the Bolshevik Party cadre and train social props, "progressive" trade union hacks and more "militant" poverty pimps for the national movements.

Two line struggle an exception? Is the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie an exception? Is the class struggle an exception? Is the struggle between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line an exception, a struggle for "clarity, unity and consolidation"? NO, not only is it not an exception but the rule. Even the bourgeoisie recognizes the class struggle, but the Mensheviks of ATM laid down this ideological preparation to consolidate their Menshevik line on party building - disarming their cadre as one step to the total degenerated state that ATM finds itself in today, and there is no turning back.

Chairman Mao teaches us that two line struggle is the life of the Party, without ideological struggle the struggle between two lines, the Party's life would come to an end. But ATM, traitorous Mensheviks, say two line struggle is an exception - they go on to say:

"What kind of line struggle do we have in ATM? Three main types - for clarity, for unity and for consolidation around the line in the course of the struggle to implement it."

The answer, therefore, to "what kind of struggle do we have in ATM" is no two-line struggle. Philistines of ATM and all your menshevik partners who practice this decadent existence, you're doomed - stop calling this treason "struggle". Come out of your closet, your line is the bourgeois line, the bourgeoisie in our midst who we victoriously have purged from the Revolutionary wing.

This same treacherous line on two-line struggle, an outright attack on Marxism, designed to disarm the

# The Communist Party Of Czechoslovakia

SPEECH DELIVERED BY COMRADE STALIN IN THE  
CZECHOSLOVAK COMMISSION OF THE E.C.C.I.,  
March 27, 1925



But from this it follows that the existence of factions is compatible neither with the Party's unity nor with its iron discipline. It scarcely needs proof that the existence of factions leads to the existence of a number of centres, and the existence of a number of centres means the absence of one common centre in the Party, the breaking up of unity of will, the weakening and disintegration of the dictatorship. Of course, the parties of the Second International, which are fighting against the dictatorship and have no desire to lead the proletarians to power, can afford such liberalism as freedom of factions, for they have no need at all for iron discipline. But the parties of the Communist International, whose activities are conditioned by the task of achieving and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot afford to be "liberal" or to permit freedom of factions. Stalin, Foundations of Leninism

Comrades, leaving aside certain minor points and personal factors which some comrades have dragged into the subject, the disagreements in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia can be reduced to the following nine questions:

- 1) Is there a crisis in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia?
  - 2) What is the chief cause of the crisis?
  - 3) What is the character of the crisis, i.e., from where does danger threaten, from the Left or from the Right?
  - 4) Which danger is more serious, the Left or the Right?
  - 5) Why is the danger from the Right the more real danger?
  - 6) How should the struggle against the Right danger be waged so that it results in real Bolshevism and in a real solution of the crisis?
  - 7) What is the immediate task in connection with Bolshevism in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia?
  - 8) The rights of the Comintern in relation to the national sections.
  - 9) Comrade Kreibich and the threat of a split.
- Is there a crisis in the Communist Party

of Czechoslovakia? Yes, there is. Both sides admit it. On this point there is no disagreement between them. Comrade Smeral went even further and said that the crisis is deeper than some comrades usually represent it.

What is the chief cause of the crisis? Comrade Smeral was quite right when he said that the chief cause of the crisis lay in the difficulties entailed by the transition from a period of revolutionary upsurge to a period of lull. A transition period, which calls for a new orientation, usually gives rise to some kind of a crisis in the Party. That is the situation in Czechoslovakia, too, at the present time.

What is the character of the crisis, and from where does danger threaten, from the Left or from the Right? Here, too, Comrade Smeral was right when he said that danger threatens from both sides, from the Left and from the Right. There is the danger of over-estimating the importance of partial demands to the detriment of fundamental demands, of over-estimating parliamentary activity and work in the trade unions. That is the danger from the Right, for it leads to adapting oneself to the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, there is the danger of under-estimating the importance of partial demands, of parliamentary activity, of work in the trade unions, and so forth. That is the danger from the Left, for it leads to becoming divorced from the masses and to sectarianism. Comrade Smeral's desire to take a middle position in this conflict between the two opposite deviations is quite legitimate. The only trouble is that he has failed to keep to that position and has followed in the wake of the Rights.

Which is the more serious danger, the Left or the Right? I think that Comrade Smeral has not cleared up this question for himself. He directs his criticism mainly against the Lefts, in the belief that they are the chief danger. The facts, however, show that the chief danger comes from the Right and not from the Left. Comrade Smeral has not realised this, and herein lies his first mistake.

Why is the danger from the Right the more serious danger at the present time? For three reasons.

Firstly. The transition itself from upsurge to lull, by its very nature, increases the chances of danger from the Right. Whereas an upsurge gives rise to revolutionary illusions and causes the Left danger to become the principal one, a lull, on the contrary, gives rise to Social-Democratic, reformist illusions and causes the Right danger to become the principal one. In 1920, when the working-class movement was on the upgrade, Lenin wrote his pamphlet "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder." Why did Lenin write this particular pamphlet? Because at that

time the Left danger was the more serious danger. I think that if Lenin were alive he would now write another pamphlet entitled "Right-Wing Communism, an Old-Age Disorder", because, at the present time, in the period of lull, when illusions about compromise are bound to grow, the Right danger is the most serious danger.

Secondly. As Comrade Smeral reported, no less than 70 per cent of the members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are former Social-Democrats. It scarcely needs proof that Social-Democratic relapses are not only possible but inevitable in such a party. Needless to say, this circumstance is bound to increase the danger from the Right.

Thirdly. The Czechoslovak state is a state that marks the national victory of the Czechs. The Czechs have already acquired their national state as a dominant nation. The workers there are for the time being fairly well off: there is no unemployment, and they are obviously intoxicated with the idea of possessing a national state. All this is bound to give rise to illusions about national peace between the classes in Czechoslovakia. Needless to say, this circumstance, in its turn, gives rise to and increases the danger from the Right. And it is here that we must look for the reason why the divergence between the Rights and Lefts took place along national lines, why the Slovaks and the Germans (oppressed nations) are on the left flank, and the Czechs are on the opposite flank. Comrade Smeral spoke of the danger of such a division. That is true, of course. But it is also true that such a division is quite understandable, if we bear in mind the above-mentioned specific national features of the Czechoslovak state and the dominant position of the Czechs.

Such are the principal reasons why the danger from the Right in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is a particularly serious danger.

How should the struggle against the Right danger in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia be waged? This question brings us to the very core of the disagreements. One would think that the struggle against this danger should be waged in the most determined and ruthless manner. But with the Czech Communists the opposite has happened. Is Comrade Smeral combating the danger from the Right? Yes, he is. But he is combating it in such a way that, in the final result, the Rights, instead of being eliminated, are being cultivated, supported, protected from the blows of the Lefts. That is somewhat strange, but it is a fact, comrades. That is Comrade Smeral's second and principal mistake.

Judge for yourselves.

1. It is a fact that Comrade Kreibich wrote an article in favor of Trotskyism. It is a fact that this document is known in Party circles and is passing from hand to hand. This document should have been dragged into the light of day and its author should have been given a good drubbing, an ideological drubbing, in full view of the workers, in order to give the Party the opportunity to realise the danger of Trotskyism and to train the cadres in the spirit of Bolshevism; for what is Trotskyism if not the Right wing of communism, if not the danger from the Right? What did Comrade Smeral do in this case? Instead of raising the question of Comrade Kreibich's Trotskyism before the whole Party, he slurred over it, suppressed it, took it behind the scenes and "settled" it there in a hole-and-corner way, as if it were an ordinary "misunderstanding." The gainers by this were Trotskyism and Comrade Kreibich. The Party was the loser. Instead of the Rights being combated, they were protected.

2. It is known that some of the leaders of three trade unions—those of the transport workers, woodworkers and building workers—issued a document demanding the complete in-

dependence of the unions from the Party. It is known that this document is evidence of the existence of a number of Right elements in the trade unions of Czechoslovakia. This document should have been analysed in full view of the Party, and the Party should have been warned of the danger of the trade unions becoming divorced from it. What did Comrade Smeral do in this case? He hushed up this

question too; he withdrew the document from circulation and thereby hid it from the eyes of the Party membership. The Rights escaped unscathed and the "Party's prestige" was saved. And that is called combating the Rights!

3. It is known that there are Right-wing elements in the communist group in parliament. It is known that every now and again these elements throw off the leadership of the Party and try to set themselves up in opposition to the Central Committee of the Party. It is urgently necessary to combat these elements, particularly at the present time, in the present lull. How did Comrade Smeral combat this danger? Instead of exposing the Right-wing elements in the communist parliamentary group he took them under his protection and saved them by means of an elastic resolution on recognising the Party leadership, a resolution adopted as the result of an internal struggle conducted behind the scenes, in the fourth year of the Party's existence. Again the Rights gained and the Party was the loser.

