

# The Future is Bright, The Bolshevik Party Cadre Building The U.S. Bolshevik Party



"The duty of the Communist Party is at once to begin preparatory work for the coming class struggles, to prepare the working class and the exploited masses for new revolutionary struggles. The fight against reformism, against social democracy must be intensified. The fight must be intensified for the forging of real revolutionary Party cadres and for the selection of real revolutionary leaders of the Party, of individuals capable of entering the fight and bringing the proletariat with them, individuals who will not run before the face of the storm and will not fall into panic, but will sail into the face of the storm. But in order to carry out this task, it is necessary at once, without the loss of a single moment, for time does not wait, to set about cleaning the Communist Parties of Right and conciliatory elements, who objectively represent the agency of social democracy within the ranks of the Communist Party. And we must set about this matter, not at the usual pace, but at an accelerated pace, for, I repeat, time does not wait, and we must not allow events to catch us unawares. A couple of years ago we might not have been so urgent about this matter, counting on the fact that the molecular process of bolshevization of the Parties would gradually eliminate the Right and the wavering elements, all the Brandler and Thalheimers, all and every factional wirepuller, etc., etc. We might not have been so urgent because there was no danger of being belated.

But matters stand differently now. To delay now means to be late, and to be late means to be caught unawares by the revolutionary crisis. Therefore, the cleansing process of the Communist Parties now proceeding is a beneficent process, strengthening the Comintern and its sections. The philistines are afraid of this beneficent process, and in their fright talk nonsense regarding the disintegration of the Comintern, just because they are philistines. Revolutionaries, on the other hand, will always welcome this beneficent process, because it is at the same time an integral part of the great cause of preparing the working class for the approaching class struggles, which is now the main task of the Communist Parties of the world. (Stalin's Speeches on the American Communist Party, p. 34 & 35)

It is quite evident by the character and quality of the present day polemics that the Party's basic line and program of action has a long rich history. The history can be best described and is best crystalized by the quality of the Bolshevik Party cadres. Undeniably, the Bolshevik Party cadres resolutely continue to wage a tit for tat struggle against all forms of opportunism; exposing, isolating and defeating attempt upon attempt of the bourgeoisie and its agents, the mensheviks, the right opportunist conciliators, the secret political police, who are trying desperately to destroy, blow-up the developing U.S. Bolshevik Party from within.

"It is obvious that the party cannot exist unless it fights the destroyers of the party with all its might", correctly said the great Lenin, this universal truth proving itself again and again as we fight the enemies of the party with all our might in order to build the revolutionary party of a new type, growing strong as we purge our ranks of opportunist elements who threaten the party, "who want to make the party of Lenin and Stalin like a party of the Second International".

All the abuses hurdled by the mensheviks and the right opportunist conciliators about how "the revolutionary wing is in shambles", "almost non-existent", "in chaos", "in disorder", and "disintegrating" - only reveals that the enemies of the Party distort, falsify and are incapable of standing on Marxism-Leninism, and therefore are failures at applying the science to our concrete conditions, coming up with turning the world on its head, attacking the glorious fight for the U.S. Bolshevik Party...The enemies of the party consider that our struggle for the party is "infantile", "diffuse", "eclectic presentation", only "brief notes". Coming forward with the absurdity that the Revolutionary wing is an anti-party block, while not producing one single word that could be called a polemic serves to further prove the bankruptcy of the sham wing, with the October League sitting as the king hegemon on the thrown of the marsh.

Why is it that the mensheviks and the right opportunist conciliators go to such great lengths at trying to falsify the historical struggle for the Party? Why do they falsify the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines?

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## Bolshevik Party Cadre

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Why are they in such a frenzied hysteria over the purges from the Revolutionary wing? Could it be that it reminds them of Lenin, of Stalin, of the Bolsheviks throughout the world who wage a struggle of extermination against opportunism - what they consider to be ultra "leftism"? Is it not a fact that their treacherous masks have been torn off their ugly faces and they can only get more treacherous as they pursue their bankruptcy. Haven't these slimy snakes been coming out more clearly with their attacks on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought? On the proletariat? On international Bolshevism? Why have they reacted so blatantly against the correctness of the line that in fact Party building is the central and only task of the proletariat in its struggle for proletarian revolution at this time, that in fact, the hammering out of the Party's basic line and program of action is the key link to Party building; that propaganda is the chief form of activity, that the analysis of the Revolutionary wing on periods, fusion, the strategic principle to Party building, the two tactical principles and the main danger, reflects reality, and the application of MLMTT. It reflects Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought - reflects the fight against the bourgeoisie and in the interest of the proletariat and the oppressed masses. The answer as to why they do all these things is clear. It is because these philistines must try to cover up their treachery.

### "Only" Bolsheviks Can Correctly Analyze History And Carry Out Correct Verdicts

Because as the Bolsheviks who are the only ones capable of correctly analyzing history and drawing out the lessons of the first, and second period of Party building, the historical struggle of the proletariat to build its Party, the truth comes out who are the real splitters, the wreckers, the traitors to the international proletariat. The glaring truth that the mensheviks are the successor of the "CP"USA, (check out the polemic in this issue of Palante on the Program) they must try to cover up that they never broke with the traditions of the Second International. Their words cannot be trusted, their declarations speak to their hypocrisy, their deeds spell treason...It is their deeds which they must try to clean up, to cover, to pretend it never happened. But history is objective truth and deeds cannot be covered up. The present, the future of the sham wing is clear, downfall, inevitable doom - standing with what's going out of being - there is no turning back. In arming the advanced class conscious workers, in training the Bolshevik Party cadres, trained to recognize the enemies of the Party no matter how well they may try to cover their tracks, no matter what mask they pull up on them nasty faces, the mensheviks and right opportunist conciliators know that in Bolshevism they find a most determined enemy. They know that Bolshevism is the most revolutionary organization in the world. They know that when we call out their lines, that when we name the exponents of this treason, the working class is being armed to fight from being a class of itself to be a class for itself fighting to carry out its historic mission, and will turn and overthrow anything that stands in its way. Without the opportunist, the bourgeoisie could not remain in power another five minutes. That is why the great Lenin taught us that without a struggle against opportunism, the struggle against imperialism is a sham and a humbug. When the Bolsheviks launch our heavy criticism against the sham marsh forces, the shoe fits and they wear it proudly, but get offended at the sharpness of our criticisms, aimed at exposing, isolating and defeating them as enemies of the working class. The social props, in turn, can only slander the Bolshevik line in hopes that they will be saved, in hopes that they can succeed in deceiving the proletariat. That is why the mensheviks have come out in defense of the purged elements from the Revolutionary wing, that is why they have come out openly in defense of the state. Check out the spinelessness of grouplets like MLOC. In the recent issue of UNITE these fruitflies came out with their defense for

Amiri Baraka and Ron Karenga. This of course served as further self-exposure. Listen to what they said:

"PRRWO and RWL's referral to people as 'gangsters' or paid bourgeois agents without support or substantiation are anti-proletarian, national chauvinist and run counter to revolution." (UNITE, Vol. 1, no. 3)

What is all this phrasemongering intended to do? It is intended to cover up who in fact is counter-revolutionary, anti-proletarian and national chauvinist. Check it out further. While they attack the Bolshevik wing of our movement, look at who they rely on for who is and who is not a secret political police.

"The FBI itself in senate testimony explained that they were responsible for promoting the conflict between the BPP and the US organizations, how they framed Karenga and carried out other such sabotage of the movement." (Ibid., p. 3)

That the state agencies not just the FBI promotes splits and conflicts in the revolutionary movement is nothing new, and certainly the FBI didn't have to tell us, for us to know it. What is also a fact is that they must try to cover up their paid bourgeois agents - this tactic of denial is an old one. To expect that the state is going to provide us with this information is a clear reflection of how MLOC, like all mensheviks, social democrats and all traitors try to present the state as an organ of reconciliation of class antagonisms. (refer to Palante, Vol. 6, No.6, "Mensheviks are objectively Agents of the Bourgeoisie") So, as to the first point of, who are the real anti-proletarian elements in the movement. Secondly, it is counter-revolutionary to cover up the fact that there are more intelligence community agencies involved in domestic counter-revolution than just the FBI. This fallacy has been propagated by the bourgeoisie to get us to relax our vigilance, to cover up the other state agencies and their front-organizations and MLOC serves the bourgeoisie well in its counter-revolutionary activity. Thirdly, it is clear that in serving the bourgeoisie it is MLOC who are the national chauvinists. They will pimp off of anyone, like Amiri Baraka, a thoroughly bankrupt element who even the cadre of CAP have a hard time defending as was so clearly demonstrated at May Day this year. But MLOC must try to eat up CAP or anyone else who is void of principle, this is the useless existence of all hegemonies. The big hegemonies are after MLOC. Listen to the O.L.:

"MLOC, in our view, is different from the above two organizations (speaking of ATM and PRRWO). We believe they have made some important contributions in the recent period. To a considerable extent, they have taken a very different, and more principled stand, on the struggle for Marxist-Leninist unity."

(Class Struggle, Spring/Summer '76, p. 88)

Birds of a feather will stick together; unity on being loyal lackies of the bourgeoisie. O.L. tires to pass off the MLOC as part of the revolutionary wing. Anyone in the least familiar with the polemics in the communist movement knows very well that there is nothing in common with the line of the Revolutionary wing and the sham sect, MLOC. Their attacks on the wing is further proof of their recognition of the vanguard, our response - "to be attached by the enemy is a good thing". And it is their attacks which O.L. claims are "contributions in this recent period". As for their "principled" stand and so called struggle for Marxist-Leninist unity, well this is all part of the Call for Mensheviks to Unite - we agree, mensheviks, unite! As for ATM, they have had unprincipled relations with MLOC for a long time, it was ATM who tried to sneak MLOC into the revolutionary wing, which we defeated and which served to intensify the struggle with ATM's line proving ATM's leadership to be conciliators who quickly degenerated into mensheviks and are on their way to revisionism - naked as a plucked chicken. ATM has had unity with O.L. on line, what keeps them "disunited" is that

# Comrade Chu Teh

Comrade Mao Tsetung,

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng,

First Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

Peking  
Comrades,

The Revolutionary Wing of the U.S. Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement joins with the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the international proletariat in mourning the death of a great revolutionary, Comrade Chu Teh, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.



Chairman Mao and Comrade Chu Teh

Comrade Chu Teh, a great proletarian revolutionary, outstanding leader of the Chinese Party, State and Army served the Chinese Revolution and the struggle of the international proletariat by devoting his life to bringing about and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, fighting against revisionism and for the cause of communism. Under the leadership of the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China he made outstanding contributions to the Party and the people through the building and development of the People's army, and expansion of the revolutionary bases.

We will turn our grief for Comrade Chu Teh into strength as we continue to heighten our vigilance and persevere in waging resolute struggle against all forms of opportunism and revisionism as we move forward in carrying out the central and only task of U.S. revolutionaries since the degeneration of the "CP"USA in 1957, the struggle to build the U.S. Bolshevik Party. The struggle to build the party has passed through two periods, the first when ideology was the key link, when the reaffirmation and

defense of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought was the key link to moving forward our political and organizational tasks. In the second period when the line between Bolshevism and Menshevism was decisively drawn, the movement divided into two wings, the sham wing, the Mensheviks and the Revolutionary Wing, the Bolsheviks.

The Mensheviks of the sham wing, the direction of the main blow in the anti-revisionist communist movement, are building the mass movement by worshipping it, are building the party from below, a party of petty bourgeois careerists, factionalists, cowards, splitters, wreckers, all in an attempt to save capitalism.

The Revolutionary Wing, waging sharp battles against all forms of opportunism and revisionism through grasping the key link of hammering out the party's basic line and program of action is carrying out our chief form of work, propaganda, our strategic principle of Bolshevization and our two simultaneous tactical principles of uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced to communism to achieve our objective of fusing the communist and workers movement and assuring that the social base of the party is the proletariat.

Inside the Revolutionary Wing the main blow is directed at the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line and its proponents hiding in the Revolutionary Wing since 1972. This second line, antagonistic to the Bolshevik line, is being flushed out in the heat of the two line struggle between Bolshevism and Menshevism. The Right Opportunist Conciliators borrow from the Bolshevik line in an attempt to cover themselves and 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 who are quickly degenerating to revisionists, both serving as a cover for the paid bourgeois agents in our midst, a cover for the state. All these opportunists, following in the footsteps of Teng Hsiao-ping in reversing correct verdicts and going against the will of the people, fear the proletariat more than the bourgeoisie, and work day and night sticking daggers in the hearts of the proletariat.

Our struggle against these treacherous opportunists continues to temper us, to bring forward granite Bolsheviks, staunch and active fighters of the proletariat, because we apply what we've learned from our teachers, from the international proletariat, from Comrade Chu Teh, we stand on principle, and the authenticity, the purity of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought.

In memory of Comrade Chu Teh, we will never lax our vigilance, we will continue to deal death blows to the enemies of the proletariat who fear the coming into being of the U.S. Bolshevik Party. We are determined to carry out our proletarian internationalist duty of building a genuine U.S. Bolshevik Party which will lead us to make history, overthrow the bourgeois rule, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and onto great battles and greater victories, until we reach our final aim, the complete abolition of classes.

**BOLSHEVISM ON THE RISE!**

The Central Committees of:  
The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization  
and  
The Revolutionary Workers League  
for  
The Revolutionary Wing  
New York, New York USA

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they are both hegemones. O.L. is after ATM's base and is willing to negotiate with them—that is why they invited them to join their organizing committee, which ATM under some pretext will probably join, because ATM is after O.L.'s base - their middle man can be MLOC. As the lines get drawn sharper and sharper it is clear where forces line up. O.L., in their greedy, very greedy, (like the class they serve) pursuit of numbers and more trash has come up with this.

"Representing a much larger grouping of Marxist-Leninists than the "Revolutionary wing" is the Revolutionary Communist Party, formerly the Revolutionary Union."

Why does the O.L. after years of struggle which resulted in R"CP" consolidating itself into a revisionist party and clearer lines of demarcation drawn as they were ousted from the communist movement, to go join their forefathers, the CPUSA outside the communist movement, come up with "within the anti-revisionist movement..... the struggle against the trends of the "wing" and the R"CP". Because just the same relation that exists today between ATM and O.L. has existed between O.L. and R"CP" hegemones - that they have unity on line but are after each other's base, and all want to be king. O.L., after "a much larger grouping of Marxist-Leninists," their own admission to being hegemones. OL, after years of trying to cover themselves up by covering up the RU who they termed ultra-leftist, as a way to keep the right opportunists menshevik line covered up, while at the same time pretending to be polemicizing, really, they were going at their competition, now throws RU a sop that they are "Marxists-Leninists" in order to be able to negotiate with Avakian and co. Further proof that what is on the rise in the O.L. line is revisionism steady and quickly on the rise as will be clearly demonstrated in their "party program". The Revolutionary Wing will take up the task of unmasking this revisionist program new twists to the same old treachery, in the coming months as we introduce the program into the polemics. All class conscious workers will take up the fight against the treason of the sham wing, and if any comrades have for whatever reason joined in this reactionary call of the O.L., break with it and join the Bolsheviks in putting the sham wing in the museum of antiquities where it belongs as we move forward to call our first Party Congress, thus putting an end to this period, thus, putting an end to anti-revisionist communist movement, thus raising to a higher level the fusion between communism and the working class movement, expressed in the birth of the U.S. Bolshevik Party.

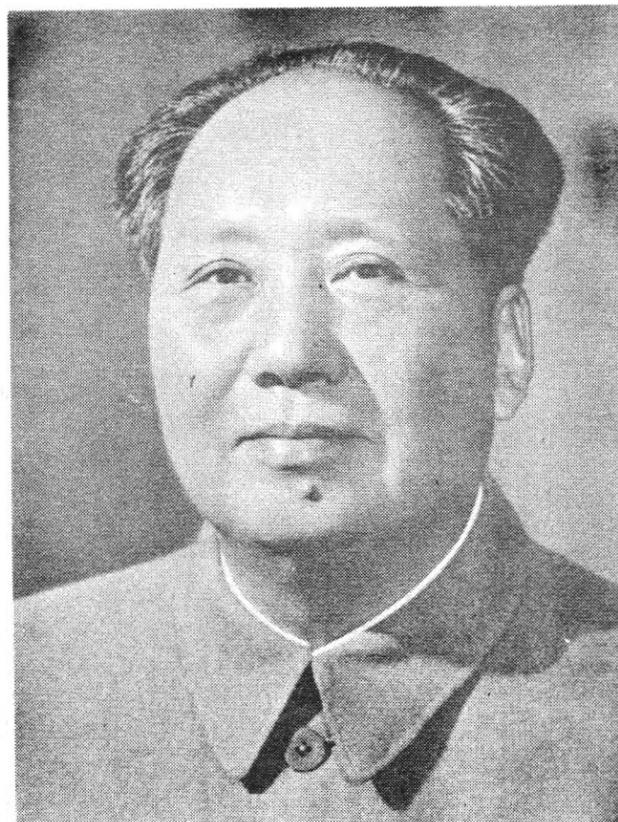
### Drawing Lines Of Demarcation-A Necessary Condition Toward Genuine Unity

It is clear that it is the opportunists who disrupt unity under the cover of outcries for unity. Unity is a great cause, but we stand with Lenin when he makes clear that there can be no unity when it is a matter of principle, that we can not unite with the enemies of the proletariat we must draw the lines clearly so that the proletariat itself can understand the struggle and take the future of its party into its own hands, decide its destiny, build it and swell its ranks with the best that the proletariat itself produces - the best fighters, the most class conscious proletarians who will safeguard the party from this opportunist pollution coming to power. This is why Lenin so clearly pointed out;

"Only those who carefully study, and ponder over and independently solve the problems and destiny of their Party deserve to be called Party members and builders of the workers' party." (Controversial Questions";

Selected Works, Vol. 1, pg. 234, Lenin)

What would have been the destiny of the Party if we left it up to the conciliators to decide? It's destiny would be bleak. It would not be a Vanguard Party of the proletariat; it would be a refuge of loafers and sinners, a place where cowardly elements would drop the pretext, and openly revise the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought (MLMTT). It would be a house of corruption and deceit, because in fact the conciliators are one of the worst brands of opportunists indeed... Trying to reverse correct verdicts, that we will not build a party of Bolsheviks and mensheviks wanting to sneak the mensheviks into the party, claiming to see the "kernel of truth" in the menshevik line, hiding out in our midst, the source of waverings, factionalism, spreading pessimism, self-cultivation, conciliation became a definite trend inside the Revolutionary Wing, since 1972, when the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line became the second line inside the Revolutionary Wing a reflection of the main danger in the communist movement - right opportunism.



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. (BUILD THE PARTY IN THE COURSE OF STRUGGLE, PEKING REVIEW, JULY 2, 1976, #27)

"Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people," correctly summed up by the glorious party - the Communist Party of China. This undeniable truth, has born out time and time again, as we have applied this principle, combing out the conciliators, achieving advances in our struggle to build the party, defeating still another attempt by the bourgeoisie to destroy it; the conciliators serving their masters well defending the mensheviks attacking the Bolsheviks, stabbing the proletariat in the back. Lenin's description

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# Grasp the Key Link, Hammering out the Party's Basic Line and Program of Action

Comrades, for the last 19 years the U.S. proletariat has been without its vanguard, its Bolshevik Party. During these 19 years there has been a relentless struggle by the proletariat and all oppressed peoples the world round against imperialism especially U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism. The U.S. proletariat, together with the oppressed nationalities and all the toiling masses, has played an important role in this struggle striking real blows at the system of imperialism, especially at the U.S. bourgeoisie, marching forward in its historical role of defeating one of the two super-powers of the first world, contributing to the world wide preparation against the growing danger of a new world war. This itself is a sign that revolution is the main trend, and that the future is indeed bright!

But without its general staff, the struggles of the proletariat, heroic as they are, were bound to be temporarily side-tracked, could not achieve the final aim. Making this analysis, advanced workers in the late '50's and '60's, together with revolutionary intellectuals fought for the creation of a genuine Bolshevik Party through the key link of ideology, turned themselves into Communists, and in 1969 gave birth to the U.S. anti-revisionist communist movement, a movement which like all things divided one into two, genuine and sham, and in 1972 there emerged two wings. The Bolsheviks, still separated in different organizations, all stood on MLMTT developing from lower to higher levels grasping that party building was the central and only task, struggled to grasp tightly to the key link, the hammering out of the Party's basic line and program of action.

It has been Bolsheviks of the Revolutionary wing that have advanced the struggle for the proletariat's line; that have purged the "RC" out of the communist movement; that have struggled to give the spontaneous movement a planned, conscious character by advancing the correct program of the seizure of state power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the instrument of proletarian revolution to carry it to its completion, in the abolition of classes, in a communist society; by developing the correct tactical line for this particular period in the revolution that party building is the central and only task, that which most scientifically meets the immediate interest of the proletariat; that have engaged in the revolutionary practice of bringing into being the Bolshevik Party, of uniting genuine Marxists-Leninists, winning the advanced to communism, carrying out the chief form of activity -- propaganda.

The Revolutionary wing has come to the head of the movement, is determining its character, has continuity with the past, are the only forces carrying out real polemics ensuring the social base of the party, purging the ranks of opportunist elements, fulfilling our ideological, political and organizational duties. The Wing is already recognized as the vanguard by the sham wing, the parties of the petty-bourgeoisie; there is no better sign of this recognition than the raunchiness of the slander, like hustlers, anti-party block, the main danger, "the onlys", Bundists and on and on. There is no self-proclamation on our part that we are the party, for we have consistently put forward that the party must be built from above, starting at the First Party Congress, concretized in unity on program, member of a party organization and financial support. But the sham wing, seeing the strength of the current line of the Revolutionary Wing, the social composition which is mainly working class, multi-national through and through, and, in accordance with the bourgeois plan, come out in unison in the efforts to stop the first U.S. Bolshevik Party Congress, and slander that we claim we are the party, in the hope that we will stop hammering out the basic line and program of action, will become self-complacent optimists because of their recognition and not call the Party Congress. But sham wing, there ain't no way.

As comrades who have been following the polemics

know, we've purged all known Mensheviks from the revolutionary Wing, defeated a recent bourgeois plot to overthrow the line and leadership of the wing, identified the main danger holding back the development of the party's basic line and program of action, the right opportunist conciliationist line, and thus intensified the struggle amongst Bolsheviks around the secondary aspect of compromise to the Right Opportunist Conciliationist line. Viewing things from its usual position of standing on its head, the sham wing calls these developing and these signs of strength, a split. We won't even give a response to this lunacy that is in the tradition of Kautsky, Bernstein, Gerald Ford and Bugs Bunny.

## The Sham Wing, Think About This

But we will give you, sham wing, something to think about. If we've been split as many times as you claim, we'd only have 2½ Bolsheviks left (which is still sufficient quality to outweigh all your sham quantity). But how could these few Bolsheviks keep getting out more and better propaganda, win over more and more advanced workers, unite with all that is honest and genuine in our movement? And why is it that in every region of the country wherever there are open forums the revolutionary wing's line is put forward gains in strength, and further reveals your defeat, higher levels of defeat shown as tit for tat struggle is continuously waged against your treachery. You treacherous snakes, suffering defeat since 1969 have had to keep coming up with new covers as you try to hide your nakedness. Once you sang agitation is the chief form of work, now you are forced to put forth the words "propaganda chief form" though you can never carry this out. You continue and can only put forward your raggedy ragsheets as you quickly degenerate to revisionists. You keep trying to come up by making trouble, you fail then you make more trouble. Sham wing, no way out of the marsh for you, the strength of the Bolshevik line is too much for you -- you have suffered defeat.

Why do you O.L., pass resolutions against something that never according to you existed, and won't let Klonsky come out of Chicago to polemicize? And MLOC, why did you have to pull up your long coat and defend the FBI as the gospel truth in your attacks against us, did we hit a nerve? ATM, your latest paper, "How not to be a Bolshevik", is over three months late, are you having trouble concealing your menshevik line in your soon to be released polemic against the wing?

WVO, the sham wing has demoted you to a fruit-fly status because of the strength of the polemics waged against you by the wing; you were just too bankrupt for them to defend, so you now find yourselves back together with IWK, your old pals, who this time will probably take only 2 years to produce a journal against the wing (it was 6 years after the formation of the U.S. anti-revisionist communist movement that IWK finally coopted to party-building as central task).

Sham wing your time is running short, the day is not far off when there will be just the U.S. Bolshevik Party leading the proletariat and oppressed masses, fighting all you sham petty-bourgeois parties, purged from the Communist Movement. As you try to answer the questions we just put forth try to think up more slander, seek more guidance from the bourgeoisie, we will, as seen, in this issue of the Party's press, deepen our grasp of the development of the correct line in the U.S. anti-revisionist movement, further polemicize around the Party's basic line and program of action fight to link the immediate and long-range interests of the proletariat by carrying out party building as the central and only task, drawing sharp and clear lines of demarcation.

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## Key Link

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### Sham Wing Carries Out Traditions Of CP"USA And Second International

This polemic will be divided into three parts, this the first, with the next two being in the next two issues of Palante. We will analyze the line and program of the "CP"USA in the 30's, draw out the unities with the revisionist program of the "RC"P, and with the program of the sham wing of our movement, which is not yet fully elaborated, but whose basic features have been laid out by the O.L. and ATM. We do this to show how the "RC"P like the CP of the 30's will degenerate into full, total revisionism, and how the secondary aspect of revisionism of the sham wing is rapidly rising menshevism degenerating more and more as the sham wing is forced to lay out its program, revealing even further treachery, forced to develop even more theoretical justifications. First we must look at the objective conditions that gave rise to these opportunist lines, then we will analyze the basic features of the "CP"USA's program in the 30's.

- 1) The historical conditions, characterized by sharpening of all the basic contradictions in the world, that gave rise to the revisionist program of CPUSA in the 30's.

(A) General Crisis of Imperialism - as capitalism moved from "free" to monopoly capitalism, the twentieth century marked the development of the world wide general crisis of imperialism to date. In 1928, the entire capitalist world was shook by the worst crisis to date, and as Stalin said, "The crisis has struck deepest of all at the principle country of capitalism, its citadel, the USA."

(B) The continued development of the main trend of revolution.

"There has been a further increase in the revolutionary upsurge bound up with the sharp reduction in the standard of living of the working class, the monstrous development of unemployment, the ruination of the office workers and urban petty bourgeoisie, the mass robbery of the peasantry, the extreme impoverishment of the colonies and the growing revolutionary role of the U.S.S.R.

"The growing revolutionary upsurge found expression in: (a) the further intensification of the strike struggle and the unemployment movement, (b), the development and strengthening of Soviets and of the Red Army over a considerable area in China, (c), the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, (d), the development of the revolutionary peasant movement, (e), the growth of the political and organizational influence of a number of important Communist Parties (Germany, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland), (f), the sharp intensification of oppositional ferments within the Social Democracy, (g), the growth of an opposition among the petty-bourgeois masses of the towns, office employees and civil servants." (the Executive Committee of the Communist International, (April, 1931)

(C) The Rising danger of War and Fascism - As the only way out of the general crisis for the imperialist forced to try and redivide the world the danger of war was increasing, Japanese imperialism had invaded China. Mussolini and Hitler were being supported and cultivated by the Italian and German bourgeoisie. The League of Nations was steadily talking disarmament and peace, while the U.S. military budget surpasses all other countries, increasing 48% in 4 years (from 1928 to 1932).

There developed along with the expansion of budgets, encirclement plans to attack the Soviet Union, and reactionary tariff wars between the imperialist, the ideological and political apologists. - The sham parties of the Second International, once again rushing to the defense of capitalism, propagated that the proletariat was the cause of the crisis, the national liberation struggles in the colonies were the problem, the millions of unemployed workers are the problem, anything but imperialism and the bourgeois class. These social-democr

by trying to misdirect the struggles of the proletariat and oppressed masses, trying to beat back the developing revolutionary consciousness became social-fascists, paving the way for out and out reaction.

### Current Conditions- Revolution Is The Main Trend

Since that time, there have occurred a great many changes in the objective conditions. The Soviet Union, the first socialist country is now an imperialist superpower, and together with U.S. imperialism, constitutes the First World. The Third World, headed by the socialist Peoples Republic of China, and composed of the more than 40 independent developing countries and millions of oppressed peoples, constitutes the main force in world revolution. Between the First and Third World are the developed capitalist countries the Second World.

As we have repeatedly pointed out, the imperialist system is in an economic and political crisis, and there exists today the danger of war with the principle source of war being the Soviet Social Imperialists.

Chairman Mao in his statement, "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!" pointed out on May 20, 1970:

"The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today." (Study Philosophy, "The Theory of Two Points", p. 8)

This is the situation today as continues to be brought out by our Chinese comrades:

"Hard hit by rising unemployment and ruthless exploitation by the monopoly capitalists, the people of these countries rose wave upon wave for a better life and against exploitation. The struggle of the third world countries against imperialist countries, particularly the superpowers is gaining. The revolutionary situation is excellent." (Peking Review, #6, 1976)

And most recently the excellent situation favorable to the revolutionary people continues to be put forth by our Chinese comrades.

"The current international situation is characterized by the fact that the world continues to advance amidst great turmoil and the situation is excellent and is becoming more and more favorable to the revolutionary people of all countries and unfavorable to imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism." (Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Speech, Peking Review, June 18, 1976)

From this very brief analysis we can see the similarity of the historical conditions. We laid this out, because, in polemicizing against a line, we must understand the conditions that gave rise to it, so as to avoid making similar deviations when the basic conditions reappear in a slightly different form.

These conditions now, as well as the conditions in the late 20's and 30's both gave rise to the same main deviation the overestimation of the objective factors, giving rise to the same main danger, revisionism, right opportunism.

Now we will deal with the CP. It is necessary to polemicize against the CPUSA's program in the 30's because it is from here that all of our current opportunists gain their strength. The O.L., for example, has been running off at the mouth lately about the revolutionary traditions of the C.P. What they claim to be referring to is the organizing drives, Scottsboro boys mobilizations, etc., in short, the mass mobilizations. But what they really mean is the political line and program, which they have snuck-back into the communist movement. When they sum-up the treacherous betrayal of the C.P. they claim that it was the result of a few evil men, a metaphysical analysis, never taking it to line.

"The CP's abandonment of democratic centralism was the result of the take over of the party by a revisionist

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# Editorial Statement

As we move closer to the first Party Congress of the U. S. Bolshevik Party through correctly carrying out our central and only task, grasping the key link of hammering out the Party's basic line and program of action, we must continue to ensure that the Party cadre are ideologically, politically and organizationally equipped to handle the road forward, to give leadership to the struggles ahead.

The Bolshevik Party press, carrying out our chief form of activity, propaganda, is serving to equip the party cadre, is used to train and consolidate party cadre on political line. The practice of the Revolutionary wing has been to train cadre ideologically, politically and organizationally to distinguish between two classes, two roads, two lines as we unite Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced to communism, our two simultaneous tactical principles.

We can trace in the press the development of the line of the Revolutionary Wing from a perceptual to a rational level and then to revolutionary practice, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. The line of the wing did not develop in a straight line, did not develop without zigs and zags, but we have summed up our errors and learned from them.

The line of the Revolutionary wing, at the level of revolutionary practice, reflects the correct relation between knowledge and practice; reflects correctly applying MLMTT to our concrete conditions as summed up the line of the Revolutionary wing on periods, fusion, chief form of activity, tactical and strategic principles, the main danger

The fact that the line of the Revolutionary wing is at the level of revolutionary practice is seen in the "real world" unlike what the sham wing pretends/distorts to be the case. They can only rage in a frenzy that we are an isolated sect divorced from the real world - they can never prove this. Check out our deeds. Our deeds speak to the correctness of the line of the Revolutionary wing. You know this, that's why you sham forces have yet to substantiate any of your lies, your distortions. And your polemics on the wing - where are they? You know you're skating on thin ice because you don't want to slip up and straight up call Lenin and Stalin ultra-left. But some of your strange bedfellows have fallen on the ice, have slipped and from their mouth the words, "Lenin was ultra-left." Shame on you "mad-men of the Krushchev-type." Again, we dare you to check our deeds against your lies. Comrade Mao says:

"Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world."

(On Practice, p. 308)

This has been our practice, the practice of genuine Bolsheviks of the Revolutionary Wing. We were not content with a perceptual grasp of carrying out our central and only task; we have not become complacent with successes or demoralized through set-backs. No, we have continuously heightened our vigilance in the struggle against political swindlers, opportunists, revisionists. We have continued to persist and will persist in raising perceptual understandings to a rational and then take a leap to revolutionary practice as we correctly handle the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge. This is the level of line of the Revolutionary wing - revolutionary practice which none can deny.

But we have not stopped here - we are for the realization of our aim - the building of the Party as our central and only task, the immediate interest of the proletariat, smashing the bourgeois state and bringing about the dictatorship of the proletariat, our strategic objective.

As we move forward, no revisionists, mensheviks, right opportunist conciliators, paid agents can stop us. As stumbling blocks get in our way, we continue to use MLMTT applied to our concrete conditions to serve the interests of the proletariat.

As we move forward, we prepare to take on all difficulties, to move ahead with changing conditions. We, all genuine Bolsheviks, must be prepared to move to the First Party Congress! Again, let us take lessons from Chairman Mao:

"As far as social movements are concerned, true revolutionary leaders must not only be good at correcting their ideas, theories, plans or programmes when errors are discovered, as has been indicated above; but when a certain objective process has already progressed and changed from one stage of development to another, they must also be good at making themselves and all their fellow-revolutionaries progress and change in their subjective knowledge along with it, that is to say, they must ensure that the proposed new revolutionary tasks and new working programmes correspond to the new changes in the situation. In a revolutionary period the situation changes very rapidly, if the knowledge of revolutionaries does not change rapidly in accordance with the changed situation, they will be unable to lead the revolution to victory." (On Practice, p. 306, our emphasis)

Such is the spirit with which the revolutionary wing, the new forces, are taking on the task of building the Party along new revolutionary lines, as we progress closer to the First Party Congress.

Yes, we are steadily moving forward, purging our ranks of dead weight opportunists, having a lighter load to carry as we move forward, dealing death blows to any who try to stop the Party from becoming a reality.