4. Lastly, the Bubnik case. I must say, comrades, that the lull is not a period of the absence of all action. The lull is a period of forming and training the proletarian armies, a period of preparing them for revolution. But the proletarian armies can be trained only in the course of action. The rise in the cost of living that has recently begun in Czechoslovakia is one of the favourable conditions for such action. As is known, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took advantage of this situation and recently organized a number of demonstrations in connection with the rise in the cost of living. As is known, the Right-wing Communist Bubnik, now expelled from the Party, also took advantage of the situation and tried to disrupt those actions by the workers, thereby striking a blow at the Party in the rear. What did Comrade Smeral do to safeguard the Party from the blow struck in its rear by the Rights? Instead of utilizing the Bubnik "case" and by means of it ruthlessly exposing the entire Right-wing group in full view of the Party, Comrade Smeral reduced the question of principle concerning the Rights to the individual case of Bubnik, although all the world knows that Bubnik does not stand alone, that he has supporters in the trade unions, in the communist group in parliament, and in the press. At the price of a small sacrifice (the expulsion of Bubnik) he saved the Right-wing group from defeat, to the detriment of the fundamental interests of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. And Comrade Smeral calls that the tactics of combating the Rights!

Comrade Smeral calls those tactics "fine," "delicate." Those tactics may indeed be fine, but they have nothing in common with the Bolshevik tactics of uncompromising struggle against the Rights; there cannot be the slightest doubt about that. Comrade Smeral forgets the Russian saying: "The finest thread is most likely to break." He forgot that fineness is no guarantee against failure. And that is what happened, as is known; for those "fine" tactics towards the Rights broke and failed at the very first test, when, encouraged by those tactics, the Bubnik group almost succeeded

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forth from the Proletariat to the bourgeoisie, back and forth from the old period to the new period, back and forth from theory playing the principal role to practice playing the principal role, back and forth to Bolshevism on the rise to Menshevism on the rise, from the right as the main danger to the left is the main danger, back and forth from two wings to one wing to two trends, back and forth from the simultaneity of the two tactical principles to Marxist-Leninist Unite as primary - propagating hegemonism, the leading circle line, the overall correct line to win the advanced to communism is primary - promoting that line develops from below, attacking centralized leadership, that consciousness develops from within, that we must have "organic" contact with the proletariat through rank and file caucuses, a preparation for the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line to come to power, attacking Build the Party from above.

Where the secondary aspect of the Menshevik line that which is rising is Revisionism e.g. RU-Mensheviks to RCP revisionists, the OL Mensheviks quickly degenerating into OL Revisionists. The secondary aspect of the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line that which is rising is Menshevism - e.g. the fruit flies of the movement, Resistencia, and IWK, Right opportunist conciliators to what they are today, Mensheviks.

The "kernel of truth" of the Menshevik line most clearly shows the difference. Where the Mensheviks full system of views claims no kernel, only absolute truth of the falsehood of Menshevism, the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line claims only the "kernel of truth". We must draw out this difference in order to thoroughly defeat both the Menshevik line and the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line which is fighting for its survival, fighting the line of the Revolutionary wing, the Bolshevik line. We must treat this contradiction correctly, we must stand firm, the fight against the second line - the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line is a hostile fight-an antagonistic contradiction, and there can be no compromise. In fact compromise to the right, opportunist conciliationist line is what explains the secondary aspect within the revolutionary wing, the wavering, self-cultivation, a trend toward overcoming from within, ease up on the struggle a relaxing of vigilance when the right opportunist conciliators make sham self-criticism in word, and all the time their deeds spell treason. But some comrades look at appearance and not essence which has the effect of treating the contradiction with the right opportunist conciliationist line as shades of difference, falling captive to these political swindlers who have been pretending to be self-cultivating while all the time have been making an analysis of our forces, who is wavering, who is compromising, who is staunch and actively standing on the line of the Revolutionary wing; checking out where there are tendencies of hegemonism, "our organizations line", "our organizations organ", "our organizations problems", "RWL works with us-PRRWO" - "PRRWO works with us RWL". "RWL is responsible for the right line in FFM". "The Revolutionary wing is PRRWO and RWL, "FFM and PRSU must develop its own line". "The advanced workers are spontaneously gravitating towards the Revolutionary wing" or the flip flop which is "The advanced are leading the struggle by themselves". The Right opportunist conciliationist line which had to come to the surface as we purged our ranks of the Mensheviks, utilizes all the non-antagonistic contradictions within the ranks of Bolsheviks, a reflection of the struggle of the shades of differences to hammer out the Party's basic line and program, in an attempt to cover themselves behind the shades of differences to corrode our ranks, to corrupt honest Bolsheviks who waver, who self-cultivate over their errors, to split Bolsheviks by elevating shades of differences to two fully blown lines on the one hand or to reduce the antagonistic contradiction with Menshevism and Right opportunist conciliationist line to shades of differences. The Right Opportunist Conciliators attempt to isolate the "ultra left leadership" of the Revolutionary wing from the cadres of the revolutionary wing; who they hold in contempt, who they undermine and despise they try to strengthen their weakness and overcome their strengths, they think Bolsheviks too stupid to see through their bourgeois maneuvers. They get up next to the Bolsheviks through "friendships", through social relations, through "sports", through playing whist, through the social worker approach "are you going through changes?" through "we're women we know our problems best", through the children, through "I'll lend you some money, need some new clothes?" trying to buy off Bolsheviks, a clear example of who they serve, the bourgeoisie and how they try to corrupt our ranks.

Through their gossip and slander they turn the attention away from themselves, the Mensheviks and the paid bourgeois agents, away from the two line struggle, and have Bolsheviks

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suspecting each other, raising that Bolsheviks are sexual opportunists, that Bolsheviks are hegemonies, that Bolsheviks have corrupted the Mensheviks, and paid bourgeois agents, that Bolsheviks struggle too hard and are unprincipled, that the Bolshevik line is up for question, that Bolsheviks are isolated from the Proletariat, because Bolsheviks struggle too much.

### The Bourgeoisie In Our Midst

To illustrate this utter bankruptcy further let's examine it concretely by walking through the plan of the Mensheviks Sandra Johnson and Ed Whitfield and their main allies the Right Opportunist Conciliators Carmen Cruz, Larry Mann and John Spearman. These five slimes, and traitors to the international proletariat, were actively carrying out the bourgeois plan to split and wreck, to blow up the Revolutionary wing from within, isolate the line, and have been actively preparing a base to purge the leadership of the revolutionary wing, in an attempt to stop the developing U.S. Bolshevik Party from coming into being. Serving their bourgeoisie masters well these five hidden scabs have been factionalizing, actively spreading pessimism, demoralizing our ranks, pushing the right opportunist conciliationist line from below, covering up the Mensheviks and paid bourgeois agents and operation Chaos, which has been in full operations in the revolutionary wing. These five main proponents actively sabotaged Palante, Bolshevik, the Shop Newsletters, all our propaganda by either sneaking their lines through or by presenting obstacles in the way. They would claim, "I can't do this propaganda piece", "I am not theoretically prepared to deal with this assignment", "demote me from leadership - "I am more comfortable in the lower levels". All of them wanted to go into the ranks to accelerate their factionalizing, create a base and rise to power. Why did all of them at the same exact time start to come forward? Because they had a time schedule for their overthrow of leadership. Because backed by the state they were confident that they had done enough ideological preparation to move on their objective. Because they thought the "ultra left" leadership was isolated enough, so they could move to defeat. Because the state operation Chaos, and the paid bourgeois agents had been putting out slanderous propaganda, external provocation (as we exposed in the last issue of Palante Vol.6 No.6 (Mensheviks are objective bourgeois agents) while internally they had infiltrated Palante subscription and distribution, screening our correspondence, letting organization subscriptions go by while burning individual subscriptions with the aim of isolating the Revolutionary wing from its supporters and for the purpose of discrediting the Bolshevik wing, giving the impression that we're anarchistic, disorganized, in shambles, unprincipled "hustlers" in a state of chaos.

The Mensheviks Sandra Johnson and Ed Whitfield and the Right Opportunist Conciliators Cruz, Mann and Spearman carried out the ideological, political and organizational preparation which the state utilized to the hilt to conduct their operations. These objective bourgeois agents hiding out in the leadership were in the position to know all internal contradictions, had a broad picture of the state of affairs in the whole wing, were close to the Bolshevik leadership, knew where we were at all times, knew the shades of differences which existed which they tried to blow up utilized their positions to move freely and at random, utilized self-cultivations, a trend which they were responsible for spreading, which then the state agency used as a way to perfect their covers, under the guise of "criticism and self criticism" and "repudiation", under the guise of being Right Opportunist Conciliators since Menshevism had been exposed and isolated suffering defeat upon defeat. With the purger of the Mensheviks, the state then hid behind the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line, and the proponents.

These five leaches, had a full analysis of forces, would go into meetings with this analysis and from their line would further analyze and move to split and divide. Consistently pretending to be so concerned with cadres problems while sowing seeds of dissension, the "ultra left block" does not see the 'objective limitations' of the problems, Carmen Cruz for example claimed that she was belittling theory just as a cover and preparation to go down into the ranks - when criticized for her propagating line from below she claimed it was 'ultra-leftist' not to deal with her "objective limitations", she claimed she was muddleheaded and confused. When facts reveal she was very conscious and clear of what she and the Right Opportunist Conciliators Mann, Spearman and Mensheviks Ed Whitfield and Sandra Johnson were doing all the time. In fact they spotted each other out and the other Right Opportunist Conciliators in the lower levels and together would conspire and intrigue, covering each other up, raising phenomena, constantly blunting the struggle trying to lull us to to sleep. But we Bolsheviks are tireless, we hold onto and apply-

only one conclusion is possible, without self-

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criticism there is no correct training of the Party, of the class, of the masses; without a correct training of the Party, of the class, and of the masses there is no Bolshevism".

J. Stalin, The Method of Leninism

But the Mensheviks, the Right Opportunist Conciliators and the Paid Bourgeois Agents are incapable of applying this most fundamental Bolshevik principle. This is why the key link the application of the Universal principles applied to our concrete conditions, i.e. hammering out of the Party's basic line and program of action continues to flush them all out, on the one hand and on the other hand the struggle against bourgeois line continues to bring forward granite Bolsheviks, staunch and active fighters of the proletariat, because we apply what we've learned from our teachers; we stand on principle, and the authenticity, the purity of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought.

"Practice in struggle has made us realize that what is most important in implementing the Party's basic line is perseverance. No matter what kind of conditions, we should not waver but adhere to the socialist orientation and oppose capitalist tendencies".

(Peking Review #6, 1975 p.7)

### Bolsheviks Presevere In Struggle - Never Slack Up!

We stand on Combat Liberalism and against unprincipled peace. For it is as Chairman Mao clearly states -

"Liberalism stems from petty-bourgeois selfishness, it places personal interest first and the interest of the revolution second and this gives rise to ideological, political and organizational liberalism. People who are liberals look upon the principles of Marxism as abstract dogmas. They approve of Marxism (ideology as the key link ed.) but are not prepared to practice it (political line is the key link ed.) or practice it in full (going back and forth from ideology key link to political line key link ed.)."

We must firmly stand on the Bolshevik line and purge the second line, the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line. We must severely criticize the waverings, the self-cultivation, the compromises to the right opportunist conciliationist line. This compromise comes down to a shade of difference which expresses itself in drawing the line, no unity with the right opportunist conciliationist line, but the wavering comes forward in a cry for mercy of the Right Opportunist conciliationist line, time for transforming it, and its main exponents, from within. Reflecting the secondary aspect of the contradiction among Bolsheviks which boils down to political carelessness, relaxing of vigilance, complacency, to placing a "dagger in the heart of the Party", which if not struggled against will degenerate into the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line.

Resolute Bolshevik Party cadres, always and everywhere practice what the teachers of the International proletariat bring forward -

"We must use Marxism which is positive in spirit to overcome liberalism which is negative. A Communist must have largeness of mind and should be staunch and active, looking upon the interest of the Revolution as his very life, and subordinate his personal interest to those of the Revolution, Always and everywhere (our emphasis) he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all (our emphasis) incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses. He should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual. He should be more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist".

Chairman Mao - Combat Liberalism

But the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line and its main proponents are out for personal gain, serving the interest of the bourgeoisie, these careerist and hegemonies saw themselves in power, the cadres serving them hand and foot. They placed themselves above the class and were moving to wreck and destroy its developing party. This treason, this treachery has been active, it has been propagated throughout the Revolutionary Wing. Standing on the Right Opportunist

Conciliationist line these renegades promoted unprincipled peace, "Let's not rehash old disagreements" wanting to cover themselves up to keep the line within and flourishing, the cause of the waverings, self cultivation, etc., the effect to isolate the "ultra-left" - trying to prepare the basis to overthrow the line, and the leadership.

Propagating such erroneous views such as "Let's read more books and we'll repudiate", "Let's go to the plants and and we'll repudiate." "let's formulate our views in another way and we'll repudiate", "Let's criticize the sham wing and we'll repudiate". Anything but active and sharp two line struggle which the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line and its proponents claim to be "ultra-leftist".

### Right Opportunism Is The Main Danger

We Bolsheviks reject this bankruptcy, we repulse it and purge it from our ranks, strengthening that much more the Bolshevik line reflected in more and better propaganda, more intense external and internal polemics, neutralize that wavering, exposing the basis for self-cultivation, and insisting it has no room in the ranks of the Leninist core.

Self-cultivation is the conscious retreat from sharp two-line struggle; it is the concealing of views of attempting to overcome opportunism from within, "If I think this out hard enough I'll repudiate", of attempting to change the world peacefully. Self-cultivation is the first step towards revisionism. First concealment of views, then attempts to justify them theoretically, degenerating into a full system of views and finally degenerating into totally revising of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. Self-cultivation is a most dangerous trend which if not struggled against lays the basis for conciliation to the menshevik line, the "kernel of truth" that "sharp two line struggle open and above board is ultra-left", the "kernel of truth" that two line struggle is and should be "the exception" to freedom of criticism the freedom to conceal ones views, the freedom to factionalize, the freedom to conciliate, the freedom to stand on the right opportunist conciliationist line, the freedom to betray the proletariat, the freedom to wreck and split the revolutionary wing, the freedom to Menshevism, the freedom to Revisionism. Self-cultivation is the first step towards Revisionism. Comrades this is a directive, we must not permit self cultivation in our ranks, be open and above board, unite don't split, practice Marxism and not revisionism. We accept this directive of the International Communist Movement. We apply it and call on all Bolsheviks to close ranks behind the line of the Revolutionary wing and its leadership.

Two line struggle is a good thing, without which our internal life would come to an end.

"Line is the lifeblood of our Party. Fifty years of experience prove that as long as we persist in struggle for the correct line we will win."

(Chou En-Lai, interview in New China, Jan., 1976)

We must reject the bourgeois line no matter what form it takes. Struggle out shades of differences, every single shade, for as Lenin teaches us the future character of our wing could be determined by one or another shade. In fact, the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line has been struggling to come to power and any shade of difference - like over the analysis the line of the Revolutionary Wing that the Menshevik line and the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line are not one and the same thing if not struggled out aides the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line. The concealing of any such shade under the guise of "it will be proven later in practice" is detrimental to the development of the Party's basic line and program. It weakens us from within, making it easier for the Mensheviks, the Right Opportunist Conciliators and the Paid Agents to get over on some less staunch comrades.

"Among people who are not staunch, dangers connected with difficulties not infrequently give rise to down cast feelings, distrust in their own forces, feelings of pessimism. And on the contrary when it is a matter of fighting against the dangers which arise from difficulties people are tempered and emerge from the struggle granite Bolsheviks."

J. Stalin - Mastering Bolshevism

Prepared to recognize the enemies of the Party, internal and external waging a tit for tat struggle against all shades of opportunism, the Bolshevik Party cadre are being further steeled in two line struggle.

Bolshevism is surely on the rise!

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### Menshevism On The Decline

Now a word about the sham wing; we can rest assured that they will try to falsify the line of the Revolutionary wing and our analysis of our internal contradictions. They will be very upset that we have uncovered yet another attempt to blow up the wing from within. They will react by attacking us, slandering us, painting a gloomy picture once again. They will select isolated passages, raise it to a principle, try to turn the world on its head and say that we are weak. They will come to the defense of the Menshevik and Right Opportunist Conciliators, they will try to create waverings in our ranks, pessimism and demoralization. They will probably say we have had a split.