The polemics are intensifying as the bourgeoisie and their agents become more and more frightened, coming forward with sham programs and parties in an attempt to try to fool Bolsheviks. Bullshit! As these programs and parties continue to come forward, the Bolshevik Party cadre standing firmly on the line of the Revolutionary wing, trained in the heat of two line struggle to detect the sham from genuine, will deal death blows to and nakedly expose the revisionist programs and parties following in the footsteps of their parents "CP"SU and "CP"USA revisionists, i.e., "RC"P to O.L., ATM and their fruitflies, the Titos who will be holding hands with them dancing to long live Krushchev and Co., i.e., IWK, CAP, Resistencia and MLOC.

As the polemics intensify, we put forward additional theoretical works comrades are required to study as we uphold our responsibility of raising the political and theoretical level of Bolshevik party cadres. We take our instructions from Comrade Stalin seriously:

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## Editorial Statement

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"If our Party propaganda for some reason or other goes lame, if the Marxist-Leninist training of our cadres begin to languish, if our work of raising the political and theoretical level of these cadres flags, and the cadres themselves cease on account of this to show interest in the prospect of our further progress, cease to understand the truth of our cause and are transformed into narrow plodders with no outlook, blindly and mechanically carrying out instructions from above - then our entire state and Party work must inevitably languish. It must be accepted as an axiom that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of state or Party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and the more effective the results of the work; and, vice versa, the lower the political level of the workers, and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether. It may be confidently stated that if we succeeded in training the cadres in all branches of our work ideologically and in schooling them politically to such an extent as to enable them easily to orientate themselves in the internal and international situation; if we succeeded in making them quite mature Marxists-Leninists capable of solving the problems involved in the guidance of the country without serious error, we would have every reason to consider nine-tenths of our problem already settled. And we certainly can accomplish this, for we have all the means and opportunities for doing so." (Stalin, Report to the Eighteenth Congress, in The Essential Stalin, p. 377)

Putting forward centralized PE through the pages of the Bolshevik Party press is no new thing. Check our deeds - centralized PE has been put forth in our political organ, Palante, our theoretical journal, Bolshevik, our pamphlets (particularly in the Introduction and "Lenin's Revolutionary Heritage" in Party Building in the Heat of the Class Struggle), our shop papers and leaflets. We have put forward particular works comrades must study as well as study in the polemics of the wing 'of long quotes' from the teachers. For the Revolutionary wing, study of the classics is mandatory - for sham wing, study of classics is optional and study of their ragsheets is mandatory. On each and every question, the revolutionary wing and sham wing take two fundamentally different roads. We do not study classics as abstract dogma but as a guide to action - they are studied along with the propapaganda of the wing.

"From the Marxist viewpoint, theory is important, and its importance is fully expressed in Lenin's statement, 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.' But Marxism emphasizes the importance of theory precisely and only because it can guide action...The active function of knowledge manifests itself not only in the active leap from perceptual to rational knowledge, but - and this is more important - it must manifest itself in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice." (On Practice, p. 304)

Moving towards the First Party Congress, hammering out the Party's basic line and program of action still the key link, we must take up the following study along with the polemics. This is a DIRECTIVE that must be implemented as we persevere in reading and study.

### P.E. CURRICULUM

"LET US QUOTE WHAT ENGELS SAID IN 1874 CONCERNING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THEORY IN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT. ENGELS RECOGNIZES, NOT TWO FORMS OF THE GREAT STRUGGLE OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY (POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC), AS IS THE FASHION AMONG US, BUT THREE, PLACING THE THEORETICAL STRUGGLE ON PAR WITH THE FIRST TWO."  
Lenin, What Is To Be Done, SW, Vol. 1

- Lenin - "Letter to a Comrade" - LCW, Vol. 6
- Lenin - "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back", (Parts G,H,I), LCW, Vol. 5
- Lenin - "Our Program", LCW, Vol. 4
- Lenin - "Critique of Plekanov's Program", LCW, Vol. 4
- August Palante, Vol. 6, #8, "Grasp the Key Link, Hammering Out the Party's Basic Line and Program of Action"
- Stalin - Foundations of Leninism, "The Party", chapter 8
- Lenin On the Revolutionary Party of a New Type - "Programme" (first section)
- "Overcoming Empiricism" in Study Philosophy
- The Comintern Thesis on Organization - Principles of Party Organization
- Mao - "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership", MSW, Vol. 3
- Hoxha - "On Theoretical and Practical Significance of Organizational Work", EHS, 1969-1970
- Lenin - "The New Faction of Conciliators", LCW, Vol. 17
- August Palante, Vol. 6, #8, "The Future is Bright, the Bolshevik Party Cadre Building the U.S. Bolshevik Party"
- Stalin - Dialectical and Historical Materialism
- Lenin - "Draft Program of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party", LCW, Vol. 6
- Lenin - "Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism",
- Marx - "Critique of the Gotha Program", SWME, Vol 3
- Engels - "Critique of the Efurt Program", SWME, Vol. 3
- Lenin on the Revolutionary Party of a New Type, Section 6
- September Palante - Vol. 6, #9
- Lenin - "Our Immediate Task", LCW, Vol. 4
- Mao - "Method of Work of Party Committees", MSW, Vol. 4
- "How Engels Criticized Duhring's Apriorism", in Study Philosophy (Peking Review Reprints)
- Hoxha - "Circular to the Party Organizations of the Tirana Region on the Strengthening of the Party and the Revolutionary Spirit", EHSW, Vol. 1

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# A Confession of Attempts at Reversal Of Verdicts and Restoration

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WHEN the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts last year, he issued instructions for the concoction of an article entitled "On the General Programme for All Work of the Party and the Country." It went to great lengths to preach that "taking the three directives as the key link"\* was the "general programme for all work" not only "for the present" but also "for the next 25 years." This big poisonous weed of more than ten thousand words, which he had not yet had the time to publish, is an excellent teaching material by negative example and a confession of his attempts at reversal of verdicts and restoration. A critical analysis of the article shows that Teng Hsiao-ping's "taking the three directives as the key link" was an out-and-out revisionist programme, that Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers had theory and a programme in their organized Right deviationist activities to reverse correct verdicts, and that they had resorted to intrigues and conspiracies.

It must be pointed out that Teng Hsiao-ping pinned great hopes on this article. "When this article is published," he exclaimed, "it means a blow has been delivered." What kind of "blow" was it? And what did they want to strike at? A look at the counter-revolutionary incident that took place at Tien An Men Square, where a handful of class enemies committed arson and beat up people, shows that the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party invariably brandishes two "fists" — counter-revolutionary public opinion and counter-revolutionary violence. Their revisionist "blows" were directed at the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, at Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and at the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## Attacking Cultural Revolution on the Pretext of "Opposing Leftism"

From beginning to end this article on the "general programme" attacked the Great Cultural Revolution on the pretext of "criticizing Lin Piao" and "opposing Leftism." Lin Piao pushed an ultra-Right revisionist line but the authors of the article, out of ulterior motives, called it an "ultra-Left" line. They raised a hue and cry, saying that there could be no political stability and unity unless the "pernicious Leftist influence is completely wiped out." Since these people consistently took an ultra-Right stand, they looked on the Cultural Revolution as "ultra-Left." What they meant by "opposing Leftism" was in fact opposing Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line. Their so-called "criticizing Lin Piao" was a mere sham; what they really wanted to do was to negate the Cultural Revolution.

What is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in essence a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. The main target of the movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao has pointed out recently: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." To negate the fact that the main target of the Great Cultural Revolution is the capitalist-roaders in the Party means negating the entire Cultural Revolution. Teng Hsiao-ping slandered that the Cultural Revolution had "harmed experienced cadres," and the article concocted at his bidding made a concentrated attack on the Cultural Revolution for having "overthrown good Party cadres." Shouldn't the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao be overthrown? Shouldn't

the handful of renegades, special agents and counter-revolutionaries who had wormed their way into the Party be expelled? Shouldn't those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road be exposed and criticized? The Great Cultural Revolution has given the cadres a profound education in class struggle and the two-line struggle and has saved a number of cadres who committed mistakes. This is of great help to them in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The article, however, did not say a word about Chairman Mao's important instructions on the nature, target and tasks of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, but slandered the criticism of capitalist-roaders as "ultra-Left," viciously attacked the Cultural Revolution, made complaints on behalf of those capitalist-roaders who refused to mend their ways, and instigated those cadres who had committed mistakes and been criticized by the masses to resent the Great Cultural Revolution. This revealed once again that when Teng Hsiao-ping declared "I'll never reverse the verdict," he was only following the trick of "recoiling in order to extend" practised by the disciples of Confucius and Mencius.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an unprecedented great mass movement. "Never before in any mass movement have the masses been aroused so thoroughly and on so broad a scale." Chairman Mao has highly commended and warmly praised the revolutionary spirit of hundreds of millions of people who rose to rebel against the capitalist-roaders in the Party during the Cultural Revolution. The historical experience of the proletarian dictatorship proves that, to prevent revisionists from coming to power, it won't do to depend only on a few persons, but the people of the whole country must be aroused to fight. The Great Cultural Revolution is a great practice to combat and prevent revisionism by mobilizing and relying on the broad masses. Teng Hsiao-ping consistently held the idealist conception of history that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid" as advocated by Confucius, and alleged that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." Following his cue, the authors of the article vilified the masses as being liable to follow others blindly and to rebel in a wanton manner. In the eyes of Teng Hsiao-ping, the masses are an ignorant mob. His venomous attack on the mass movement of the Cultural Revolution shows that this struggle has hit the capitalist-roaders in the Party where it hurts and demonstrates the immense power of the revolutionary mass movement. Setting themselves against the masses and venting their hatred on them, these capitalist-roaders fully revealed their reactionary features as bourgeois lords in the Party. In 1959 when he refuted the fallacy of Peng Teh-huai, ringleader of the revisionist line, in opposing the revolutionary mass movement, Chairman Mao said: "Do you see how Lenin criticized the renegade Plekhanov and those 'bourgeois gentlemen and their hangers-on,' 'the curs and swine of the moribund bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeois democrats who trail behind them'? If not, will you please have a look?"

While giving instructions to write the article, Teng Hsiao-ping spread the idea: "Forget everything about the Great Cultural Revolution; don't think about it and don't mention it. My memory is bad. I've forgotten everything." These few sentences completely revealed his hatred and grudge against the Cultural Revolution. What he was driving at was: I don't give a hang about the Cultural Revolution; I just consider nothing had happened. I'll go on following the capitalist road the way I did before the Cultural Revolution! As to his tale about "bad memory" and that he had "forgotten everything," it was only meant to deceive the people. The series of unbridled activities he had carried out fully showed that what he was engrossed in day and night was to settle old scores and restore capitalism, and that he would not be reconciled unless the proletariat and the revolutionary people were put down and the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution was reversed.

## Reversing the Correct Appraisal of Cultural Revolution by So-Called "Rectification"

In order to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution, Teng Hsiao-ping maliciously proposed that "there is the need at present to carry out rectification in all fields of work." The article written on his instruction alleged: "It is imperative to take the three directives as the key link to sum up the rich experience gained since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, formulate specific

policies for different fields of work, and use this general work programme and various policies to guide and rectify all fields of work." When Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers proposed "taking the three directives as the key link" to "sum up" the Cultural Revolution, didn't they mean to say that the summing-up of the Cultural Revolution at the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses was no longer valid? "The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." Doesn't this directive of Chairman Mao's still hold good? It is quite obvious that to make a summing-up in accordance with Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist programme and line could only mean a counterattack on the Great Cultural Revolution. In advocating "formulating" various policies and "rectifying" all fields of work, he simply wanted to negate and oppose the proletarian policies laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party and transform the work in all fields as well as transform our Party and state in the image of the bourgeoisie.

The article on the "general programme" listed nine aspects which needed to be "rectified," the "emphasis" being on Party rectification and the "key point" on the leading bodies. It clamoured for overthrowing the "class enemies who oppose Marxism" and for "seizing back the leadership." The so-called "class enemies who oppose Marxism" had a specific reactionary implication: it referred to the proletarian revolutionaries who firmly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It is only too natural for those who practise revisionism to regard those who uphold Marxism and the dictatorship of the proletariat as their class enemies. They also maliciously linked the "class enemies who oppose Marxism" with the renegade and traitor Lin Piao, describing them as having "inherited Lin Piao's mantle" and "followed in Lin Piao's steps." Actually, these words are most suitable for describing themselves. The vast amount of facts brought to light during the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind prove that it is none other than the unrepentant capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-ping who had inherited the mantle of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao's revisionist line, used the old trick of waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag and frenziedly opposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In trying to hoodwink the people and create confusion, in vilifying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the proletarian revolutionaries and in speaking out what the handful of overt and covert counter-revolutionaries dare not speak, Teng Hsiao-ping's real aim was to split our Party, sow discord among the masses and seize power from the proletariat.

What was Teng Hsiao-ping up to in pressing ahead so recklessly with his attempt to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and seize power from the proletariat? The article on the "general programme" gave the best answer! He wanted to change the Party's basic line and bring about an all-round restoration of capitalism.

## Effecting Capitalist Restoration in the Name Of Grasping Production

The article on the "general programme" started off with this statement: The Second Plenary Session of the Party's Tenth Central Committee and the Fourth National People's Congress put forward the magnificent task of developing the national economy for the next 25 years. Immediately following this, the authors of the article specified that "taking the three directives as the key link" was to be the "general programme for all work" for the remaining quarter of this century. Here they deliberately tampered with the spirit of the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Tenth Central Committee and the Fourth National People's Congress, distorted our Party's slogan for persistently taking class struggle as the key link in achieving socialist modernization in the next 25 years, and by a sleight of hand took over the "25 years" and wedded it to the so-called "taking the three directives as the key link," turning upside down the relationship between revolution and production and between politics and economy, which is a relationship between the commander and

\*The revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" was dished out in summer last year. Waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag and using an eclectic sleight of hand, the unrepentant capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-ping with ulterior motives distorted Chairman Mao's directives, putting the directive on studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and combatting and preventing revisionism on a par with the directives on stability and unity and on pushing the national economy forward and describing all three as the "general programme for all work." This trick of confusing the principal with the secondary and replacing the former with the latter was an attempt to negate the Party's basic line and Chairman Mao's repeated instructions on taking class struggle as the key link for all work in the period of socialism.

## Key Link

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clique with a vested class interest of their own, as loyal servants of imperialism and social imperialism."

(O.L. Constitution)

### OL's Analysis Holds No Water

No, this analysis holds no water. It was the systematic reversing of correct verdicts laid down by the Comintern, the persistent refusal to Bolshevize its ranks, the right opportunist political line and program that led to the total abandonment of M-L, including democratic centralism, that allowed the opportunists like Browder and Foster and company to come to power.

Just like the "RC" P, which praises the factionalist careerist William Z. Foster as a great Marxist-Leninist, the O.L. tries all kinds of tricks to keep the C.P. line in the 30's covered.

And why do they have to raise up Foster, why not Lovestone or Browder? Because the revisionist lines of Lovestone and Browder have been so thoroughly exposed throughout the entire international communist movement and to raise them up would defeat the purpose of trying to keep the line covered up. Both Lovestone and Browder were classic Bernsteins, and as Comrade Lenin drew out in his polemics with Bernsteinism, especially in Marxism and Revisionism, they both revised the science of MLMTT in the areas of philosophy, political economy, the dictatorship of the proletariat and politics. Lovestone, after he was purged, further demonstrated his treachery to the proletariat, and like many of the purged traitors from the wing today, dropped all covers and went to work directly for the state, working with the CIA front of the American Federation of International Trade Union Federations, a front responsible for ensuring fascist control over the U.S. colonies and neo-colonies. And the line of Browder who out and out liquidated the Party in 1944 was so thoroughly revisionists, so exposed by the Comintern, in struggle with several other Communist Parties, that the Communist Party was forced to purge him and sum his line up as:

"It is clear from all this that, despite its specific features which bear the imprint of the special relation of forces existing internationally and within the United States on the basis of which this revisionist system arose and developed, Browder's revisionism is, in its fundamentals, a continuation and further development under new conditions of the revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky, Bukarin and Lovestone."  
(Marxism-Leninism vs. Revisionism, Foster, Duclos, Dennis & Williamson, p. 4 & 5)

But the line of Foster, the line of the CP during the '30's when it was quantitatively strongest, here is some good cover for the opportunists. Not satisfied with distorting the history of the anti-revisionist communist movement, they come back and try to distort the history of the CPUSA, to find a way to hide their own bankrupt lines. Since they do this, then we must go back and sum-up the real line of the CP at that time, for we've told you sham wing, time and time again, you have no place to hide.

The line and program of the CPUSA is comprehensively laid out in Foster's book, Toward Soviet America, written in 1932. Before we deal with this work, which is used by the "RC" P as the blueprint for its program we must say a few words about the "great" Foster.

Foster's cover developed as a member of the International Workers of the World (IWW), the Wobblies, a syndicalist, dual-unionist organization in the early 1900's. He split from the Wobblies, broke with the dual unionists line, made a flip-flop to economism, and after a few false starts at forming his own organization, finally succeeded in forming the Trade Union Education League in 1920. The line of Foster's pet organization, the organization which was to give him his credibility as a leader of the masses, is laid out in his book, American Trade Unionism,

"The working theory of the league is the establishment of a left bloc of all the revolutionary and progressive elements in the

trade unions, as against the autocratic machine of the reactionary bureaucracy.