All a reflection of their weakness, of their bankruptcy, of their decline, their demoralization, and pessimism, of their total isolation from the Proletariat, of their underestimation of the Bolsheviks. Their hostility toward Bolshevism, their contempt for the working class is why they will never rise from their chronic state of being rotten to the core. The Menshevik wing also has a secondary aspect - Revisionism. This secondary aspect is rising and will become the dominant aspect. Nothing stands still, everything is in motion.

Their reaction to the Bolshevik line, is further testimony of how more than fearing the bourgeoisie, they fear the Proletariat. This fear is clearly reflected on how they have gone from saying there's no revolutionary wing, to the "revolutionary wing is in shambles", to having to pass a resolution to oppose the revolutionary wing. Slimey dogs, refusing to polemicize on the basis of line, the sham wing using demagogery and sophistry to stay clear of the two line struggle. Come out with it, slimey gentlemen of the marsh, polemicize against the line of the revolutionary wing; Cowards, why is it that you call us an Anti-Party bloc, and have not produced a single polemic to substantiate your charge? We know the answer, because you know it will be further exposure of your bankrupt line, the truth to be revealed further, that you are in fact standing opposed to the Proletariat and its Party.

"I hope our American friends will believe us. In this field of line struggle we have rich experience. We will always adhere to the correct line. We will always adhere to Marxism and will march from victory to victory. Whoever violates this line, whoever departs from this line, will fail.

The special character of our Party's 50 year struggle is this: the wrong line always fails. Lines that split the Party have always failed. In the end we have always united. (Chou En-Lai, Jan., 1976)



**CHOU EN-LAI**

"Line is the lifeblood of our Party. Fifty years of experience prove that as long as we persist in struggle for the correct line we will win."  
(Chou En-Lai)

Do you think that by throwing up "Anti-Party clique" you have covered yourselves? No way. So come out with it. How you are totally denouncing the great teachers, how you all think that the Renegade Kautsky Klonsky is greater than all the teachers put together. Come out with it say what you believe that One Step Forward, Two Steps Back was written for Russian conditions. Come out with it - your real view that Lenin didn't know nothing about the U.S. Come out with it that he erred, by insisting that the Party be built from above. Come out with it that Lenin was too strict.

You are degenerating quick, so you will come out with it, right now you sneak it out, "Leading temporary bodies" "Unity is the growing trend", "The basis has been laid to form the Party, to form a single unified Party". Lenin made it clear you slime - before we can unite we must draw clear and definite lines of demarcation. You see how you actively attack the teachers of the international proletariat. Your metaphysical graphics of the teachers as if they were ghosts is further testimony of your treachery. You are openly propagating the teachers are dead to say Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought is dead, obsolete, propagating the freedom of criticism that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought is outdated. You have to do this because the second aspect is becoming primary. Revisionism is coming, coming to the fore. You know damn well you want the "CP" USA's base where you O.L. and RCP are contending for power. What do you plan to do? Overthrow Gus Hall and come to power? Sham marsh forces you are doomed.

### Bolshevik Party Cadres Quality Over Quantity "The Party Becomes Strong By Purging Its Ranks"

As for Bolshevism its gaining strength, day by day it is on the rise. The intensity of the two line struggle is a reflection of it, the quality of the Bolshevik Party cadres is a reflection of it, the propaganda of the revolutionary wing the Bolshevik Party press is a reflection of it, this polemic is a reflection of it, the line of the revolutionary wing is a clear manifestation that the revolutionary wing is the new forces taking on the task - Building the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and nothing no Mensheviks, no Right Opportunist Conciliators, not Operation Chaos can stop what's coming into being. We are winning battles preparing for the war. We will never betray our class, "new forces are invincible by nature". Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again till Victory, this is the logic of the people and we shall never go against this logic.

While you enemies of the Proletariat make trouble, fail make trouble again and fail again till your doom and you also will never go against your logic.

So we stand in antagonism, Menshevism and Bolshevism, the two shall never meet.

The Right Opportunist Conciliationist line trying to reverse the verdict, that is why the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line is an antagonistic line, and must be repulsed as such.

To sum-up, we have uncovered yet another attempt to overthrow the line and leadership of the revolutionary wing. The Right Opportunist Conciliationist line, and its general characteristics, conciliation to Menshevism, Hostile to Bolshevism. The kernel of truth; the theoretical justification for going back and forth - Build the mass movement, Build the Party, Ideology Key link- Political line Key Link, Theory is primary, Practice is primary, going back and forth between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie. Taking the so-called "kernel of truth" that the bourgeoisie is "strong" "Both the bourgeoisie and the Proletariat are on the rise", attacking the Marxist-Leninist line as ultra left, denouncing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, Dialectical and Historical materialism the undisputable fact that the bourgeoisie is going out of being. The Right opportunist conciliationist line like the bourgeoisie has no future, only degeneration into Menshevism and from Menshevism to Revisionism.

We must drive it out from the wing for it is trying to sneak into the Party.

Guard against self complacent optimism which Lenin called despicable. Intensify the struggle, never compromise that there is too much struggle. Be Active, Stand firm Bolsheviks, rip-off the mask of the hidden traitors, oppose all attempts to subvert the line, and overthrow the leadership of the revolutionary wing. Stand on the line and flush out all enemies of the Party. This is our responsibility. "The Party concentrates on itself", "On its own preservation", these words of Stalin ring loud and clear. Let's apply it, Bolsheviks.

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# "Build The Party On New Revolutionary Lines" —

"BREAK WITH THE TRADITION OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL"  
Mastering Bolshevism - Stalin

cadre, ideologically preparing the path to "peacefully" subvert the line of the Revolutionary wing, showed itself on ATM's menshevik line on political education: In a document "Political line is the Key Link" (a cover for the real content of "ideology the key link") these Mensheviks say:

"1. We must change our study program to meet the needs of our movement: (a) through collective study of at least the lead article in Revolutionary Cause in all units and local committees as well as all of our printed documents as they come out. This study is to ensure that we have full consolidation around our line, and all significant new developments of the line, to facilitate broad democratic discussion over the line -- particularly as to its implementation in practice... (c) the fundamentals. This study is individual and optional and is geared to giving all comrades an understanding of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism."

In essence, "Study Menshevism, Criticize Marxism", disarming of the cadre. This line, the same line of the RU, that the leadership "studies" (that is revises), Marxism, the rank and file study the Red Papers, was beat back years ago, yet ATM boldly puts this forward, a sign of the degeneration. No Bolshevik, no advanced worker will tolerate this line, will try to overcome this line from within. ATM, these attacks on Marxism, on the Bolshevik line, have served to gain you a permanent seat at the bottom of the swamp of opportunism. It is with this kind of ideological preparation, with these attacks on dialectical and historical materialism that you laid the basis to go back and subvert the line of your own Unity Congress, and to distort the history of the anti-revisionist communist movement, to attack Party building as the central and only task. Again, we will punish you with your own words.

"The initial roots of our errors can be traced back to our Unity Congress, which failed to clearly define the task facing us - instead saying that all our tasks must be put into the context of Party building, rather than saying that Party building had to be put into the context of solving the questions put in front of Communists by the mass movement."

"Build the mass movement is the central task!" The line of the Unity Congress, hammered out in struggle, summing up errors drawing lessons, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought has now been subverted by the very line the Congress repulsed, RU's line of build the mass movement, the Menshevik line. The line of the Unity Congress was a forward step for all Bolsheviks, strengthening the Revolutionary wing. But the right opportunists conciliators who were hiding within the ranks of ATM especially in leadership, now come out in the open, having subverted that line and degenerated into the full system of Menshevik views. This is the same leadership that sent a telegram of congratulations to the Menshevik liberal O.L.'s Congress in 1975, who intrigued and conspired with MLOC, trying to sneak them into the Revolutionary wing; who, six months after the purge of WVO from the Revolutionary wing have yet to wage one word of polemic and who today are preparing to merge with the fruit flies of the sham wing - IWK, Resistencia and maybe even CAP, who are saying that there never were two wings, a cover for the fact that they have taken the organization into the sham wing, purged from the Revolutionary wing.

These traitorous Mensheviks came out, in bold print in Revolutionary Cause, Vol.1, #5 with:

"We must build our party in the course of fighting against war and fascism, national oppression, etc. This is extremely important -- If we are to prevent war and fascism, it can only be through revolutionary mass struggle."

Attempting to negate the fact that Revolution is the main trend, thus breaking with the line of the International Communist Movement which the Revolutionary Wing stands on and applies, ATM promotes defeatism and pessimism, that war is the main trend. They do this to justify the line of build the mass movement, even having the nerve to try and falsify the glorious history of the Party of Labor of Albania, slandering them by saying, in essence, that it was built through worshipping spontaneity. Outright lies, for in the history of the P.L.A. itself, it clearly summed-up that they could not begin to build mass organizations until they had prepared the political leaders of the working class, that is the Party.