Thus, in order that these various elements of the different political persuasions can cooperate together, the policy of the organizations must be essentially industrial in character. Except for condemning the fatal Gompers political policy and advocating the general proposition of independent working class political action, the league leaves political questions to the several parties. Its work is primarily in the industrial field." (American Trade Unionism, p. 79 Foster)

Opportunism straight up. No anarcho-syndicalists, no "left" line, like the O.L. tries to claim, just like they try to say that the "RC" P is "left" opportunists, covering the real character of the line, of the TUEL and "RC" P Intermediate Workers Organizations, modeled on Foster's organizations.

### Trade Union Neutrality, A Bourgeois Line

Comrades, this line, actually the line of the CPUSA, which was mouthed by the TUEL, is one of trade union neutrality, a bourgeois line long ago exposed by Lenin. Trade union neutrality, "leaving political questions to the several parties", can only mean the strengthening of the influence of the bourgeois parties, of bourgeois ideology. The line of the trade union neutrality is a line of class capitulation, a line of the "harmony of labor and capital", a line which capitulates to the trade union bureaucrats in exchange for a few dollars, a few positions in the Bureaucracy itself. The correct position is that Communists must strive for the closest possible political unity between the Party and the trade union. At this time it means that we strengthen the revolutionary practice of bringing into being the party, continue to hammer out the Party's basic line and program of action, and continue the chief form of activity of propaganda, aimed at Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers. In doing this, we will strengthen the factory nuclei, further develop the united front from below, thus laying the prerequisites for capturing the unions. This is in fundamental opposition to the sham wings' "move the unions to the left", or "militant upsurgers" in opposition to the CPUSA's neutrality, this stands on MLMTT. As Lenin says,

"Now, on the question of trade unions, equally strong emphasis should be placed on the fact that Bolshevism applies the tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy in all fields of struggle, in all spheres of activity. What distinguishes Bolshevism from Menshevism is not that the former "repudiates" work in the trade unions or the co-operative societies, etc., but that the former takes a different line in the work of propaganda, agitation, and organization of the working class. Today activity in the trade unions undoubtedly assumes tremendous importance. In contrast to the neutralism of the Mensheviks we must conduct this activity on the lines of closer alignment of the unions with the Party, of the development of socialist consciousness and an understanding of the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat." (Lenin, On Trade Unions, p. 194)

### Comrade Stalin Criticized Foster

It is clear where Foster took his stand, it was against Lenin. And he just as clearly took his stand against Stalin and the Comintern, part of his betrayal to the proletariat. Comrade Stalin polemicized against the incorrect line of the CPUSA in May, 1929. He said,

"It cannot be denied that American conditions form a medium in which it is easy for the American Communist Party to be led astray and exaggerate the strength and stability of American capitalism. These conditions lead our comrades from America, both the majority and the minority, into errors of the type of the right deviation. Owing to these conditions, at times one section, at others,

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the other section, fails to realize the full extent of reformism in America, underestimates the leftward swing of the working class, and, in general, is inclined to regard American capitalism as something apart from and above world capitalism. That is the basis for the insteadness of both sections of the American Communist Party in matters of principle." (Stalin's Speeches on The American Communist Party, p. 12)

In addition to dealing with the general line of the CPUSA, Stalin also made specific criticism of Foster, head of the minority faction referred to above. Comrade Stalin, in his speech at the Executive Committee of the Comintern said,

"Did not Comrade Foster know that he should have held aloof from the concealed Trotskyites that were in his group? Why, in spite of repeated warnings did he not repudiate them at that time? Because he behaved first and foremost as a factionalist. Because in the factional fight against the Lovestone group even concealed Trotskyites might be useful to him. Because the blindness of factionalism dulls the sense in people and makes them indiscriminating as to the means they employ. It is true, such policy is bad and irreconcilable with the interests of the Party. But factionalist as a rule are inclined to forget the interests of the Party all they can think of is their own factional point of view." (Stalin's Speeches, p. 28 on CPUSA)

Did the "great" Foster take this criticism to heart, and seek to resolutely apply it, especially in the area under his direct control? No. As we will see from the words of the careerist and factionalists himself, he never united with these criticisms of overestimation of the objective factors and belittlement of the subjective factor on the part of both factions in the CPUSA, of which he was one of the heads.

Foster stood on the right opportunist line of the CPUSA, tried to conceal his own hegemonism by "struggling" against Lovestone, and continued to develop the same old economism of the TUEL, just changing its name in September 1929 to the Trade Union Unity League. Even Foster has to admit that the line of the T.U.U.L. was fundamentally the same, that he totally disregarded the teachings of Lenin and Stalin.

"Except for the important new union developments, the convention contained and developed the general policies of the old TUEL." (American Trade Unionism, Foster, p. 179)

No radical rupture, no effort to Bolshevize the ranks of the Party and implement the M-List line in all areas. And flowing from standing on this opportunist line, the opportunism, careerism of Foster, sharply criticized by Stalin, did not disappear, it took more subtle forms, only to come out raw in the struggle over the dissolution of the Party in 1944.

Foster, just like our opportunists of today, stopped at nothing to further his own hegemonic plan. Foster concealed Trots, John Spearman and Carmen Cruz concealed Mensheviks, Conciliators, and secret political police. ATM tried to sneak the MLOC, a menshevik sect, into the wing to support its line. The O.L. as we pointed out openly recruited pigs so as to swell the numbers in their factional fight with the RU. Sham wing, you have learned good from your forefather Foster. But we Bolsheviks have learned, too, from the proletariat, from the Great Stalin, who concluded his speech on the CPUSA with,

"The duty of the Communist Party is at once to begin preparatory work for the coming class struggle, to prepare the working class and the exploited masses for new revolutionary struggles. The fight against reformism, against social democracy must be intensified. The fight must be intensified for the forging of real revolutionary Party cadres and for the selection of real revolutionary leaders of the Party, of individuals capable of

entering the fight and bringing the proletariat with them, individuals who will not run before the face of the storm and will not fall into panic, but will sail into the face of the storm. But in order to carry out this task, it is necessary at once, without the loss of a single moment, for time does not wait, to set about cleaning the Communist Parties of Right and conciliatory elements, who objectively represent the agency of social democracy within the ranks of the Communist Party. And we must set about this matter, not at the usual pace, but at an accelerated pace, for I repeat, time does not wait, and we must not allow events to catch us unaware. A couple of years ago we might not have been so urgent about this matter, counting on the fact that the molecular process of bolshevization of the Parties would gradually eliminate the Right and the wavering elements, all the Brandlers and Thalheimers, all and every factional wirepuller, etc., etc. We might not have been so urgent because there was no danger of being belated.

But matters stand differently now. To delay now means to be late, and to be late means to be caught unaware by the revolutionary crisis. Therefore the cleansing process of the Communist Parties now proceeding is a beneficent process, strengthening the Comintern and its sections. The philistines are afraid of this beneficent process, and in their fright talk nonsense regarding the disintegration of the Comintern, just because they are philistines. Revolutionaries, on the other hand, will always welcome this beneficent process, because it is at the same time an integral part of the great cause of preparing the working class for the approaching class struggles, which is now the main task of the Communist Parties of the world.

The merit of the draft of the Commission, consists in the fact, among others, that it assists the Communist Party of America in carrying this main task into effect." (Stalin's Speeches on the American Communist Party, p. 34-35)

Bolshevik Party cadre of the Revolutionary wing, doesn't this directive sound familiar? Isn't this the very line that the Revolutionary wing has firmly been standing on and relentlessly applying? Of course it is! The strength of the international proletariat, of the Communist International of Lenin and Stalin is arming us; we have no fear, and no amount of slander and attack from the bourgeoisie and its agents in the sham wing will make us waver, for we truly stand with what is rising, and rising fast and hard.

And sham wing, what hope is there for you? Look at the degeneration of Foster's line and you'll get an idea. In 1939, in the area that the sham wing raises him up to be such an expert on, Foster wrote,

"Q. Do Communists form factions (sic!) (organized party groups) within the trade unions?

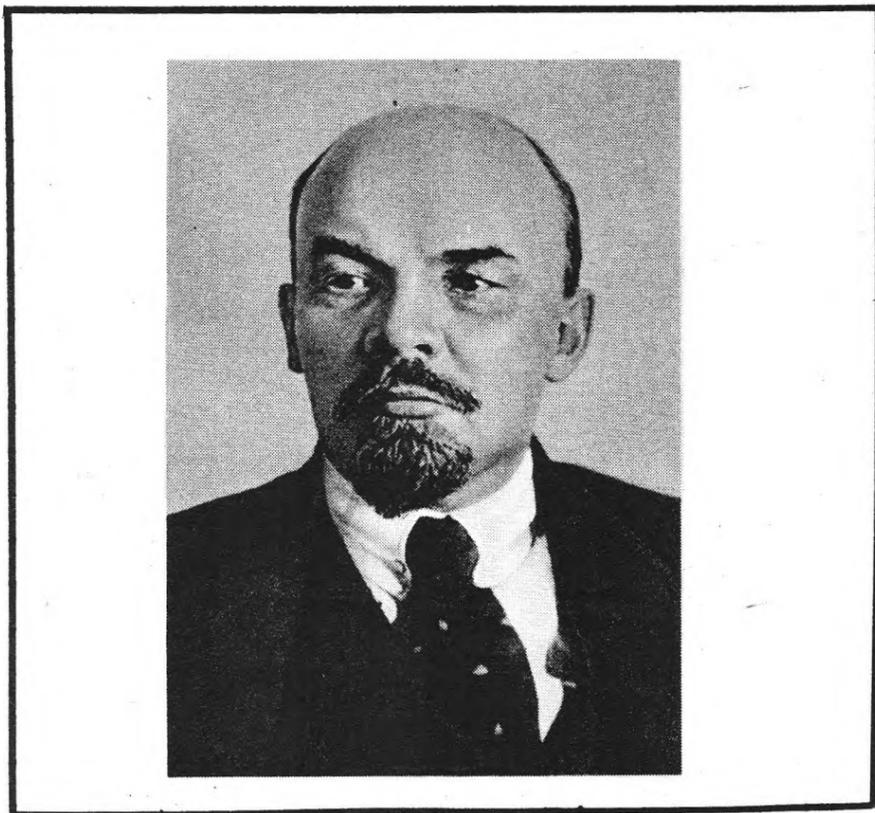
A. No, in the early years of the Communist Party the policy was sometimes followed of the C.P. members in a given union meeting together to plan educational work in that organization. But this practice has been discontinued, as tending to create possible misunderstanding among the rank and file of the unions." (American Trade Unions, p. 282)

Comrades, the line of Foster and the CP is out and out class collaboration. This line comes from the mouth piece of the labor aristocrats, the trade union bureaucrats, the "antagonized middle class", that is, the petty bourgeoisie. This sounds like John L. Lewis or George Meany, in essence it is, but it is more dangerous, for it is the line of the Second International in America, the right opportunist line of the CPUSA and one of its leading spokesmen, soon to be chairman, William Z. Foster. And this is 1939, five years before the dissolution of the CP and first effort to reconstitute it. The sham wing might try to defend Foster by saying that he was under democratic centralism,

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of the conciliators in his time so aptly describes our conciliators of today, check it out...



"The role of the conciliators during the period of counter revolution may be characterized by the following picture. With immense effort the Bolsheviks are pulling our party wagon up a steep slope. The liquidators Golos-ites are trying with all their might to drag it downhill again. In the wagon sits a conciliator; he is a picture of tenderness. He has such a sweet, sweet face, like that of Jesus. He looks the very incarnation of virtue, and modestly dropping his eyes (read on John Spearman, Carmen Cruz and all you conciliators) and raising his hands he exclaims: I thank thee lord, that I am not like one of these" a nod in the direction of the bolsheviks and the mensheviks "vicious factionalists who hinder all progress" SW Lenin vol.4  
The New Faction Of Conciliators

We know that even you, the conciliators must admit that this quote from Lenin describes you to the tee. But if you don't, it don't matter because it does describe you and our interest is to further unmask you in the eyes of the proletariat and the oppressed masses who you have temporarily deceived, causing great harm to the proletarian revolution.

Since 1972, the conciliators have been cursing the Bolsheviks, just imagine them, Bolsheviks drawing clear and definite lines of demarcation, fighting for the Party at a higher level by grasping that hammering out the Party's basic line and program of action as the key link, the conciliators in turn sitting in the wagon wanting to go back to the old days, seeing the "kernel of truth" in the menshevik line "ideology key link", all key links, in unity with the capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping, and all international revisionism and opportunism. The conciliators reacting to the change that in deed had taken place, a qualitative leap from one anti-revisionist communist movement, a rupture had taken place, a split, two clearly defined wings, reflecting two opposing lines on party building and all the burning class questions of proletarian revolution in the U.S. One line, the proletarian line, the other line, a bourgeois line.

The conciliators clearly reflecting the spirit of the petty-bourgeois ie going back and forth from the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. But since there is no middle road, the conciliators representing the interest of the bourgeoisie, their line a bourgeois line antagonistic to the interest of the proletariat. Stalin sums it up for us in this way:

"In one way or another, all these petty-bourgeois groups penetrate into the

Party and introduce into it the spirit of hesitancy and opportunism, the spirit of demoralization and uncertainty. It is they, principally, that constitute the source of factionalism and disintegration, the source of disorganization and disruption of the Party from within. To fight imperialism with such 'allies' in one's rear means to expose oneself to the danger of being caught between two fires, from the front and from the rear. Therefore, ruthless struggle against such elements, their expulsion from the Party, is a prerequisite for the successful struggle against imperialism...Our Party could not have seized state power if it had within its ranks people like Martov, and Dan, Potresov and Axelrod."  
(Foundations of Leninism, Stalin, p.116)

This is why the purged conciliators have come out openly and attacked Stalin, calling him an "ultra-leftist". "Ruthless struggle against such elements" - this is why John Spearman had to come out openly and admit his view of Stalin saying that he believed Stalin "was a butcher and a murderer". These purged elements whom O.L. and the rest of the marsh defend, because the sham marsh forces oppose the great teachers of the proletariat, and are sinking more and more to revise MLMTT. But we adhere to and strickly apply MLMTT and we know that our party cannot be built with people like Ron Washington, Ed Whitfield, Sandra Johnson, John Spearman, Larry Mann, Carmen Cruz, Emily Carter, Mark Smith and their followers in our ranks, and so they have been purged and the struggle against the line they propogated for years is still going on and has been intensified...Amongst Bolsheviks we have and continue to draw lessons from the struggle learning from our own mistakes, struggling out shades of differences, analyzing the effects that the years of ideological preparation on the part of the mensheviks and the conciliators has had inside our ranks...and will continue to have. Never must we relax our vigilance. We have in fact forged tighter unity in the ranks of the Bolsheviks in spite of all the attempts of the conciliators, the mensheviks and all the opportunist elements who have tried so desperately to eat away at our unity which is based on line. This is why the menshevik sham wing of the movement and the conciliators who are tied to their tail, scream out - "stop drawing such sharp lines of demarcation" - they consider drawing the line a bad thing. Coming forward with their fear of the proletariat, with their fear of proletarian revolution, the conciliators wanting to pretend that they are Bolsheviks but put forward that everyone should be a "Bolshevik sometimes", that is they say, "should struggle sometimes, but should not have to struggle all the time." They, the conciliators, have been propogating that people have the right to conceal their views, fighting for the right of the individual to put forward their own platform, the right to factionalize, and the freedom of criticism; where did they find this "kernel of truth"? In ATM's line, "two line struggle is AN EXCEPTION", in all of the deeds of the sham wing; in the traditions of the Second International.

How did this dangerous line, the right opportunist conciliationist line become the second line in the Revolutionary wing? Wherein lies its social and ideological basis? This is what we must now closely examine.

#### Objective And Subjective Factors Which Gave Rise To The Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line

An examination of the objective situation in our country over the last ten years, reveals a deepening of the crisis in the cyclical crisis periods that capitalism goes through, each crisis gets worse, the burden thrown on the back of the proletariat and all the toiling masses. Inherent in the capitalist system the fundamental contradiction, the social character of production and the

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private appropriation of the means of production, anarchy in production and distribution, the crisis of overproduction. This is how Stalin explains this law of capitalist development:

"But having developed productive forces to a tremendous extent, capitalism has become enmeshed in contradictions which it is unable to solve. By producing larger and larger quantities of commodities and reducing their prices, capitalism intensifies competition, ruins the mass of small and medium private owners, converts them into proletarians and reduces their purchasing power, with the result that it becomes impossible to dispose of the commodities produced...On the other hand, by expanding production and concentrating millions of workers in huge mills and factories, capitalism lends the process of production a social character and thus undermines its own foundation inasmuch as the social character of the process of production demands the social ownership of the means of production; yet, the means of production remain private capitalist property, which is incompatible with the social character of the process of production.

These irreconcilable contradictions between the character of the productive forces and the relations of production make themselves felt in periodical crises of overproduction, when the capitalists, finding no effective demand for their goods owing to the ruin of the mass of the population which they themselves have brought about, are compelled to burn products, destroy manufactured goods, suspend production, and destroy productive forces at a time when millions of people are forced to suffer unemployment and starvation, not because there are not enough goods, but because there is an overproduction of goods.