"THESE ACHIEVEMENTS HAVE BEEN ATTAINED BY THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, FIRST AND FOREMOST, THANKS TO THE CORRECT LINE PURSUED BY THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA. WITH THE FORMATION OF THE PARTY, THE WORKING CLASS, THE LABORING MASSES BROUGHT FORTH FROM THEIR RANKS, IN THE HEAT OF BATTLE AGAINST THE FASCIST INVADERS AND TRAITORS TO THE COUNTRY, A REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL LEADERSHIP ABSOLUTELY DETERMINED TO DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE, CAPABLE OF BRINGING ABOUT NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIAL EMANCIPATION."  
(History of the Party of Labor of Albania, p. 5)

Comrades, in order to give the spontaneous movement a planned conscious character we must build the Bolshevik Party, there are no if's, and's or but's about this. In order to build the party we must hammer out the Party's basic line on the class questions of the U.S. revolution, the key link, we must simultaneously apply the two tactical principles of Marxist-Leninists unite and win the advanced to communism and we must carry out propaganda as the chief form of activity.

"Line is the lifeblood of our Party. Fifty years of experience prove that as long as we persist in struggle for the correct line we will win. If our line is correct, even if we have only a few Party members our Party will grow, as when our Communist Party was organized in 1921. We had only a few people then, no army, nothing. But as long as our political line is correct we can recruit Party members, we can build an army and we can win victory. But if our political line is not correct the Communist Party will collapse."

(On the Importance of Political Line, Chou en-Lai, interview in New China, Jan. 1976)

Application of this line is revolutionary practice. To put forward that we must build the mass movement is sheer poppycock, treachery to the proletariat. ATM, you stand in opposition to Lenin, and all the great teachers, and no amount of theoretical justifications will ever cover this up.

Dig what Lenin said about the mass movements that you worship:

"the economic struggle against the employers and government does not in the least require and therefore can never give rise to an all Russian centralized organization that will combine, in one general onslaught all and every manifestation of political opposition, protest and indignation, an organization that will consist of professional revolutionaries and be led by the real political leaders of the whole people."  
(What Is To Be Done, p. 122)

The Party does not "pop-up", it doesn't just happen, the formation of the Party is a planned, conscious activity. ATM, you are conscious of this. And you just as consciously have tried to cover, in the line that the party will develop out of the struggle against war and fascism, the fact that you are in fundamental opposition to building a Bolshevik Party. On each aspect of Party building you have broken unities and replaced it with the Menshevik line and your own hegemonic

scheme to build the party from below. You try to promote defeatism by saying that no one is party-building, and dare to call your work "communist work." But we Bolsheviks stand with Lenin and the International Communist Movement.

"The present stage in the development of the international communist movement is marked by the fact that in the vast majority of capitalist countries, the proletariat's preparedness to effect its dictatorship has not been completed, in many cases, has not even been systematically begun. From this, it does not, however, follow that the proletarian revolution is impossible in the immediate future; it is perfectly possible, since the entire economic and political situation is most inflammable and abounds in cases of sudden flare-up; the other condition for revolution, apart from the Proletariat's preparedness viz., a general state of crisis in all the ruling and in all the bourgeois parties, also exists. However, it does follow that the communist parties' current task consists in accelerating the revolution, in intensifying the preparation of the proletariat. On the other hand, the facts cited above from the history of many socialist parties makes it incumbent on us to see that "recognition" of the dictatorship of the proletariat shall not remain a matter of words. Hence, from the point of view of the international proletarian movement, it is the communist parties' principal task at the present moment to unite the scattered party in every country (or to reinforce or renovate the existing party) in order to increase tenfold the work of preparing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The ordinary socialist work conducted by groups and parties which recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat has by no means undergone that fundamental revolution, which is essential before this work can be considered communist work and adequate to the tasks to be accomplished on the eve of proletarian dictatorship.

(Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 31, "Theses on the Comintern's Fundamental Task", pages 188-189)

We will continue to unmask you, to tear off your covers on key link, tactical and strategical principles, fusion, periods, chief form of activity and main danger revealing the hegemonic line that runs throughout.

### KEY LINK — POLITICAL LINE

In putting forward the bankrupt line of build the mass movement, these Mensheviks still try to cover themselves by saying that political line is the key link. But to what, to the Party? No, for these traitors "political line" is the key to build the spontaneous movement, not to build the Party. These Mensheviks in fact hold that "ideology is the key link" to the Party, like all the hegemonies. And do they mean proletarian ideology, dialectical and historical materialism, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought? Nothing could be more frightening to them, in fact, we have seen how feverishly they attack it. What they mean by "ideology" are distortions, revisions of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, providing the basis for them to merge with the fruit-flies of the sham wing, the basis for the Social-Democratic Party from below.

Like WVO, ATM sees political line as simply demands for the topical issues of the day, like ERA and busing, as demands to render the reform struggle more militant - a new twist to an old reactionary line. Their only contradiction with the line of the O.L., Trots, and revisionists on these two issues is that they don't fight hard enough, aren't bold enough. Once again, ATM, we will use your own words to expose you: On busing:

"Even the liberals support forced busing of Blacks, but it is another question when it comes to busing white children. ATM stands in favor of forced busing in Boston (although we believe

Blacks have the right to choose whether they wish to be bused or not), but its starting point is not simply the question of getting Black children a better education but a question of breaking the historically developed segregation patterns with all of its attendant political, economic and social ramifications." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, #3, "Right Opportunism the Main Danger")

And, on ERA:

"But it is our duty to lead the fight for any reform which objectively can represent a step forward for the masses. Women lack equal rights -- that is a fact. It is our duty to fight for just that - we must sum-up all the partial demands of women and take them to a fundamental level. All the partial demands that women are fighting for can be summed up in the slogan - Equal Rights for Women!!... To the extent that a revolutionary mass struggle is waged for the passage of the ERA, to that extent will a "real" reform be won!" (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, #4, "International Working Women's Day", our emphasis)

No contradiction on line with your other swamp rats, just differences in degree in how hard or how loud you struggle. The Revolutionary wing has repeatedly propagated that both ERA and Busing are sham reforms, developed by the bourgeoisie to serve its interest, to narrow the field of activity of the working class, to strengthen the theory of spontaneity, tying the working class to its tail. We must oppose these sops of the ruling class, must educate the advanced to their treacherous character and win these advanced to communism, to build the U.S. Bolshevik Party. This is how we carry out our revolutionary practice, how we correctly link the immediate interest of the proletariat to its final aim.

ATM, you're not stupid, you're conscious that the Party's basic line is not a list of militant economist demands for sham reforms, as you would have us believe. You know that these economist demands won't give the spontaneous movement a planned conscious character. You put the demands forward as part of your overall hegemonic scheme, to "militantly" tail the O.L., like they did the R.U., and swell your ranks with all the strikers, professors, purged Mensheviks from the Revolutionary wing they left behind.

It is your hegemonic line of build the Party from below that has you now competing for the O.L.'s base, who is competing for the R.U.'s base, who is competing for the CPUSA's base, and all of you are competing for the position of most loyal lackies of the bourgeoisie. Just like the O.L. did the R.U., ATM, is now going after organizational hegemony of the petty-bourgeois National Lawyers Guild, chasing the O.L. out of the revisionist and trade union hack dominated Coalition of Labor Union Women, raising in essence the same demands, putting forward the same line, only with a little more gusto. "Move the unions to the left" - "Move the unions to the left illegally"; "Free Greg Jones" "Free Greg Jones Now"; "Forced Busing for Everybody". You traitorous hegemonies; hiding for years within the Revolutionary wing only to perfect your cover.

And now that you've hitch-hiked long enough, got your own newspaper, feel big with those fruit-flies in your back-pocket, you come out with your degenerated full system of views, your Menshevik political line, your hegemonic plan to roll over the O.L. and become top dog of the opportunist wing. Traitors to the proletariat. Mensheviks to the bone.

"The Party accompanied its propaganda and militant agitation, its political and military actions with its work for the organization of the people. It did not begin its work with the creation of mass organizations, because the masses had to be politically prepared beforehand for such organizations."

(History of The Party of Labor of Albania, p. 106)

### Struggle for the Simultaneity of the Two Tactical Principles

Starting from ideology, metaphysics and idealism, the key link to build the party from below, these Mensheviks having already attacked Bolshevization go on to attack the tactical principles of Party building.

in disrupting the recent action by the Czech proletariat. The strengthening of the Rights and Bubnik's treachery—such are the results of Comrade Smeral's "fine" tactics. That is why I think that Comrade Smeral's "fine" tactics are tactics that save the Rights, tactics that intensify the crisis, tactics threatening to doom the Party.