This means that the capitalist relations of production have ceased to correspond to the state of productive forces of society and have come into irreconcilable contradiction with them.

This means that capitalism is pregnant with revolution, whose mission it is to replace the existing capitalist ownership of the means of production by the socialist ownership."  
(Stalin, Dialectical and Historical Materialism)

Independent of our will, therefore, the class struggle becomes acute, in fact, Stalin goes on to say that this is the main feature in capitalist society.

The main feature is expressed throughout the rise and decline of capitalism and during those periods when the crisis of overproduction gets even more intensified. The late 50's through the 60's witnessed an upsurge in the spontaneous struggles of the masses; unemployment on the rise, depreavation, humiliation of the working class; national oppression escalated, countless murders of nationally oppressed workers and the nationally oppressed masses in general, tyranny on all stratas of the population, at home; a war of aggression abroad, in Indo-China, the masses responding by rising up through out the world. Long live the victory of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples. At home, rebellions throughout the country, a flow of strikes, in the plants and factories, rent strikes, demonstrations, protests, the anti-war movement, the many rebellions on the campuses, in prisons - all spoke to the fact that capitalism is pregnant with revolution. But of itself the spontaneous mass movement is like a "ship without

a compass". These sparks of consciousness could only rise to embryonic consciousness, which still remains within the confines of bourgeois ideology. In, Briefly about the Disagreements in the Party accordingly said Stalin:

"Who does not know that the working class movement without socialism means marking time within the limits of capitalism, wandering around private property and, even if this ever does lead to the social revolution how long will it take and at what suffering? Does it make no difference to the workers whether they enter the "promised land" in the near future or after a long period of time; by an easy or by a difficult road? Clearly, whoever extols the spontaneous movement and worships it, whether he wishes to or not, digs a chasm between socialism and the working class movement, belittles the importance of socialist ideology, and expels it from life, and, whether he wishes to or not, subordinates the workers to bourgeois ideology." (SCW, Vol. 1)

In what state of affairs was the subjective factor? By 1957, the "CP"USA had totally betrayed the proletariat, had consolidated a revisionist program, so the class was left without leadership without a vanguard, general staff to lead it forward through the many twists and turns of the revolution. It became therefore the immediate task to build the Party, along new revolutionary lines. This became the immediate political demand of the proletariat - its immediate interest in order to accomplish, to carry out in a planned and conscious way the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, TO FULFILL THE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE, THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT...The Sino-Soviet split, with the vanguard advanced detachments of the proletariat, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania leading the struggle against modern revisionism propelled the international proletariat and all the oppressed masses forward. Indeed, revolution is the main trend in the world today. Following in the footsteps of the Soviet revisionist clique, the betrayal of the CPUSA which caused real harm and setbacks to the proletariat, fusion continued but was also interrupted; that is to say - the working class movement continued to gravitate towards socialism, but it also gravitates towards bourgeois ideology the oldest and most influential of the two ideologies bourgeois and proletarian, that's why Lenin said "bourgeois ideology imposes itself upon the working class still more.(What Is To Be Done) Therefore, although the working class continued to gravitate towards socialism, without its vanguard, fusion was interrupted. Advanced workers, advanced elements, were the independent leaders, elaborating independent socialist theories, studying, studying studying hard to turn themselves into communists - the Socialist theoreticians. As we say in Party Building in the Heat of Class Struggle, "thirsty for knowledge only to find a mishmosh, from Fanon to Che Guevara, from the Bakuninist theories of lumpen is the vanguard, to the create "one, two, three Vietnams." This eclectic stage had to be defeated in order to clear the way for the birth of the anti-revisionist communist movement. The conditions which prevailed independent of our will, coupled with the fact that there was no vanguard communist party, gave rise to right opportunism as the main danger. An overemphasis of the objective factor which leads to right opportunism while an overestimation of the subjective factor leads to left opportunism. Scientific examination of the struggle and how in fact it went down reveals that in fact the subjective factor was belittled, was lagging behind, that the principle role of theory was in fact negated, that the role of the advanced class conscious element was belittled as it is still belittled today. We must see the world for

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how it really is in order to change the objective and subjective world in order to lay such obscurities as the left was the main danger, as O.L. claims, to rest...In order to definitely and unswervingly aim the main blow at the main danger.

Let O.L. come forward with an analysis of the objective and subjective factors which they claim gave rise to the so-called "left" as the main danger, in fact all class conscious proletarians must insist that they must; stop phrasemongering O.L. and come out with your views openly to the working class, we are confident that you will further expose your incapacities and show that you don't know the top of your head from the bottom of your feet. Your claims are sheer stupidity because you are distorting reality, and made up this fantasy to cover yourselves.

Now as to the social basis of right opportunism, it is the petty-bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy, who serve as the agents of the bourgeoisie in spreading reformism, economism, pragmatism, a disdain for theory, who serve as the spokesmen for the bourgeoisie. Take for example, the bourgeois claim that it is fighting the threat of communism in the world, saying communism is a threat externally while internally it is the threat of terrorism. At the same time, it is the bourgeoisie that has been responsible for setting up a number of terrorist groups like the SLA, in order to whip up hysteria, all the time preparing to repress Bolshevism which they are aware is on the rise in the U.S.A. and the world over.

#### Sham Wing - The Voice Of The Bourgeoisie In The Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement

To claim that "ultra-leftism" is the main danger, like does the sham wing, only serves to voice the bourgeoisie's claims of terrorism as the danger at home. The social props, serving as the social fascists. The bourgeoisie know that the proletariat will rise and through the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie will smash the state and set up its rule, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, they set up gun control laws to disarm the working class. The bourgeoisie's main threat is the development of the Party of the Proletariat, the U.S. Bolshevik Party, who is the leader of the working class making it conscious of its historic mission, the Party will lead the class in armed insurrection, will lead the class towards the seizure of state power; the Party will arm the proletariat ideologically, politically and organizationally. What does the sham wing do? O.L., for example, on this very question of "terrorism at home" gave an interview to the bourgeoisie press on the west coast some six or seven months ago- the subject, "The cadre organizations". With this interview the O.L. trampled therefore the principles of secrecy on the principles of illegal work, the O.L. and all the marsh who view revolution as a legal act, therefore have no need to act in any other way but the way that is natural to them, showing that these petty-bourgeois parties are indeed parties of peace and not of war, loose-knit organizations built from below.

So the deeds prove it without the shadow of a doubt that what Lenin and Stalin said so long ago about the mensheviks being objective bourgeois agents, is authentic. The highly developed capitalist countries infested with this poison. Examining the social basis of this treason inside the communist movement points to the social basis to be found in the hysterical petty bourgeoisie who became frenzied at the horrors of capitalism and at the same time considered themselves the great theoreticians, the intellectuals who would pimp off the spontaneous mass movements, bow with all their might in order to pursue a career in revolution and pass themselves off as the "leaders". But in fact what were these great "theoreticians" doing? What are they still doing today? The same old bankrupt leaders of yesterday, the renegade Klonsky-in the old period, the chairman of SDS, today, the chairman of the O.L., still pimping off the masses - Free Gary Tyler, record the events

of the spontaneous movement while devoting one-eighth of a page once in a while in the Call rag-sheet to slandering the revolutionary wing in what they try to pass off as "polemics". These are the same "leaders" who conciliated, we know Klonsky was a conciliator back then, allowing the "CP"USA and PLP to come into SDS, when the revolutionary workers movement had spit in their eyes and thrown them out everytime they were uncovered. But the great "leaders" were busy protecting the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie, developing their careers, and sabotaging the building of the Party every inch of the way. One of the ways they did it back then is the same way they do it today (except today its more sophisticated, a little more covered up). It is a fact that many of these bad petty-bourgeois intellectuals had access to Marxist-Leninist works but then, as they do today, considered the working class too stupid to grasp, to understand MLMTT. They considered that without them the working class could not move forward, but it was they who could not move forward for they were/isolated from the advanced who they thought then and think today do not exist, tailing behind the most backward. They mainly carried out their abstract debate on the campuses, passing resolutions as they do today, attending conventions, and congresses, all protecting their little niches.

#### Every Working Class Movement Brings To The Fore its Advanced Workers

The advanced workers struggled though and turned themselves into communist. Useless "leaders," left you in the dust, polemicized against your bankruptcy then, defeated your lines of student is the vanguard, the new working class theories, the eclecticism that was rampant throughout and most especially in the petty-bourgeois groups riddled with factions as much as you like to deny it, proving that it is the working class, the proletariat who is the only consistently revolutionary class. The advanced workers, the revolutionary intellectuals and advanced elements from the national movements and other elements from the petty-bourgeoisie who transformed their world outlook, took their stand with that of the proletariat, and together proceeded to carry forward the central and only task of Party building, in this, the period of formation and consolidation of the Party. Many of those same bankrupt "leaders" snuck into the anti-revisionist communist movement, tagging on M-L to themselves - a renegade like Kautsky Klonsky remaining a consistent democrat, a true follower of Kautsky, still passing themselves off as the great theoreticians, spreading economism and pragmatism in the old period; the one anti-revisionist communist movement, with two defined trends within it. On the one hand, the menshevik trend which was crystalized in economism, the fight for the most palpable demands, "bring the boys back home", a chauvinist demand; the Bolshevik trend coming forward clearly in the slogan "solidarity with the Vietnamese people".

Fighting both against national chauvinism the main danger, and against narrow nationalism as expressed in the national movements, through Nkrumism, cultural nationalism, African socialism, divided nation theories, "Viva la Raza" standing against all that which is opposed to "Workers and Oppressed Peoples of the World Unite".

Internationalism. The menshevik trend, most blatantly expressed in build the mass movement, as everything, the final aim nothing.

- tactics as a process fighting for the economic demands, never raising the strategic objective the dictatorship of the proletariat attacking the struggle to raise that the struggle is for the dictatorship of the proletariat as "ultra-leftist" because their opportunist tactics spoke to whip up the masses, interject "anti-imperialist" consciousness and in this way someday the working class can then accept that the struggle is for political power.

For the opportunist, the Mensheviks, the conciliators the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat is not really necessary. That is why ATM for example is now raising the Trotskyite slogan of

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"Workers Political Power" as opposed to the dictatorship. And so to even speak of the abolition of classes, to organize the advanced detachment to lead the class through the twist and turns, is a concept so remote from their minds, so hostile a thought to their way of viewing the world that the mensheviks and all the opportunists are working overtime to try to avoid, to prevent, the Proletarian revolution.

The Bolshevik trend expressed in "revolution is the only solution" as opposed to the pacifist, non-violent trend led by reformist elements like Martin Luther King who today ATM raises as the leader of the Black masses. We stood with Malcolm X - "revolution is violent, revolution is bloody". Armed struggle is the only means to liberation.

Retaining truth, discarding the dross, eliminating falsehood, this is how the correct line develops, from a lower to a higher, from the simple to the complex; rather than just being opposed to the negative to what's backward, and against revolution, fighting to grasp the laws of revolution, in order not just to understand the world but change it, it is in this sense that we speak of the Bolshevik trend, what has been growing, what indeed demarcated itself as the rising trend in our movement.

As opposed to factions, the Bolsheviks stood for the principles of criticism and self-criticism, democratic centralism, open and above board struggle, purging our ranks of opportunist elements. Bolsheviks, independent of what organization we found ourselves in, led the struggle for MLMTT, for the principle role of theory, guiding our actions, illuminating our path, giving us the power of orientation. Political education was taken seriously then, as we continue to take it seriously today. The menshevik trend coming forward with practice is primary, to study the classics is "dogmatic", to quote the teachers and follow their example is "ultra-left". So what did they come forward with? "Study Trotsky - he's easy to understand", "study Felix Greene's, The Enemy, study William Hinton, rather than Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung works. They propagated Huberman and Sweezy, the ABC's of Socialism, Monthly Review and the revisionist trash that contained within that and the first Red Papers - RU's press which clearly spoke to attacking Marxism under the signboard of Marxism. Propagating Fosters' right opportunist capitulationist line, as well as RU and OL promoted Foster's books on trade unions, history of the "CP" USA. Propagating Liu Shao-chi's How To Be a Good Communist, and we could go on and on. The Bolsheviks studying Foundations of Leninism by the great Stalin, State and Revolution by the great Lenin, the Selected Works of Chairman Mao, the Red Book served as our daily guidance. We didn't know at a lower level than all the reasons that Trotsky was a renegade but we knew Chairman Mao and all the teachers said he was, so this was enough for us to wage a resolute struggle against all those who propagated this bankruptcy. But in the wagon sat the conciliators, going back and forth from theory playing the principle role to practice playing the principle role and like the "snake" wiggled themselves between two mutually exclusive poles.

By 1972, the struggle had reached a new level of development, the upsurge in the spontaneous mass movement came to an ebb, many of the bankrupt leaders, selling out the struggles, the bourgeoisie granting some reforms. In time of an ebb in the spontaneous movement the subjective factor, the concentration on developing the forces to lead the struggle becomes, a question of great importance. Time must be utilized correctly - this is why Stalin said: "

"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, quoted from Palante, Vol. 6, #7, "The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia")

But the Right Opportunist who undoubtedly failed, due to their tailist traditions and their disdain for theory, to grasp that indeed a change in the objective and subjective factors had taken place insisted that a flow in the movement still was the main feature of the objective spontaneous movement, failed to bolshevise, in fact stood hostile to it, and therefore became an old force, in big trouble, hoping, waiting, for their dream that the Party would spring up spontaneously, in a big spark, from the mass movement and so build the mass movement became to them everything, the deeper the lull, the more desperately they tried to whip up the masses.

Party building became something of a game to them, that organizations in the marsh who have the most numbers will be the Party, that one which can best cheat, lie and pretend to the working class that they are all big and powerful, that one which can sham the most to the International Communist movement, RU and OL's competition over who was going to get recognized by the Communist Party of China, who would get their hypocritical letters printed in Peking Review, the OL pretending to be calling for "unity" only to give the impression that they have exhausted all possibilities towards "unification".

The Communist Party of China is a genuine, most revolutionary Party and we unite with our comrades, we know they are acting in an all round internationalist spirit, the RU and OL's hypocrisy will not get over, we take our leadership from the CPC and PLA and in our deeds, stand with the line of the International Communist Movement.

As for the sham wing much of the above, speaks to how matters stood as we entered this period of Party building.

### We Entered A New Period

The hammering out of the Party's basic line and program of action however had become the key link demarcating us from the sham wing and their line of build the revolutionary consciousness, unity and organization of the working class as the central task. This line of building the Party from below - any striker, student, anyone could be a party member was spearheaded by the RU who were then the kings on the thrown of the marsh, unable to realize that there had been a change in conditions, seeking numbers, ideology, they said, was the key link. The conciliators, going back and forth. "Don't throw out the baby with the bath water" - the kernel of truth line, in fact, what the conciliators feared was the defeat of menshevism who they tried to sneak back in. The "baby" they were speaking to was the exposure, isolation and defeat of the right opportunist conciliationist line.

Worshipping spontaneity, the ideological root of all opportunism, the exponents of the right opportunist conciliationist line were miserably belittling the role of the subjective factor, rai-

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sing the left to cover the right, claiming they were weak theoretically, raising up in a form of a question... "Since the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was built by Bolsheviks and mensheviks, won't we build the Party of mensheviks and Bolsheviks?" What were the conciliators propagating with this bankruptcy - that Lenin and Stalin and the Bolsheviks were conciliators. Listen to what Lenin had to say about the mensheviks:

"With reformists, Mensheviks in our ranks, it is impossible to achieve victory in the proletarian revolution. It is impossible to retain it."

Furthermore Stalin, in Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism says:

"Every Bolshevik, if he is really a Bolshevik, knows that long before the war, approximately since 1903-04, when the Bolshevik group in Russia took shape and when the Lefts in German social democracy first raise their voices, Lenin pursued a line directed towards a rupture, towards a split with opportunists both here, in the Russian, social democratic Party and over there, in the Second International, particularly in the German Social Democratic Party." (Ibid)

So much for this slander of Lenin, Stalin and International Bolshevism. "Slander must be branded as such and not made the subject of discussion." (Stalin)

Secondly, the conciliators, with this spinelessness want to convince us that we're back in the first period, that the line has not been drawn with menshevism, and therefore, we should go back to one anti-revisionist communist movement. The conciliators are opposed to the fact of life that we are split up into two clearly defined wings, and so they raise that Bolshevism and menshevism as trends are both equally on the rise.

This bankruptcy speaks to the fact that the conciliators line of two contending trends in the world, both revolution and fascism equally on the rise, both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are growing and on the rise. Going against dialectical and historical materialism. The proletariat, you petty-bourgeois snakes, is the only class that is growing day by day, gaining strength and will come to power, will be the ruling class, in order to build socialism, and on to the final aim, the abolition of classes - Communism.

Revolution is the main trend in the world today. It is in this way that we are preparing against the danger of war. It is by building our Party that we prepare against and fight the menace of fascism at home, and it is by standing with the proletariat that we will build the Party to carry forward proletarian revolution burying the bourgeoisie who is strategically weak, going out of being, dying out as a class, and will be smashed. This is an undeniable fact - a Marxist law.

"When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget a feature that is characteristic of present-day opportunism in every sphere, namely, its vagueness, diffuseness, elusiveness. An opportunist, by his very nature, will always evade formulating an issue clearly and decisively, he will always wiggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to "agree" with both and to reduce his differences of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, good and pious suggestions, and so on and so forth." (Lenin, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back)

The conciliators, cowardly elements that they are, are constantly asking questions, in this way they survey forces, check out where the wind is blowing, then, when they believe they have enough strength, come out with their real line. Take for instance, the fruitflies of the movement. Resistencia is a classic example of conciliators who have degenerated to a full blown system of menshevik views. Before they totally degenerated, everyone knows Resistencia would come into a forum and ask questions, with the same breath saying they had not studied the position enough to state their line on it, and in this way would play "safe". Take for example in the forums on Party Building in the fall of '75. In the heat of the polemics on periods and key link to Party building, Resistencia observed the struggle going on, did not put forward their position and a few months later came up with their hegelian dialectical analysis of stages; one stage ideology, then another stage political line, then a third stage of organization. This ridiculous, unscientific line on Party building reflects Resistencia's contradiction with the strategic principle of Party building, Bolshevization, by breaking the interrelation and interdependence of the ideological, political and organizational task of Party building.

### Bolshevization Strategic Principle Of Party Building

In both periods of Party, where ideology was the key link and in the second period where the struggle for the party's basic line and program of action has been and continues to be the key link, the revolutionary wing has clearly brought forward, that in grasping the key link it crystalizes and enables us to carry on all three tasks, therefore, by hammering out the Party's basic line and program of action we are correctly handling the ideological and organizational tasks. Bolshevization is the strategic principle and goes on throughout the periods of Party building thru the abolition of classes. Where did Resistencia find this "kernel of truth"? In ATM's line, ideological line, three stages, M-L unite as primary, and neither Resistencia nor ATM have ever dealt with the question of Bolshevizing their ranks. Only one year ago, Resistencia was "not sure" whether or not capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union. In fact, they had united with PSR, who was propagating C.L.'s line, that in fact capitalism had not been restored in the Soviet Union, although playing it safe and never coming forward with this bankruptcy in their written treachery, so they could come forward and deny it, once they could no longer set on the fence. It was Resistencia who less than two years ago was propagating that they were the voice of the Puerto Rican National minority. They had put forward again, hiding it from their rank and file and the proletariat, that they, Resistencia, "would bring into the Party the Puerto Rican section of the Party." This petty-bourgeois Bundist line was never repudiated. In fact, under the cover of empiricism, narrow experience, "kept out of the polemics" as they claim, they could in the most blatant opportunist way, now come forward that they, these fruitflies, have the overall correct line. That they, this handful of bochicheros (gossipers) are leading the struggle against the right opportunist and "left opportunist" lines; what are they, Resistencia, a smaller group of hegemones after? They need the bigger hegemones of ATM, who they will serve as the theoretical propagandist circle, (ATM too caught up in their agitational rag sheet to come forward with anything that even resembles a polemic), in turn they can be carried by ATM's big dreams and hopes of becoming the kings on the thrown of the marsh. But ATM's too late - they allowed O.L. to climb too high and now ATM will have to be a back seat driver and only get some crumbs. As for Resistencia, you do not fool anyone, you just serve to confuse comrades who might

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not be aware of all your trickery, your games, sophistry and demagoguery. Changing your name don't change the treachery of your line. No matter what you call yourselves, you can't hide. You are liars, and your deeds will continue to prove that you too must be tossed into the museum of antiquities. Your latest barrage of lies about the line of the wing, serves to expose you further. Comrades, check out the polemics of the wing on propaganda as the chief form and don't be fooled by people who are after a career and don't give a damn about the class struggle of the proletariat. Resistencia's terrible mistake, like the mistake of all the mensheviks and right opportunist conciliators, is for you to falsify the history of the struggle between the two lines, two roads and two classes, in particular, the struggle for the Party.

### Falsification Of History, A Terrible Mistake

The right opportunist conciliators and the mensheviks, have several variations in their falsification of history. The most common one, the line that they really stand on is that the communist movement developed in 1957. The very same year that the "CP"USA consolidated its revisionist line and program of treachery. The right opportunist conciliators claim that there was no real set back for the proletariat with the betrayal of the "CP"USA. In belittling the treachery of the "CP"USA, the right opportunist conciliators claim that there was a peaceful evolution of the anti-revisionist communist movement that the CPUSA died out and another thing popped-up. When we asked the conciliators to point to this anti-revisionist communist movement they claim existed - since truth is concrete, the conciliators trip themselves up in a mess of contradictions, which forces them to come out with their right opportunist conciliatorist line - something that they dread doing. In their defense of menshevism and attacks on the Bolshevik line they come forward that the PLP and POC constituted the communist movement.

Let's examine this from the fundamental starting point, the two lines, two classes and two roads, so that we may get the essence of the problem, and strike a death blow at the conciliators who want to leave things at appearance so that they can hide and wiggle. The POC set itself the task of reconstituting the "CP"USA. Was this correct? No, it was not correct, because the "CP"USA was rotten to the core - unsalvageable. Therefore, the task has been set to build the revolutionary party of a new type on the ruins of the "CP"USA. Learn through all the negative examples and fight for the Bolshevikization of the Party, something the "CP"USA never succeeded in doing, in spite of all the directives by the Comintern to do so. Not standing with the correctness of the line of the Comintern, the POC failed to in time, sum up this fatal error, which in order to train the Party cadres, the class and the masses by learning through our mistakes. They did not carry on propaganda as the chief form of activity, but instead worshipped spontaneity from the left, isolating themselves from the advanced workers, who they thought they would reach once they "reconstituted" the Party. POC failed to carry out a struggle for the defense of the fundamentals of MLMTT, showing their rightist essence, and so propelled themselves into the marsh and were tossed aside by the developing new forces. One of the two "veteran communists" that the O.L. refers to, came out of POC - Harry Hayward, a flunky for the O.L. recently put forth in the Call his unity with the line of the O.L. who gives him a banquet every once in a while to keep him happy and in nostalgia about how good he's been on the National Question, and that he is an old Bolshevik. On this question of old Bolsheviks, Stalin says, "If an old Bolshevik has swerved from the path of the revolution, or degenerated and failed politically, then he even one hundred years old, has no right to call himself an old Bolshevik. He has no right to demand that the Party

should respect him." ("The Right Deviation in the CPSU(B) ).

As to the other so called communist who came out of the POC, everyone knows where Nelson Perry, chairman of the CLP is. Sitting all the way down at the bottom of the marsh where O.L. will join him.

As for PLP, they made the terrible mistake of calling itself the Party of the working class. With this bankrupt political line proceeded to attack the international proletariat - all nationalism is reactionary, a disdain for the spontaneous movements of the masses who they, the PLP, were too pure for. They raised up that there were no reserves, no allies for the proletariat - took a Trot line on the united front tactic, and proceeded to consolidate this Trot line which by 1969 was thoroughly consolidated. PLP had to be kicked out of everywhere in the workers movement that they tried to penetrate. They only found refuge amongst the petty-bourgeoisie, who constituted PLP's base. PLP, like all other petty-bourgeois parties, were isolated from the class, isolated from the advanced who they belittled. This lesson of negative example repeated by all the marsh forces, as we have tried to clearly demonstrate through out this polemic. PLP was so thoroughly defeated that they had to come up with the petty-bourgeoisie as part of the working class - that teachers, lawyers, doctors, are all proletarian. So there they hang by their toes looking at the world upside down. The RU tried to sneak this treachery back when raising that all nationalism is nationalism and they, with their anti-monopoly coalition revisionist line, raised up that the united front against imperialism was the strategy for proletarian revolution, a unity they have had with the "CP"USA, and which O.L. has with them. Where PLP had a close-door policy - no allies; the "RC" had the bourgeoisie as an ally of the proletariat, claiming the small capitalists are not part of the bourgeoisie. In addition, "RC" bankruptcy on the labor aristocracy is a clear stance on, who is their social basis. They had jumped the gun on the O.L. and clearly have gone all out for the "CP"USA's base, something "RC" and O.L. will now have to negotiate over, in the dog-eat-dog world of the swamp.

The Right Opportunist Conciliators looking back on history, conciliate to the opportunism of yesterday, belittle this treachery to cover their own treason, their own spinelessness, the fact that they wiggle and crawl like snakes, they must try to cover up opportunism in the hopes that the same lines will come up again, that the same errors are repeated again and again.

So isn't it clear why the right opportunist conciliators must try so desperately to falsify history? Why they claim the communist movement developed in 1957? Why they must try to present a picture of peaceful debate, "line formulation"? Cover up the "CP"USA's treason to the proletariat? They see the kernel of truth in all opportunist lines. They must cover up the treachery of the opportunist because as one of the worst brands of opportunism, they must try everything they can to keep the Party of the proletariat from coming into being. They must try to stop that which cannot be stopped - proletarian revolution. That's why, following from their analysis of "history" they propagate such bankruptcy as the Revolutionary wing developed in 1974, "eclecticism was not defeated till 1972", "its all been tactical setbacks". As to fusion, according to the right opportunist conciliators and mensheviks, it has either developed in a straight line, never being interrupted, or they claim there has been no fusion and an overemphasis of the subjective factor, speaking to how they have failed miserably to understand that the subjective factor has been lagging behind the spontaneous upsurge for all the reasons we have tried to point out. Or that the fusion is at a low level, with this, trying to get the same result raising that it is leftist to stand that in fact the Party's basic line and program of action has a long rich history of struggle, and is getting stronger as it has been tested through the revolutionary practice of the Revolutionary wing... These poor discontented fools, dreaming of the day that Bolshevism and menshevism will meet and every-

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thing will be fine, tranquil, "two line struggle an exception", "Marxism-Leninism as optional, not mandatory", "freedom for factionalism".

### We Hold High The Honour And Mighty Title - Bolsheviks

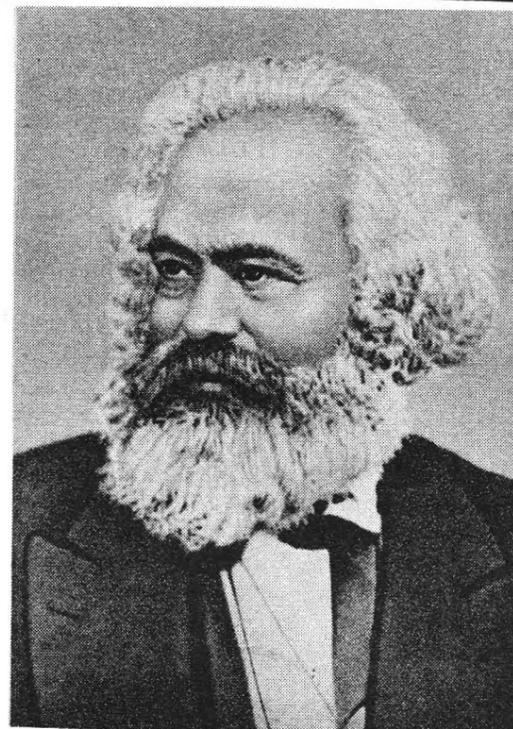
But we can not and will not allow this to happen so you must go and join your cut throat buddies who will give you a choice of social democratic parties to join. Want to try the WVO? ATM? O.L. is begging for you to join them. What about the fruitflies; they are looking to expand. As for the Party of the proletariat, there is only one, and you will not be admitted. The Party's decisions will strike ruthlessly at you; we will not allow anyone to throw mud on the mighty title of being a Bolshevik. It is as Stalin said on the death of Lenin:

"Departing from us, comrade Lenin, enjoined us to hold high and guard the purity of the great title of member of the Party. We vow to you, comrade Lenin, that we shall fulfill your behest with honour!"

And it is this honour that we hold high and vow to the international proletariat to Comrade Stalin and Comrade Lenin that we will not allow the Party of Lenin and Stalin to be turned into a society of peaceful debaters and philistines. We will guard the Party like the apple of our eye and we will pursue the only principled policy of purging our ranks of the opportunist poison which threatens to delay the onslaught on the bourgeoisie. Comrade Bolsheviks of the Revolutionary wing: Do not waver at the hysteria of the sham wing who are so hysterical over the purgers. They cannot but get upset; they were hoping that their friends inside the revolutionary wing could drag us into the marsh, come to power, purge the Bolsheviks and set up a counter-revolutionary headquarters where they all could fight over who then was going to share what part of the nitch. They are upset because the plan failed once again and are hoping that out of waverings and vacillations, they can find new allies, as they plan to go making trouble, failing, making some more trouble till their doom.

Our purges serve to further expose the sham who have never purged their ranks of opportunists, in fact, their policy is the opposite of ours - the more opportunists the more mastery in conspiracy and intrigue, the better at splitting and wrecking, the more clever they are at practicing revisionism and attacking Marxism, all those things you conciliators have been doing in hiding, you can now do openly. The sham wing is your proper place, the house of the new Kautskys, Trotskys, Plekanovs, Axelrods, Martovs, John Spearman, Carmen Cruz, Raggedy Ann, The Rat. You have found your nitch - make your choice and make it fast before you loose out. The gluttons of the marsh are plentiful of scum like you. And by the way, we are waiting for the polemics you said you would wage. Don't hesitate now, you all were very happy hiding out in the Revolutionary wing. Continue to serve the proletariat by negative example. Put out your views of how Lenin and Stalin you consider "ultra-lefts". Polemicize against the line of the Revolutionary wing. Come forward with your line on Party building, on the period we're in, key link, fusion, main danger, what is playing the principle role in the relationship between theory and practice; come forward with your line on the chief form of activity, with your line on the advanced, with your line on direct and indirect experience, come forward, tell everyone how all of you defended the slavish worship of spontaneity. Don't hide, don't lie, don't pretend you all are innocent, muddled, come out and try if you can to prove the so-called "kernel of truth" in Menshevism. Put out how you want to build a Party where every individual can do his own thing. Come on with it cause even if you don't you know we will polemicize against your line and will continue to defeat it. We are TIRELESS! You are Philistines!

The Conciliationist trend, threatens to disrupt our unities, seeking to raise questions in



"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic Revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." (Manifesto of the Communist Party)

comrades minds over the correctness of the line of the Revolutionary wing and our fight for the U.S. Bolshevik Party.

By further enriching the line of the Revolutionary wing, this polemic is aimed primarily at further exposing -isolating and striking more blows at the Right Opportunist Conciliationist Line and the Conciliationist trend which it fosters. The conciliators will come forward more desparately than ever, realizing our first Party Congress is nearing in, the conciliators must try to demoralize our ranks, in hopes that we will stop struggling for the line, their outcries of "leftism" - "we're going too fast", "we're isolated from the masses" will be heard as they try to sneak their rightist views into the Party's Program. Comrade Bolsheviks of the Revolutionary wing, do not allow for de-railment, we're on the road to completion of our central and only task. And though Party building after the Congress will still be our central task, it will no longer be the only task - conditions would have changed, and although our Party will still be in its infancy, under one roof we will be in a better position to seek that much more the means of transition; at the head of the movement the Party will broaden its scope of activity building its basic unit, the factory nuclei expanding to the big industrial cities, firmly entrenching both feet to make every factory a fortress. Propaganda in the Party's infancy will remain as the chief form of activity training the Party's cadres, continuing to bring into the Party the most class conscious workers. The fight for unity of the Party around its line and Program will remain the key link. The groundwork for winning the class to the Party's line and Program, winning the masses to the side of the vanguard, on a solid basis will be firmly established. Always applying the strategic principle, bolshevization carrying out the ideological, political and organizational task, is a most crucial matter of principle, one which we must never abandon.

Purging our ranks of the opportunist today plants firmly our feet on solid ground, for the terrible battle with revisionism that is on the horizon. The future is indeed bright.

Comrade Bolsheviks - ours is the highest of honours to serve the proletariat. We have no other interest. Numbers don't impress us, numbers of petty-bourgeoisie intellectuals who can only whine and grumble because we do not "get complacent with our successes or demoralized by our setbacks."

Comrades, the honour of being a Bolshevik is won through hard and persistent struggle against all shades of opportunism. That is why comrade Bolsheviks of the Revolutionary wing, only the Bolshevik Party cadres can build the U.S. Bolshevik Party.

Forward to the First Party Congress  
Bolshevism TRUELY on the Rise...

## KeyLink

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and was forced by Browder to write the above words. Well sham, first a communist has the daring to go against the tide, regardless of fear of removal from post or even death, but, Foster's polemics inside the CP reflect an even more careerist opportunist line than the above statements, cleaned up to "protect the public image." Second, while written in an article in 1939, the book in which the article was published, American Trade Unionism, was released in 1947, the year after Foster had come to power and purged Browder.

This is an outright attack on MLMTT, that communists should not carry out fraction work, but instead that everyone should do their own thing, in essence freedom of criticism. And,

"Q. What is the attitude of the Communists toward unauthorized strikes and toward trade union discipline generally?