Why did the old Social-Democracy perish as a revolutionary Party? Among other things, because Kautsky and Co. did indeed employ the "fine" tactics of shielding and saving the Rights, the "delicate" tactics of "unity and peace" with Ed. Bernstein and Co. What was the result? The result was that at the crucial moment, just before the war, the Right-wing Social-Democrats betrayed the workers, the "orthodox" became the prisoners of the Rights, and Social-Democracy as a whole proved to be a "living corpse." I think that, in time, this may happen to the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia if you do not quickly and resolutely substitute for Comrade Smeral's "fine" tactics the Bolshevik tactics of ruthless struggle against the Right-wing groups in the communist movement. In saying this I am not putting Comrade Smeral on a par with the Social-Democrats. Not at all. He is undoubtedly a Communist, and, perhaps, even a splendid Communist. What I want to say is that if he does not renounce his "fine" tactics he will inevitably slide into Social-Democracy.

What is the immediate task of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia?

The immediate task is, while combating "ultra-Left" deviations, resolutely to combat the danger from the Right with the aim of altogether isolating and completely eliminating the Rights. To unite all the genuine revolutionary elements in the Party for the purpose of completely eliminating the Right groups—such is the Party's task, such is the way out of the crisis. Unless this is done it is useless even to think of Bolshevizing the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

That, of course, does not mean that all the Rights must necessarily be expelled. Expulsion is not the decisive weapon in the struggle against the Rights. The main thing is to give the Right groups a drubbing, ideologically and morally, in the course of a struggle based on principle and to draw the mass of the Party membership into this struggle. That is one of the chief and most important means of educating the Party in the spirit of Bolshevism. Expulsion must come, if it is really necessary, as a natural result of the ideological rout of the enemy. In this respect, the Lefts in Czechoslovakia committed a grave mistake in hastening to expel Bubnik. Instead of utilising the Bubnik "case" to the utmost and linking it with principles underlying the stand taken by the Rights on the question of mass action, revealing their true countenance, the Lefts hastened with the expulsion, and cut off the road to further attack against the Rights on this ground.

As regards the rights of the Comintern and its intervention in the affairs of the national parties, I emphatically disagree with those comrades who spoke in favour of curtailing those rights. They want the Comintern to be transformed into an organisation situated beyond the stars, gazing dispassionately at what is going on in the individual parties and patiently recording events. No, comrades, the Comintern cannot become an organisation beyond the stars. The Comintern is a militant organisation of the proletariat

it is linked with the working-class movement by all the roots of its existence and cannot refrain from intervening in the affairs of individual parties, supporting the revolutionary elements and combating their opponents. Of course, the parties possess internal autonomy, the party congresses must be unfettered, and the Central Committees must be elected by the congresses. But to deduce from this that the Comintern must be denied the right of leadership, and hence of intervention, means working on behalf of the enemies of communism.

Lastly, about Comrade Kreibich. I think that the purpose of his entire speech was to frighten somebody or other with the threat of a split. Don't touch the Rights in Brunn, he said. If you do there will be trouble. Don't fight them; if you do there will be a split. Well, we shall see. But let not Comrade Kreibich try to frighten us, he will not succeed. He surely knows that we are seasoned people, and threats of a split cannot frighten our kind. And if he thinks of passing from threats to action, I assure him that he, and he alone, will suffer.

To sum up. There is a crisis in the Party. There can be no doubt about its causes. The chief danger comes from the Right. The task is to wage a determined and uncompromising struggle against this danger. The way out of the crisis is to unite all the revolutionary elements in the Party for the purpose of completely eliminating the Rights.

Advantage must be taken of the lull to strengthen the Party, to Bolshevise it and make it "always ready" for all possible "complications"; for "ye know neither the day nor the hour" wherein "the bridegroom cometh" to open the road for a new revolutionary upsurge.



"Political double-dealers usually begin with deceit and prosecute their nefarious ends by deceiving the people, the working class, and the Party of the working class. But political double-dealers are not to be regarded as mere humbugs. Political double-dealers are an unprincipled gang of political careerists who, having long ago lost the confidence of the people, strive to insinuate themselves once more into their confidence by deception, by chameleon-like changes of colour, by fraud, by any means, only that they might retain the title of political figures. Political double-dealers are an unprincipled gang of political careerists who are ready to seek support anywhere, even among criminal elements, even among the scum of society, even among the mortal enemies of the people, only that they might be able, at a "propitious" moment, again to mount the political stage and to clamber on to the back of the people as their "rulers."

Through correctly grasping the key link of political line the Revolutionary wing has been correctly applying the two tactical principles of Marxist-Leninists unite and win the advanced to communism. The two principles must be applied simultaneously, at all times. They must be simultaneously applied in order to hammer out the Party's basic line and program of action in the heat of two line struggle, with all the Party cadre taking active part, under centralized leadership. When these two principles are not simultaneously applied, when one is raised as primary, as all the Mensheviks do, political line becomes mere formulations, resolutions based at "Unity Conferences", dead dogma like that of the Second International, resolutions developed by "great theoreticians", by the "leading circle". These great theoreticians and leading circles, denying the existence of the advanced, holding the proletariat in contempt, like ATM, only seeing the need to quantitatively build their own organizations which they, in the tradition of R.U., believe is the Party. To these hegemonies, numbers are what is most important. When ATM put forward the line, "of the two slogans mentioned one must necessarily be primary. It is the slogan 'Marxists-Leninists Unite'." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, #1,), they were laying the basis to come forward with their merger plan for their party, of which they naturally will be the leading circle. They will try to give this hegemonic line of Marxist-Leninists as primary a slick cover and come forward with the line that there are two trends, in the movement, in essence an attack on the line of the Revolutionary wing. The "trend" that ATM will be the leading circle for, will in all likelihood be composed of IWK, CAP, Resistencia, MLOC, maybe W.C., and no telling what else might be thrown in. They will put forth that the "trend" must "consolidate" itself, that is merge on the basis of "ideology", in opposition to the other "trend" of the Revolutionary wing; that Marxist-Leninists unite as primary should be carried out, first, to better worship the spontaneous movement.

Schemers, intriguers and conspirators. These hegemonies develop theoretical justification for their attacks of the proletariat, its party and science at the drop of a hat, each time revealing more clearly their own hegemonic line.

In breaking the simultaneity of the two tactical principles, the hegemonies also reveal the fact that the social basis for their party is the petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy, the "most educated and skilled" in the bourgeois decadent sense. It is only through simultaneously applying the two tactical principles that we continue to fuse the communist movement and working class movement, that we take our stand with what's coming into being. But these hegemonies, taking their stand with what's going out of being, deny the existence of the advanced and attack the working class, raising up the contemptuous line of the C.L. and

New Voice that the U.S. working class is bribed, giving it a new twist of privilege, in essence saying that the whole U.S. working class is "bourgeoisified", like the working class in England in the 19th century. Naturally, flowing from this thoroughly bankrupt line, you traitors you Mensheviks do not see any advanced workers. How could they be produced in this "land of milk and honey?" In fact, you see the principle contradiction in the U.S. not between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, but between the national movements and bourgeoisie. Flowing from this, there is no need to win the advanced to communism and Marxist-Leninists (read petty-bourgeois intellectuals) unite is primary. No amount of phrasemongering about the "advanced are communists" or "all the advanced have been won over" will cover up this anti-working class line. Yes, ATM, we will cut short your protest about slander, and punish you one more time with your own words, from a document "Bribery and Privileges within the Working Class":

"Comrades, we have discussed the question of bribery and socio-economic privileges - first in a historical context, i.e., England in the mid-nineteenth century when it enjoyed its monopoly as a colonial power. This plunder of the world laid the material basis for the creation of a labor aristocracy. In addition, it led to a working class which enjoyed socio-economic privileges in relation to the rest of the world's proletariat. The impor-

tant point to note is that the material basis for both bribery and socio-economic privileges is the superprofits of imperialism and that socio-economic privileges of the broader sector of U.S. workers is a temporary phenomenon. This was the case in mid-nineteenth century England and an analysis of objective conditions shows us that this is the case today in the U.S."