A. Communists believe in trade union discipline, based in majority rule arrived at through the democratic processes of the union. Unless there is discipline the union will be destroyed. Communists are opposed to unauthorized strikes provoked by minorities. Such strikes almost always serve the interests of the employers, not the workers. They commonly result in violent intense conflict within the unions, they antagonize middle class sympathizers, and they usually end in defect."  
(Ibid., 282)

This garbage is supposed to be a "defense" of MLMTT, of the CPUSA. But is it defending the party against the attacks and slander from the bourgeoisie about "pinko conspiracies", "the red danger", etc? Hell no, in fact, it is defending the bourgeoisie itself, is defending bourgeois democracy, is supporting the trade union bureaucrats, is attacking MLMTT and the Party and proletariat. These are exactly the tactics Stalin struggled against that turn a defensive position into one of total capitulation. He said,

"But this does not mean that the Party must wait with folded arms and become an idle spectator, degenerating from a revolutionary party (if it is in the opposition) into a wait-and-see party - no, in such a period it must avoid battles, not accept battles, if it has not yet accumulated the necessary amount of forces or if the situation is unfavorable for it, but it must not miss a single opportunity, under favorable conditions, of course, to force a battle upon the enemy when that is to the enemy's disadvantage, to keep the enemy in a constant state of tension, step by step to disorganize and demoralise his forces, step by step to exercise the proletarian forces in battles affecting the everyday interests of the proletariat, and in this way increase its own forces."  
(Stalin Works, Vol. 5, p. 80)

So much for now on the sham "hero" Foster, we will return later to some more of his treachery. Right now we will deal with the CPUSA's program. In this first part of the polemic we will deal with the general features of the CPUSA right opportunist program, briefly show how it degenerated into out and out revisionism, and how Foster's effort to reconstitute the dissolved party was a sham and a hum-bug. The particular immediate demands will be polemized against in the latter parts of the polemic.

In Foster's book, Toward Soviet America, a book which "outlines simply the program, strength, strategy and perspectives of the Communist Party of the U.S." (Toward Soviet America, p. 6), there is a chapter on "The Revolutionary way out of the crisis". This chapter covers the conquest of political power, an analysis of classes in the U.S., present day tasks of the Revolutionary Movement, the C.P. program of Immediate demands, program of class struggle. In covering all these different areas there is not one mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is some talk about revolutionary aims, open struggle, smashing capitalism. But as to the dictatorship of the proletariat the recognition of which Lenin taught dis-

tinguishes, the Communists from opportunists, there's not even a whisper. What we do get is "Communist action is based upon the slogan of "Class against Class", that is, the working class against the capitalist class. This slogan expressed the elementary fighting policy of the revolutionary movement" (Ibid., p. 252)

And, "The Communist Party bases its activities upon the principles of the class struggle, both with regard to its every day struggles and its ultimate revolutionary goal." (Ibid., p. 252)

### No Wonder The "CP" USA Degenerated

Comrades, with this opportunist line in command, there is no mystery as to why the party degenerated. Not the work of a few evil men, but the development flowing from a bourgeois line. MLMTT is the basis for the party, not the "principles of class struggle". This line which attacks Marxism and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the line of Second International, of Social-Democracy, which snuck into and corroded a party that was part of the Third International, the Communist International. But this attack on the basis and program of action of the party was still partially concealed, it was not yet the out and out attack of Browder some 7 years later. The focus of the attack on MLMTT, on the Party and the proletariat was on the tactical line of the CPUSA, the line which defines the immediate political demands of the proletariat in a particular period in the development of the revolution.

In colonial China, in autocratic Russia, there were two programs, one maximum, one minimum. Why? Because the maximum program dealt with "the overthrow of capitalism and the organization of socialist production", and the minimum program dealt with "only one definite phase of the development of capitalism", in Russia, the overthrow of the Czarist Autocracy, in China, the overthrow of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. In the U.S., capitalism is in its final stage, imperialism, the state is bourgeois democratic, there is just one stage for the seizure of power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. All the objective conditions are ripe for this seizure of power. And what is needed is one program, the U.S. Bolshevik Party's Program of Action.

No matter how much the mensheviks, standing with the revisionists program of social reform and their strategy of anti-monopoly coalition, would like to believe, no pitting of one group of the bourgeoisie against another, no amount of opposition to the "policy of imperialism" (Kautskyite, Klownskyite line), no amount of "people's capitalism" will make this bourgeois state more progressive. The immediate task of the proletariat in the U.S. in this "period of development of capitalism" here is the seizure of power and the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Party's program of action and strategy must reflect this.

### One Program Of Action With Its Tactical Line

Within the one Program of action there must also exist the Party's tactical line. Comrade Lenin laid down that:

"Without a programme, it is impossible for the party to be a more or less integral political organism, able always to hold to a line through each and every turn of events. Without a tactical line, based on an evaluation of the current political moment and giving exact answers to the "accursed problems" of the present, it is possible to have a small group of theoreticians, but not an operative political unit. Without an evaluation of the "active," topical or "fashionable" ideological-political trends, a programme and tactics can degenerate into dead "points," which it is unthinkable to realize in life, and to apply to thousands of detailed, concrete and most concrete questions of practice, with an understanding of the essence of things, an understanding of "what it is all about." (Lenin, On The Revolutionary Proletarian Party of a New Type, p. 6)

The tactical line is composed of the immediate demands of the proletariat. As part of the program it enables us to link the spontaneous struggles to the final aim, ensures that we give the spontaneous movement a planned, conscious character.

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We hold that in the U.S. revolution there is one program, the party's basic program of action.

The Party's program of action is not static, it is strengthened as a result of our increased grasp of MLMTT, further analysis of the objective and subjective factors, and because the program contains the tactical line, providing systematic direction to all the Party cadre in each period of the revolution; as the revolution moves from period to period, as conditions change, the Party's program of action will be enriched. As Comrade Stalin has pointed out:

"Proceeding from the data of theory, the programme of Marxism determines the aims of the proletarian movement, which are scientifically formulated in the points of the programme. The programme may be designed to cover the whole period of capitalist development and the organization of socialist production, or only one definite phase of the development of capitalism, for instance, the overthrow of the survivals of the feudal-absolutist system and the creation of conditions for the free development of capitalism."  
(Stalin's Works, "Concerning the Question of Strategy & Tactics," Vol. 5 pg. 165)

Following the opportunists in the CPUSA in the '30's, today's right opportunists conciliators tried to sneak their opportunism into the U.S. Bolshevik Party by coming forward with "the tactical line is broad reformists demands". The conciliators while having shades of differences with the menshevik "two-stage" strategy of the United Front Against Imperialism, saw the kernel of truth in the Menshevik line of "the movement is everything, the final aim nothing", conciliated with the right opportunism, and united that there must be a "political line for every mass movement," that "we must first win the masses to the reform struggle, then we can take them to revolution", a hegemonic stages line. In essence, the conciliators put forth the same line of a Second International party of class-collaboration; in form the conciliators reject the "two-stage" menshevik line, and try to sneak their opportunist line in by separating the Party's basic line from its Program of action, and then, within the Program, to put forth an economist tactical line, thereby attacking both the basic line and program of action, showing their real unity with the Mensheviks and revisionists.

And how did the opportunists in the CPUSA of the '30's attack the Marxist-Leninist tactical line, and introduce economism, bourgeois ideology into the working class party?

Check it out:

"In the United States and this is basic in Communist strategy everywhere - the action program of the Communist Party has its starting point in the everyday pressing economic demands of the workers" "Toward Soviet America"  
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Then,

"It is a favorite slander, however, that the Communist Party utilizes the daily struggles of the workers merely for agitational purposes... But the truth is just the opposite. The Communist Party always places as immediate demands those manifestly possible of achievement under capitalism and then it makes the most determined effort to win all it can of them in the struggle", (IBid p. 242, our emphasis)

So far we have that the tactical line the immediate demands are, first economic, those palpable, not at all offensive, to the bourgeoisie, And what else do we get from the sham wings forefathers? Do they mention politics at all? Oh yeah, but check out how.

"...It (the C.P.) strives to unite the scattered fights of the workers into broad class struggles and give them more of a political character..."

This politicalization is bought about by the raising of political demands which grow out of the very struggle itself, not merely

by the active propagation of the ultimate revolutionary program of the Communist Party." (IBID, p. 244)

Well, here is the RU's single spark method, O.L.'s fight-back, ATM's fight back harder. And what does Lenin have to say about "giving them more of a political character."

"Thus, the pompous phrase about "lending the economic struggle itself a political character," which sounds so "terrifically" profound and revolutionary, serves as a screen to conceal what is in fact the traditional striving to degrade Social-Democratic politics to the level of trade union politics! On the pretext of rectifying the one-sidedness of the Iskra, which, it is alleged, places "the revolutionizing of dogma higher than the revolutionizing of life,\* we are presented with the struggle for economic reform as if it were something entirely new. As a matter of fact, the phrase "lending the economic struggle itself of a political character" means nothing more than the struggle for economic reforms". (What Is To Be Done, Peking, p. 76)

And on these so called "palpable demands", Lenin answers all the cries of the opportunists, yesterday and today,

"Take for example the very "measures" for the relief of unemployment and the famine that Martynov himself advances. Whereas the Rabocheye Dyelo is engaged, judging by what it has promised, in drawing up and elaborating a program of "concrete" (in the form of bills?) "demands for legislative and administrative measures," "promising palpable results," the Iskra, which "constantly places the revolutionizing of dogma higher than the revolutionizing of life," tried to explain the inseparable connection between unemployment and the whole capitalist system; warned that "famine is coming"; exposed the police "fight against the famestriken" and the outrageous "provisional penal regulations"; and the Zarya published a special reprint, in the form of an agitation pamphlet, of a section of its "Review of Internal Affairs" dealing with the famine. But good God! How "one-sided" were these incorrigibly narrow and orthodox doctrinaires; how deaf to the calls of "life itself"! Their articles contained--on horror!--not a single, can you imagine it? --not a single "concrete demand," "promising palpable results"! Poor doctrinaires! They ought to be sent to Krichevsky and Martynov to be taught that tactics are a process of growth, of that which grows, etc., and that the economic struggle itself should be given a political character!

(Ibid., p. 79)

Comrades, its crystal clear that the line and program in the 30's of the CPUSA was a right opportunist, economist one. There isn't a shade of doubt about this, no matter how many millions of people it mobilized. Like the Social Democratic Parties of Europe, which were quantitatively larger than the CPUSA, and like the sham wing of today, the numerical strength of the CPUSA is only further testimony to the treachery of the traitors of the proletariat that masquerades as Marxists.

### Bolsheviks Are Clear

The reason we Bolsheviks are so clear on the line is that under the leadership of the Comintern we were struggling against the opportunist line in the CP in the '30's;

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## Key Link

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after the dissolution in 1944 we struggled to reconstitute the CP in 1945, and after the total degeneration in '57, despite the traitorous betrayal of the CP, we, as advanced workers and revolutionary intellectuals continued to struggle against opportunism, turned ourselves into Communist, purged the same line of the CP in the '30's that was resurrected by the RU, now "RC"P, defeated the same line raised by O.L., soon to be CPUSA "(ML)", and all the Mensheviks and conciliators. Standing with the proletariat, the revolutionary heritage of the struggle for the correct line is ours, the Revolutionary wing. Sham wing, your heritage, one of betrayal, of standing upside down, of serving the bourgeoisie, of upholding the bourgeois line.

And flowing from this bourgeois line, the CP withheld ML from the advanced workers and the whole working class, aligned with the Trade Union Bureaucrats and lead the dissolution of the CIO into the hands of the AF of L traitorous leadership, supported the Bourgeoisie and work overtime to prop up the capitalist system. The opportunists leadership of the CP systematically changed the social basis of the party from the working class to the petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy. Like the "RC"P, and Ed Whitfield, they tried to liquidate the contradiction between the proletariat and the labor aristocracy, saying the labor aristocracy was disappearing.

"The so-called skilled workers, although somewhat better-off than the rest, are losing their privileged positions. Unemployment, wage cuts, etc., are also radicalizing these skilled workers, whose position in industry has steadily become less strategic through specialization, mechanization, etc. Their aristocratic isolation from the rest of the workers is being broken down, the crisis is unifying the working class"

(Foster, Toward Soviet America, p. 222)

This line, which tries to present the labor lieutenants of capitalism as loyal sons and daughters of the working class, as simply "better off", not only is part of the theoretical justification for changing the social base of the CP to the petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy, it is also the re-introduction of the treacherous "productive forces theory". The productive forces theory, a bourgeois line, is the revisionist line that starts falsifying Marxist political economy and ends up attacking all of MLMTT. The CP of China sums up this line like this.

"The 'theory of productive forces' is an international revisionist trend that makes a fetish of spontaneity. It absurdly exaggerates the decisive role of productive forces, which it reduces to means of production plus techniques. It completely negates the factor of man and denies the effect of revolution on the development of production, of production relations on productive forces and of the superstructure on the economic base. Such a fallacy would make it appear as if social development were merely the natural outcome of the development of productive forces, that when the productive forces are highly developed a new society would naturally appear, that if the productive forces are not yet highly developed it would be futile for the proletariat consciously to carry out socialist revolution. This fallacy, substituting vulgar evolutionism for revolutionary dialectics, and class conciliation for class struggle, opposes the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. It is historical idealism unalloyed." (Three Major Struggles on China's Philosophical Front, p. 24)

It is exactly this productive forces theory, reflected in the overall line and program of the CPUSA, that is directly put forward in "their aristocratic isolation is being broken down, the crisis is unifying the working class."

The labor aristocracy, which Foster and the "RC"P call "better-off", is a direct result of the development

of imperialism, and the conscious policy of the bourgeoisie to bribe, to buy-off, economically, politically, ideologically, "in a thousand and one ways", a small section of the working class to represent the interests of the bourgeoisie. The aristocracy is not just an objective thing, something that was developed independent of man's will. It was a conscious bribe, and a conscious acceptance of the bribe. It did not develop as a result of the evolution of the productive forces. And it follows from this that the aristocracy can not be eliminated by the evolution of the productive forces, "through specialization, mechanization, etc." As our Albanian comrades clearly point out,

"The automation of the processes of production in no way implies that the aristocracy has disappeared from the ranks of the workers, as the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists claim, saying that now we allegedly have a middle working class with good income. In reality, regardless of the degree of development of science and technique in production, in capitalist countries the stratum of working class aristocracy exists and is growing." (Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement, Filip Kota, p. 69)

The labor aristocracy will no more evolve back into the working class than the monopoly capitalists will evolve back into small entrepreneurs, or the state will evolve into an organ to mediate the class struggle. As Bolsheviks, we know that the proletariat, led by the U.S. Bolshevik Party, must seize, violently, the state, consciously institute its dictatorship and smash the bourgeoisie, and under socialism continue to struggle against all opposing class interests, including those of the labor aristocracy, using persuasion but also, when necessary coercion, as we cover the long transition period to communism, the classless society.

Foster, "RC"P, ATM, all you opportunists, listen here, the productive forces theory is not, as you all claim, the private property of Lovestone and Browder. As we've clearly pointed out, all you revisionists, mensheviks, conciliators have laid claim to this bankrupt line and proudly carry it forward.

Comrades, it was the degeneration of the line of the CPUSA, which was developed and led by its leadership, that was the cause of their dissolution in 1944, and it was the failure to purge this line and all exponents when the CP was reconstituted in '45, that led to the total, out and out consolidation of the complete revisionist line in '57, when the central task became not to reconstitute the existing CPUSA, but to break and build a new party, the U.S. Bolshevik Party along new revolutionary lines.

Before we wrap up this part of the polemic, let's look again at the sham hero, the real traitor, Foster. When the CP was dissolved in '44, Foster claimed that he polemicized against the line of Browder, then put on a long, long coat to the international communist movement, and lied that he had led the struggle for reconstituting the Party. Genuine Bolsheviks in the CP did correctly struggle to reconstitute the Party, but Foster was not one of them. He was pursuing his own career and road to power on the initiative that was coming from some of the ranks of the CP, the leadership being thoroughly bankrupt. Foster never went to the essence of Browder's line, he only "freely" expressed some differences, the differences between right opportunism and total revisionism. There was one person who did polemicize against Browder's line on the Central Committee, his name was Sam Darcy, and Foster headed the committee that purged him!

The Communist Party of China, in a footnote to Chairman Mao's "Telegram to William Z. Foster", lays out the essence of Browder's line.

"During World War II, the rightist ideas in the Communist Party of the U.S.A., of which Browder was the chief exponent, developed into an anti-Marxist revisionist-capitulationist line. From December 1943 onward,

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## Editorial Statement

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Resolution of the Comintern, 1932 - "The Struggle Against the Provocateur" (See Palante, Vol. 6, #6, "Mensheviks are Objectively Agents of the Bourgeoisie")

Mao - "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party", MSW, Vol. 2

Bobvosky - Twenty Years in Underground Russia "Memoirs of a Rank-and-File Bolshevik", Section - "My First Period of Underground Work"

October Palante, Vol. 6, #10

"Strengthening Democratic Centralism of Party Committees", Reprint from Peking Review, 1971

Hoxha - "Report Delivered to the 1st Consultative Meeting of the Activist of the Communist Party of Albania", EHSW, Vol. 1

Comintern Resolutions Numbers 28 & 30, On the Afro-American National Question

September Palante, "African Liberation Support Committee," Vol. 6, #9

Study Philosophy - "Getting to the Essence of a Problem"

"Democratic Centralism of Party Committees" - reprint from Peking Review

Draft Program of the U.S. Bolshevik Party

In further carrying out our chief form of work, serving our central and only task, WE OPEN UP THE PAGES OF OUR PRESS TO BOLSHEVIKS throughout the country in the Revolutionary wing - advanced workers, Marxist-Leninist collectives, comrades in ALSC, FFM, PRSU and some of our subscribers.