This is a thoroughly bankrupt line. Raising up "temporary phenomenon" is only to soften the real line, that the petty-bourgeoisie is the vanguard class, that it is the task of enlightened intellectuals to convince the stupid, privileged working class that it is really exploited. That's the reason that these Mensheviks continually raise that the workers learn through "their own experiences," that:

"...we educate the masses through street actions, strikes, political demonstrations, etc., - actions which are illegal, i.e., violate bourgeois legality." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, #3, "Right Opportunism is the Main Danger")

"Our political exposures strive for clarity, we try to include facts, dates, names, who said what at such and such meeting." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, #3, "Tasks of Communists in the Trade Unions")

This is the same line of "excitative terror" of the Narodniks in Lenin's time. The essence, ATM and its partners are the only solution for the working class, that war and fascism will be a good thing since it will mean fewer privileges, the essence - hegemony for ATM, utter contempt for the proletariat. Traitors to the proletariat. Mensheviks to the bone.

ATM - you will go down in history for this treachery. You have placed yourselves in league with Kautsky, Trotsky, the Social-Democratic Parties of the Second International, with the Renegade Klonsky and Revisionist Avakian. Your secondary aspect of revisionism is rising fast. And we take our stand with the international proletariat, with the hope of mankind, and draw strength from our teachers:

"We can never tolerate within the ranks of our Party people who think that the Party of Lenin and Stalin is like the Second International, who consider it a refuge of sinners, a place for loafers and sluggards, intriguers, careerists, cowardly elements with a petty-bourgeois spirit, with no spirit of sacrifice and elements who regard our Party as a republic of cowards, a place where discipline and security are abandoned.

We have not tolerated them, and we will not tolerate them; the Party decisions will strike ruthlessly at them."

(E., Hoxha, Circular to the Party Organizations of the Tirara Region on the Strengthening of the Party and Revolutionary Spirit, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 65.)

ATM, we have not tolerated and will not tolerate slime like you in our ranks. No amount of talk about "the Revolutionary wing never existed", like the O.L., will cover up the fact that you have been branded traitors to the proletariat, and must wear this brand for the rest of your decadent existence. You can no more cover this up than you can your line of build the mass movement, your line of "ideology is key link", your line of petty-bourgeoisie as vanguard class. And there is no way that you can cover the hegemonism that runs like a thread through your Menshevik system of views. This hegemonism comes out in your line of agitation is the chief form of activity for the working class putting forward that propaganda is aimed mainly at communists. A contemptuous, hegemonic line, a line that consciousness develops in stages, that the advanced (who you really mean are backward) must first be won to the reform struggle through agitation, then to communism and revolution through violent demonstrations and propaganda, in essence still another justification for the slavish worship of spontaneity you wallow in.

"As a result of this political agitation and struggle the workers will come forward and unite around our views, and in particular,

the advanced and intermediate workers."  
(Tasks of Communists, Revolutionary Cause,  
#3, 1976, our emphasis)

Agitation, aimed at the broad masses, is what brings forward and unites the advanced on line, in this period of formation of the Party? Menshevism - a direct attack on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought again. These Mensheviks go so far as to attack Stalin by saying that his work, "The Party Before and After Taking Power" is just brief notes, showing their unity with the international camp of revisionism. Let's look at why. In this work Comrade Stalin clearly lays out:

"In this period, the Party focused its attention and care upon the Party itself, upon its own existence and preservation. At this stage it regarded itself as a kind of self-sufficing force."

And on this same point he says in "Political Strategy and Tactics":

"To win the vanguard of the proletariat to the side of communism (i.e., build up cadres, create a Communist Party, work out the program, the principles of tactics). Propaganda as the chief form of activity."

From these two quotes we can see that ATM's Menshevik line of build the mass movement, agitation to the broad masses to win the advanced is in fundamental opposition to Comrade Stalin and all the teachers. Once again breaking the unities of the Revolutionary wing, once again attacking Marxism, once again trying to cover their Menshevik line with "propaganda is chief form in the communist movement", or "after the advanced have come forward and unite on line, then we do propaganda", once again betraying the proletariat, standing with the bourgeoisie - stone Mensheviks.

### Bolshevism On The Rise!

#### Forward To The Bolshevik Party!

Comrades, allow us to begin the sum-up of the first part of this polemic against the Mensheviks ATM, the first in the polemic designed to expose, isolate and defeat their bourgeois line. We have showed how the hidden right opportunist conciliators within their ranks, especially in leadership carried out ideological preparation to overthrow the line of the Revolutionary wing, attacked Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, subverted the line of their own Congress, and systematically consolidated a full system of views, a menshevik line, in unity with the sham wing. We have also drawn out the hegemonism that runs throughout this Menshevik line and pointed out ATM's schemes to merge with the sham wing groupies.

And comrades, we have also shown how the Revolutionary wing has grown stronger in this struggle against falsehood, against Menshevism. And we close with a quote from Comrade E. Hoxha, which we address to all comrades of the Revolutionary wing, to the genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced, to our Bolshevik Party cadre, which we put forth as a directive, to be strictly followed:

## Method Of Leninism

con't from pg. 9

Political line is the key link. Make sure that the propaganda of the revolutionary wing is getting out, polemicize, never slack up. Be a Bolshevik at all times and everywhere. Guard against those "friendly people", Those "smiling faces" - who never do Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism; who constantly raise thousands of phenomena. Don't be fooled, always take it to line, Bolshevik Party cadres.

Communists are fearless. Only the Leninist method is applicable. This is the only method by which we train the Party Cadres, the class, the masses. Criticism and self-criticism is a most fundamental Bolshevik principle. No glossing over differences, mistakes, shades, can be tolerated in the ranks of the Leninist core.

To do so would be as Enver Hoxha teaches us, "to put a dagger in the heart of our Party", To put a dagger in our own hearts because Bolsheviks only we can build the Party,

"Resolute party comrades, at these critical moments any laxity in our work, any evasion of work is a dagger in the heart of the Party, any negligence, any breach of discipline is a bullet in the heart of the Party, it is a dagger and a bullet in your own hearts, for you are the Party.

..Resolute party comrades, protect the party material, read it and distribute it! Our newspapers and leaflets, the party bulletins and pamphlets must reach the most remote cottage, the voice of justice and the call to arms must reach all ears and leave no heart untouched.

Resolute party comrades, comrades who are ready at any moment to shed your blood as true soldiers of Stalin, close your ranks, protect the Party and your comrades, be vigilant towards the enemies and traitors and show them no mercy, maintain the tightest security, because our work and struggle are not a subject for prattle and bragging but a terrible battle against a savage enemy; show no mercy to provocateurs, loafers, cowards, careerists and other opportunist elements who try in a thousand and one ways to hinder and damage the work within the Party.

Dear comrades, the Party has faith in you, for this is its strength. It has faith and is sure that you will set to work zealously, with discipline and self-sacrifice, and that in this way, our Party will assuredly lead our people towards certain victory."

("Circular to the Party Organizations of the Tirana Region on the Strengthening of the Party and the Revolutionary Spirit", Selected Works, Enver Hoxha, p. 66-69).

"As a matter of fact, comrade Axelrod and comrade Martov are now only deepening, developing and extending their initial error with regard to paragraph 1 (of the rules - editor). As a matter of fact, the entire position of the opportunists in organizational questions already began to be revealed in the controversy over paragraph 1; their advocacy of a diffuse, not strongly welded Party organization; their hostility to the idea (the 'Bureaucratic' idea) of building the Party from the top downward, starting from the Party congress and the bodies set up by it; their tendency to proceed from the bottom upwards, allowing every professor, every high school student and 'every striker' to declare himself a member of the Party; their hostility to the 'formalism' which demands that a Party member should belong to one of the organizations recognized by the Party; their leaning towards the mentality of the bourgeois intellectual who is only prepared to 'accept organizational relations platonically'; their penchant for opportunist profundity and for anarchistic phrases; their tendency towards autonomism as against centralism..."  
(One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Collected Works, Vol. 7, p. 206, our emphasis)

this would mean to aid the enemies of the working class, the agents of the bourgeoisie, the social props causing setbacks in the struggle of the Proletariat for Proletarian Revolution. For the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the essence of Leninism.

We conclude with this quote from Stalin which expresses the attitude by which we must stand.

"Some comrades say that it is not advisable to speak openly of ones mistakes, since the open admission of ones mistakes may be construed by our enemies as weakness and may be utilized by them. This is rubbish, comrades, downright rubbish. The open recognition of our mistakes and their honest rectification can, on the contrary, only strengthen our Party, raise its authority in the eyes of the workers, peasants, and working intellectuals, and increase the strength and power of our state. And

con't on pg. 15

# Build the Party in the Course Of Struggle

— Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

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WE are warmly celebrating the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China today when great victories have been scored in the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts.

Under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, our Party has led hundreds of millions of people in winning the victory of the new-democratic revolution and in achieving victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have smashed the schemes of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, and criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. More united and vigorous and with greater fighting strength than ever, our Party is leading the people of all nationalities in the country in continuing their advance along the socialist road.

We have won great victories. However, very arduous tasks still confront us. Our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Its basic programme is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the triumph of socialism over capitalism and the ultimate realization of communism. The whole Party will have to wage protracted struggle in order to realize this programme. Only if we bear in mind the Party's basic programme, uphold its basic line and never lose sight of its ultimate aim can we successfully solve the question of Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is of utmost importance in the period of socialism to have clarity both in theory and practice on the question that the bourgeoisie exists "right in the Communist Party." In the current struggle against the Right deviationist attempt, Chairman Mao made an incisive analysis of this question, thus developing Marxism-Leninism. In 1964 Chairman Mao pointed out in a directive concerning the socialist education movement: "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other." Chairman Mao further pointed out: "Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class. If they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others." Chairman Mao also stated: "Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the

socialist education movement. We can rely only on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit." This directive of Chairman Mao's and his important instructions during the Great Cultural Revolution, particularly those issued since the start of the struggle against the Right deviationist attempt, penetratingly expose the class nature of such Party capitalist-roaders as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping and analyse the characteristics and origin of the bourgeoisie in the Party as well as the ways to defeat it. These instructions are of tremendous immediate importance and of far-reaching historic significance to our perseverance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. All comrades in the Party, especially the leading cadres, should conscientiously study and grasp them and draw profound lessons from them. In socialist society, classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist, and essentially the relations among people are still class relations. We can maintain the character of our Party as the vanguard of the proletariat only when we recognize the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, soberly understand that the capitalist-roaders are the main force endangering the Party and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, and continuously carry out the revolution against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Only thus can our Party lead the proletariat and other revolutionary masses in successfully carrying out our country's socialist revolution and construction and, together with the revolutionary people the world over, in carrying the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction through to the end and waging a common struggle for the emancipation of all mankind.

The Chinese Communist Party is a great, glorious and correct party, a party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The overwhelming majority of our Party members and cadres represented by Comrade Mao Tsetung, the great leader of our Party, persist in serving the people wholeheartedly, are one with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and are resolute in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. Many outstanding Party members have played an exemplary vanguard role, advancing in the front ranks of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and leading the masses in heroic struggle. But there is no denying that the bourgeoisie does exist inside the Party. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, among a part of the Party membership, some have already changed, some are changing, and others may change if they cease being vigilant. As for those who had committed the errors characteristic of the capitalist-roaders, most of them recognized their errors with the help of the Party and the masses during the Great Cultural Revolution, learnt lessons and are continuing to advance along the road of revolution. But there are also people like Teng Hsiao-ping who cling to their errors and become unrepentant capitalist-roaders. Our comrades must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They should maintain close ties with the masses, take

an active part in collective productive labour, warmly support the new socialist things, and strive for new achievements in all socialist endeavours. They should keep to the style of plain living and hard struggle, resist bourgeois corrosion, and consciously restrict bourgeois right. They should, in the course of struggle, conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, remould their world outlook and strive to be true Party members ideologically.

At present, we must concentrate on criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping and deepen the struggle against the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts. The essential political characteristic of the capitalist-roaders is that they pursue the revisionist line. In our struggle against them, the most important question to solve is that of political line, i.e., to use the Marxist line to defeat their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Communist Party members, particularly leading cadres, must take a firm and clear-cut stand, march in the van of the struggle, and go through tests and temper themselves. They must energetically lead the masses in combating Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line in connection with the concrete class struggle and two-line struggle on the various fronts. With regard to those comrades who have made mistakes, the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" should be applied. Party organizations at all levels should take the initiative to strengthen Party building ideologically and organizationally in the course of struggle.

Our Party is led by the Central Committee with our great leader Chairman Mao at its head and guided by his proletarian revolutionary line, and the masses of Party members persevere in continuing the revolution and are opposed to restoration and retrogression; it is worthy of being the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people and the mainstay of the socialist cause. The fact that we dare to expose the bourgeoisie inside the Party shows that our Party has the strength, confidence and ability to defeat it and thereby bring the entire bourgeoisie to utter defeat. The emergence of capitalist-roaders inside the Party in no way obscures our Party's radiance. Isn't it true that the Kunlun Mountains still stand and have not fallen despite the emergence of Liu Shao-chi and company? Isn't it true that Mount Lushan still stands and has not been levelled flat despite the emergence of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique? And today, despite the emergence of Teng Hsiao-ping and the riot staged at Tien An Men Square by the handful of counter-revolutionaries, Tien An Men, now that their scheme has been smashed, looks all the more magnificent. Historical experience has over and over again shown that it is not easy to crush our Party. As Chairman Mao has definitely declared, "This Party of ours has a bright future."

## METHOD OF LENINISM con't from pg. 14

this is the main thing, as long as we have the workers peasants and working intellectuals with us, all the rest will settle itself."

This is the spirit of Leninism - the Party spirit. We must apply this Universal principle to our conditions, fight for and grasp the key link to build our Party - Political line, apply the Leninist method, thereby strengthening the ties with the Proletariat and move forward to our first Party Congress - No Mensheviks Allowed, No Right Opportunist Conciliators Allowed, No Trots Allowed, No Revisionists Allowed.

BOLSHEVIKS UNITE  
WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM  
BUILD THE PARTY ALONG NEW  
REVOLUTIONARY LINES.

"To sum up. There is a crisis in the Party. There can be no doubt about its causes. The chief danger comes from the Right. The task is to wage a determined and uncompromising struggle against this danger. The way out of the crisis is to unite all the revolutionary elements in the Party for the purpose of completely eliminating the Rights.

Advantage must be taken of the lull to strengthen the Party, to Bolshevise it and make it 'always ready' for all possible 'complications'; for 'ye know neither the day nor the hour' wherein 'the bridegroom cometh' to open the road for a new revolutionary upsurge."  
(Stalin)

# BOLSHEVIK PARTY PRESS

BOLSHEVIK is the political organ of the Revolutionary Workers League (M.L.). It is in striving to uphold the revolutionary tradition of the great Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin that we dedicate the publication of BOLSHEVIK.

BOLSHEVIK is an organ directed to forging the U.S. Bolshevik Party through hammering out the party's basic line and program - the key link we must grasp in this period to unite the genuine Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced to Communism. BOLSHEVIK is dedicated to upholding the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought by waging ruthless struggle against all forms of opportunism, particularly the dangerous Menshevik line of the opportunist wing in the U.S. Communist movement.

We plan to publish BOLSHEVIK four times a year. We strive to work in unity with the Revolutionary Wing, especially the comrades from the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization. Our propaganda, aimed at Marxist-Leninist and advanced workers, will be focused on drawing sharp and clear lines of demarcation; and we will introduce the struggle over the party's program into the polemics.

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## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF THE PRRWO

We are a communist organization. We adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and uphold the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung. We function on the basis of democratic centralism.

We fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the construction of socialism, towards the abolition of classes - the final aim of communists.

We know we cannot achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat without the armed, violent overthrow of the bourgeois state.

We know we cannot overthrow the bourgeois state without a relentless, uncompromising struggle against all forms of opportunism - revisionism, Trotskyism, Menshevism and Right Opportunist Conciliationism. We believe the main danger in the world and in the U.S. today is right opportunism - revisionism - represented most fully in the international sphere by the U.S.S.R. and in the national sphere by the "CP"USA.

We believe the building of the revolutionary proletarian party of a new type is the central and only task of all communists

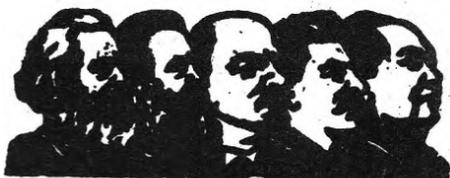
and has been since the betrayal of the "CP" USA. We call for and work towards uniting with all genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements to build our party - the party of the U.S. multi-national proletariat.

We uphold the right of nations to self-determination. We accept our responsibility to render direct and determined support to the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples against the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists understanding that the path to the abolition of the poverty, oppression and rape of the colonies is the unity between the proletariat of the oppressor nation and the peoples of the oppressed nations. No nation can be free while it oppresses another nation - the reserves of the imperialists must be turned into the reserves of the international proletariat.

We uphold the international slogan of Marxist-Leninists: "Workers and oppressed people of the world, Unite!" And we, as part of the international proletariat, take great pride in and learn from the leading revolutionary examples of the People's Republic of China and Albania.

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