As we open up the pages of our press we will be struggling out shades of differences among Bolsheviks. We have already stated the correctness of the line on key link, fusion, periods, main danger, tactical and strategic principles - these are not up for question.

What we want to polemicize with is the secondary aspect among Bolsheviks, shades of differences. Shades of differences, which if not brought forward and struggled out can lead to developing justifications for views held, to degeneration. As stated in Palante, Vol 6, #7, "First concealment of views, then attempts to justify them theoretically, degenerating into a full system of views and finally degenerating into totally revising Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-tung Thought."

We open the pages of our press based on unity on line - struggling out shades of differences. Some comrades may say we struggle too hard against shades of differences. We say no - we can never struggle too hard. Starting out with basic political unity, through struggling out shades, we build greater unity. Struggling out shades will serve to strengthen the line.

Failure to struggle out shades of differences among Bolsheviks serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, the mensheviks, the right opportunist conciliationists, and the paid bourgeois agents in and outside our ranks. Struggling against shades of differences is a huge dose of poison to all those who day and nite try to stop the formation of the U.S. Bolshevik Party.

As we struggle out shades of differences, these agents of the bourgeoisie, desperately trying to destroy Bolsheviks, try to raise shades of differences to antagonistic contradictions. They say the contradictions are antagonistic, that Menshevism is on the rise, that Bolsheviks are conciliators, are mensheviks, all these lugs, this ideological preparation done to try to demoralize, to get Bolsheviks to self-cultivate, and degenerate, to destroy the Party as they try to sneak their slimy line into power. Hell no, slimy snakes of the marsh. We will continue to bury you as we open up the pages of our press, propagating that Bolsheviks are not afraid to struggle shades of differences out in the open; the Bolsheviks are about serious business, stepping on any slime that gets in the way of the Party coming into being.

Comrades who write in must express their unity on line and sum-up what has been the struggle for application of the line. As Lenin said, through the press can come the exchange of experiences, learning from the enriched local experiences of comrades fighting to apply the line. As comrades write in polemicizing on shades of differences, unity on line will strengthen. We call on advanced workers to bring forward their stand taken in the struggle against opportunism, particularly the sham wing, those forces who belittle advanced workers and who would never see advanced workers being part of the Revolutionary Wing. Yes, as we open the pages of our press, more death blows to the sham wing. Unlike the sham wing, the Bolshevik Party Press will be no place for a free battle of ideas, for freedom of criticism, for freedom of literary creation, for as Comrade Lenin said, these are expression of bourgeois intellectual individualism. What we are about is use of the press to continue bringing forward new forces to carry out our task; to continue hammering out the Party's basic line and program the key link.

We will not publish any anti-Party views - we have firm editorial policies, unity on line, no social-democratic club here. For those seeking this road - write to the Call.

Firm editorial policies, struggling out shades of differences as the line gets strengthened, drawing firmer lines of demarcation with all opportunists and revisionists.

Comrades who write in will be given the strictest security precautions. We will not be publishing the names of comrades who write in.

We also encourage our supporters who have written or sent in for subscriptions to any literature from the Bolshevik Party Press and have not gotten a response to write again to inform us. There has been sabotage of our mail and of our press, as Palante, Vol. 6, #7 reported:

"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, #6, "Mensheviks are Objectively Agents of the Bourgeoisie") while internally they had infiltrated Palante subscriptions 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."

Comrades, do not become discouraged by these acts of sabotage. We will get out the propaganda of the wing and no bourgeois agents can stop us. In fact, we will be using our own agents to distribute Bolshevik Party Press literature more broadly. We will also print and disseminate Marxist-Leninist works to ensure that all Party cadre have access to works that are required readings and that may be out of print or difficult to get.

We are serious about our work ahead, preparing for the First Party Congress. Our vigilance is heightened - no room for waverings - hammering out the Party's basic line and program, the key link as we continue to carry out our central and only task, Party building.

"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." ("Circular to the Party Organizations of the Tirana Region on the Strengthening of the Party and the Revolutionary Spirit", Selected Works, Enver Hoxha, p. 67).

## Attempts at Reversal Of Verdicts

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the commanded. They placed the achievement of modernization above everything else and in command of everything and declared that "taking the three directives as the key link" was precisely for the purpose of modernization. In this way, class struggle as the key link was liquidated, and so was the fundamental task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaving only the so-called "modernization." If this were followed, wouldn't our Party become a "party for production" and a revisionist party? And wouldn't our Party's programme have to be revised? If things were to develop along this line, then it would take less than 25 years for the whole of China to change its political colour.

Marxism holds that in general the productive forces and the economic base play the principal and decisive role in the development of history as a whole; at the same time, however, we must recognize the reaction of the relations of production on the productive forces and that of the superstructure on the economic base. When the old relations of production and the superstructure become a hindrance to the development of the productive forces and the economic base, then changes in the relations of production and the superstructure play the principal and decisive role. Chairman Mao pointed out in his *On Coalition Government* during the democratic revolution: "In the last analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and the practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces, and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces." He went on to say: "The social productive forces of China can be liberated only by destroying the Japanese aggressors, carrying out land reform, emancipating the peasants, developing modern industry and establishing an independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and powerful new China — and this will win the approbation of the Chinese people." Here Chairman Mao emphasizes that only revolution can liberate the productive forces. In the period of socialism, Chairman Mao also has always emphasized the rôle played by continuous changes in the relations of production and the superstructure in promoting the development of the productive forces and has laid down for our Party the principle of grasping revolution, promoting production. The vigorous development of all undertakings in China's construction since the start of the Cultural Revolution has eloquently proved that this great revolution is a powerful motive force for developing the country's social productive forces.

However, in order to push ahead with the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," the article on the "general programme" vehemently attacked the principle of grasping revolution, promoting production, lashed at putting proletarian politics in command, and peddled the theory of productive forces. It openly distorted the above-mentioned passage from Chairman Mao's *On Coalition Government* and, employing the vile practice of quoting out of context, deliberately deleted that part of Chairman Mao's statement about carrying on the revolution. Instead, it dwelt only on production and considered that so long as production developed, it would be "real revolution" and following the "correct line" no matter what road was taken. In a word, it still harped on

Teng Hsiao-ping's theory of "white cat and black cat." According to this logic, aren't the two superpowers the "most correct" and the "most revolutionary" because they have the highest output of steel and the greatest objective reality independent of man's will. How haughty and ferocious Teng Hsiao-ping was when he, thinking that he had his way, launched an attack on the proletariat! Pledging to overthrow the so-called "class enemies who oppose Marxism" and to "fight for the truth" "with undaunted faith," he really wished he could strike down the proletariat with one blow.

Historical experience shows that both old and new revisionists often make a fuss about economy in order to oppose the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. Following in their footsteps and wearing the mask of an "expert" in developing economy, Teng Hsiao-ping pretended to be most concerned about production and most acquainted with it. But what he actually did was trying to restore capitalism on the pretext of grasping production. Using "everything for modernization" as his slogan, he did his utmost to oppose the revolution in all spheres of the superstructure and at the same time stubbornly pushed a revisionist line in the economic field in a vain attempt to change the orientation of China's socialist construction. He vigorously peddled bourgeois ideas about economy and preached giving top priority to science and technology, the omnipotence of revisionist rules and regulations, putting personal material gains first, and so on and so forth. But he never mentioned people and revolution as the most important factors, and evaded the question of criticizing the capitalist-roaders, his aim being to liquidate the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. He opposed the leadership of the Party and advocated "relying on specialists to run the factories"; he opposed putting proletarian politics in command and advocated material incentives; he opposed relying on the masses and launching mass movements and advocated reintroducing rigid regulations to "control, check and suppress the workers" and stifle their enthusiasm for socialism; he opposed bringing into play the initiatives of both central and local authorities and, in his attempt to stress one-sidedly the initiative of the central authorities, he wanted to implement once again the principle of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned"; he opposed the principle of "walking on two legs" and one-sidedly stressed things ostentatious and foreign; he opposed the principle of independence and self-reliance and spread the philosophy of servility to things foreign and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace. By worshipping everything foreign, Teng Hsiao-ping exposed his real features as a slavish comprador-capitalist and caused grave consequences in China's socialist construction. If things were to develop the way he wished, China's economic construction would be led astray on to the road of capitalism and our country would once again be reduced to the status of a colony or semi-colony.

### Reversing Correct Verdicts Goes Against The Will of the People

The concocting of the article on the "general programme" once again shows that class struggle is an objective reality independent of man's will. How haughty and ferocious Teng Hsiao-ping was when he,

thinking that he had his way, launched an attack on the proletariat! Pledging to overthrow the so-called "class enemies who oppose Marxism" and to "fight for the truth" "with undaunted faith," he really wished he could strike down the proletariat with one blow.

However, the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts might gain the upper hand for a time, it was in essence extremely feeble. **Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people.** The truth was not in the hands of those who tried to reverse correct verdicts and bring about capitalist restoration. They feared the truth the most and were very afraid of the masses possessing the truth. Not long after the article had been written, they sensed that the general trend was not to their advantage, so they took great pains to rewrite it again and again, taking out such words as overthrowing the "class enemies who oppose Marxism." How strange all this was! Why was it that all of a sudden there was no need for them to overthrow the "class enemies" who "oppose Marxism"? Why was it that the authors who pledged to "fight for the truth" "with undaunted faith" had suddenly become irresolute and weak-minded? In rewriting the article, the authors added some sentences which they had no intention at all to say, and deleted some sentences which reflected their real intentions, and they resorted to a more crafty and more disguised way to attack the proletariat. But the result was the more they wanted to cover up their designs, the more they exposed themselves for what they really were.

In any great revolution in history, it takes more time to consolidate and develop the achievements of the revolution than to carry out the revolution itself. And during that revolution and for a very long time after it, there is always the struggle between attempts at reversal of verdicts and counter-reversal and between restoration and counter-restoration. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has opened up broad vistas for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It shoulders the task of mobilizing the masses to make revolution against the bourgeoisie, especially the bourgeoisie within the Party, in the period of socialism. It has provided extremely valuable experiences for combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism. The nature, tasks and significance of the Great Cultural Revolution determine that all those who practise revisionism and advocate restoration and retrogression will inevitably try to reverse the correct appraisal of the Cultural Revolution. To affirm or to negate the Great Cultural Revolution is a question of building genuine or sham socialism and a question of carrying the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end or giving it up halfway. The current great struggle against the Right deviationist trend is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and an issue of cardinal importance concerning the destiny and future of our Party and state. We must resolutely smash the attack launched by the bourgeoisie, consolidate and develop the great achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution so as to ensure that our country will advance triumphantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

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## Key Link

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Browder advocated this line in a number of speeches and articles and in April 1944 he published *Teheran* as his Right opportunist programme. Revising the basic Leninist theses that imperialism is monopolistic, decadent and moribund capitalism, and denying the imperialist nature of U.S. capitalism, he declared the U.S. capitalism. "Retains some of the characteristics of a young capitalism" (Browder's italics) and that there is a "common interest" between the proletariat and the big bourgeoisie in the U.S.A. Thus he pleaded for the safeguarding of the system of monopolist trusts and dreamed about saving U.S. capitalism from inevitable crises by means of class conciliation. Basing himself on this absurd appraisal of U.S. capitalism and following a capitulationist line of

class collaboration with monopoly capital, Browder in May 1944 presided over the dissolution of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., the party of the U.S. proletariat, and formed a non-Party organization, the Communist Political Association of the U.S.A." (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. III, p. 287 & 288)

Now check out how Foster "polemicized" against Browder in 1944, when the CP was dissolved. Check out what the "some differences" Foster had and once again we will use his own words.

"In Comrade Browder's report to the recent meeting of the National Committee, which was adopted as our Party's policy, there are, in my opinion, a number of serious errors which must be corrected." (*Marxism-Leninism vs Revisionism*, "Foster's Letter to National Committee", p. 7)

con't on p

# TO THE STRIKING MINERS OF UNITED MINE WORKERS

Comrade Brothers & Sisters:

We salute you in your courageous struggle against the bourgeoisie and their agents the Trade Union "leaders", sold out lackies of the company; You have ripped off the "liberal" mask from Miller's face who comes forward calling you a "dissident minority" serving as a mouth piece of the capitalist class his treachery revealed as he tries to break the strike, "Back to work" trying to convince all fellow workers to be content with slave wages, with crumbs, bad conditions of life, unemployment, humiliation, occupational deceases and deaths. His are the words of all traitors of the working class.

Today as our struggle for the U.S. Bolshevik Party of the working class intensifies it is clear we are marching forward and preparing to storm the gates of reaction. Nothing can stop us, of this we are sure. Our struggle is indeed a long and hard one, but the future for the working class and all the oppressed masses is certainly bright.

With the building of our Party, the real leader of the working class will be born to illuminate the path, no individual men, no individual heroes, just the highest form of organization of the working class, the most disciplined, the most resolute fighter for freedom. Leading the struggle against the exploiting class the U.S. imperialist who together with the USSR Social Imperialist exploit and oppress the peoples of the world.

South African miners are living deplorable conditions in their own countries rich in natural resources; colonialism condemns them to a life of servitude, earning slave wages of \$55 a month, while the U.S. bloodsuckers pay European highly skilled workers in South Africa, the labor aristocrats, \$750 a month. Our class brothers and sisters in South Africa are rising and will be victorious in their struggle for freedom will overthrow colonial oppression, will kick out the foreign aggressors and their lackies in South Africa; our fight is one with theirs. "No country can be free if it oppresses another", correctly said the great leader of the proletariat

Karl Marx. In our battles we join hands with our international class brothers and sisters, and vow to carry forth our internationalist duty, bring down by force the ruling class, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Men like Miller, the social props of imperialism must be run out of the unions so that under the leadership of our Party the trade unions will indeed be fighting organizations of the working class.

Our struggle can not be measured in dollars and cents, ours is the mighty cause, the emancipation of the working class. The bourgeoisie trembles before the awakening of the proletariat, expressed most thoroughly in the coming into being of our Party who will prepare the working class for the revolutionary upsurge which is on the horizon.

You comrade workers fill our hearts with inspiration and courage. We vow to you that we will carry on with our work of Party building, that we will guard it against the opportunists who want to wreck it from within, who want to keep the struggle of the working class at the level of the struggle for economic demands, a struggle for reforms, keep the class blinded and wandering amidst the world of private property, and exploitation. Social props like Miller, who try to divert the working class from its Final Aim, the abolition of classes.

But we will not retreat, such as you continue to push forward, you propel us onward. The Party will come to the lead to give direction, to organize the class struggle of the proletariat, for political power, for the seizure of state power. Such is the essence of the revolution.

In solidarity with your courageous struggle, we extend our hands of class conviction and determination to carry on through to the end the proletarian revolution.

Workers and Oppressed Peoples of the World Unite!  
Onward Towards the First Congress of the U.S.  
Bolshevik Party!

The Revolutionary Wing

## KEY LINK

con't from pg. 23

Of the top, he started out conciliating calling a full revisionist line, "serious errors". He states that he disagrees with Browders line of national unity with the bourgeoisie, because among other things it would hurt the Presidential election campaign. The election of the C.P. candidate?, Oh, no, the election of the bourgeoisie candidate, Roosevelt.

"In this most crucial election since 1864 our duty as a Communist Party is plain, We must go all-out for a continuation of the Roosevelt policies as the only way to support effectively the Teheran decisions, both

"Without a programme, it is impossible for the party to be a more or less integral organism, able always to hold to a line through each and every turn of events. Without a tactical line, based on an evaluation of the current political moment and giving exact answers to the "accursed problems" of the present, it is possible to have a small group of theoreticians, but not an operative political unit."

Lenin, "On the Election Campaign and the Election Platform"

in their national and international implications." (ibid, p. 14)

The essence of Foster-Browder unity - class collaboration, just like the OL and RU squabbles. And on the question of socialism, Foster comes right out with his opportunist line.

"While it is correct to say, as Comrade Browder does, that socialism is not the issue in the war, not will it be the issue in the immediate postwar period in the United States, and that, therefore, to raise the issue now could only result in narrowing down the national unity necessary to win the war and to carry out generally the decisions of Teheran, nevertheless, merely to take this negative attitude toward Socialism is not enough." (ibid, p. 18)

No, Foster, it is enough, to prove your spineless opportunism, And it is also enough to see that, with your line guiding the reconstitution, the CP did not break with opportunism in '45, it just slowed down the degeneration a little bit.

Comrades, we will now conclude this first part of the polemic on the development of the Party's basic line and program of action. In the next issue of Palante we will polemicize against today's model program of opportunism in the U.S., the "RC" program, and draw out its unity with the CPUSA program and with the sham wing of the anti-revisionist communist movement. We encourage all genuine Marxist-Leninists and class conscious workers to actively participate in the polemics, as we march "FORWARD TO THE FIRST CONGRESS THE U.S. BOLSHEVIK PARTY!"

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(This theoretical journal will soon be translated and available in Spanish)

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Pamphlet by  
The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization

(This pamphlet will soon be translated and available in Spanish)

# STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF THE PRRWO

We are a communist organization. We adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought and uphold the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung. 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 a 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 from the leading revolutionary examples of the People's Republic of China and Albania.