

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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End the Criminal Rule
of the U.S. Monopoly Capitalist Class,
Fight for Socialism!

The Proletariat and Oppressed People
and Nations of the World, Unite!

PARTY OF THE U.S. PROLETARIAT IS NEARER THAN EVER BEFORE!

COMRADES, WORKERS, FRIENDS!

For many years, the multinational U.S. proletariat has been without its vanguard Communist Party, capable of leading it through the twists and turns of class struggle toward its historic destiny -- the armed overthrow of the U.S. bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and pressing on through socialist construction toward classless communist society.

In the era of imperialism, the eve of proletarian revolution, an era in which imperialism intensifies and exacerbates all of the basic contradictions in the world, when the imperialist system is heading towards its total collapse, when the victory of socialism is possible in one or a few countries, when the objective factor for revolution is ripe and the subjective factor is lagging, the proletariat in imperialist countries must carry out immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. First and foremost in this preparation is the formation of our genuine Communist Party, the principal task in the absence of such.

The struggle for the vanguard Communist Party, in the 8- or 9 year history of our anti-revisionist communist movement, has been terribly fierce, but indeed very rich and fruitful, as genuine revolutionaries have sorted out the opportunists and unstable elements from among our ranks, and forged greater ideological and political unity. This is a testament to the truth that Marxism develops in the course of struggle -- it always has and it always will. Genuine communists in the U.S., learning from the glorious traditions of the revolutionary U.S. and multinational proletariat, have worked hard for this day, fighting against the international and domestic modern revisionists, as well as the right and "left" opportunists in our movement. After repeated trials of strength with the petty bourgeois fellow travellers and sham Marxists in our movement, the genuine Marxist-Leninists are holding hands tighter than ever before, as we march toward our first Party Congress.

Comrades, workers, and friends! The Party that the U.S. proletariat has been waiting for is nearer than ever before! This issue contains statements by some genuine Marxist-Leninist circles which represent the motion of rallying around the correct line of the leading circle -- the Workers Viewpoint Organization. The statements in this issue clearly demonstrate that, based on the correct political line of the WVO, building the party on the proletarian ideological plane is the most correct and truly irresistible trend.

The approach to uniting Marxist-Leninists on the highest level of unity to build the Party, by the Bolshevik Organizing Collective/Communist Workers Committee (M-L) and the Union for Working Class Emancipation, are manifestations of the real "Iskra principle" in our movement. The essence of the Iskra principle is not an "Iskra-type newspaper," nor the Organizing Committee, as opportunists claim (see WVO newspaper Vol. I, No. 6 (Sept./Oct. 1976) on "October League's Organizing Committee Forums"), but the fight for the hegemony of the correct ideological and political line that unites and rallies around the leading circle all the truly genuine Marxist-Leninists in our movement. This is the revolutionary tradition of Lenin. This is the only real "Iskra principle."

OIL WORKERS PREPARE CAST AWAY ILLUSIONS-- DEEPEN THE CLASS STRUGGLE!

The struggle around the upcoming contract for oil workers will be another test of strength in the life and death struggle between the working class and the monopoly capitalist class. We must cast away all illusions and step up our preparations for the battles ahead!

Oil is one of the most important and vital industries in the U.S. economy, controlled by a handful of monopoly capitalists. It is not only an important source of fuel, it is also a fundamental raw material for other industries in the economy such as transport, steel, and chemicals. In order to seize state power from the monopoly capitalists, it

is of strategic importance that the working class, under the leadership of its Party, is able to win the revolutionary workers of the oil industry and direct them in carrying out their revolutionary tasks. This is why we must entrench ourselves in the refineries in the form of building factory nuclei. As Lenin said, "We must turn every factory into our fortress." This is a component part of our principal task of party building and the immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat for the cause of revolutionary socialism and communism!

We must step up our preparation for the upcoming contract

struggle now! Strengthen our factory nuclei, conduct consistent propaganda, agitation, exposing the treacherous schemes of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) misleaders' sell-out scheme and begin to strengthen Communist leadership of the rank and file in every plant. OCAW International's President Grospron is now forming a "National Oil Bargaining Program" (NOBP) in order to "avoid labor strife." He has made it clear that he wants to "choose only a few issues" to negotiate and not a "laundry list" of demands. What he is really saying is that he and the other sell-out union misleaders

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Marxist-Leninists Unite

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Rallying around the leading circle, WVO, the BOC/CWC and UFWCE comrades, for example, reflect the fact that the correct line and the correct approach to build a party has gained dominance and has shone through the muddy and philistine atmosphere of the communist movement, and therefore it indicates that the Party is nearer than ever before. We are reaching a transitional stage from uniting Marxist-Leninists as principal to winning the advanced workers as principal. Uniting Marxist-Leninists to form the party of the U.S. proletariat will enable us to undertake the task of fusion between the genuine communist and workers movement in a more systematic, scientific, deep, and all-round way. That is why the formation of the genuine vanguard party of the U.S. proletariat will mark the single "biggest step towards this fusion."

In the next issue of our newspaper, the WVO will issue its DECLARATION, summing up the history of the struggle for the Party in our movement, the present situation, draw the correct conclusions, and point out what is the only road forward to the party for the genuine Marxist-Leninist circles and individuals in the revolutionary trend of our movement.

LET THE BOURGEOISIE AND OPPORTUNISTS TREMBLE!
IMMEDIATE PREPARATION FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT
FOR THE NOBLE GOAL OF COMMUNISM!

FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING PARTY CONGRESS!

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CARRY ON THE GREAT OCTOBER



LED BY THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY, under the direct leadership of Lenin, the Russian proletariat carry out the first successful socialist revolution.



Last month marked the 59th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, and the 27th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

In October 1917, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Russian proletariat seized state power from the Russian bourgeoisie and established the dictatorship of the proletariat and the first socialist country in the world. The founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, was the culmination of the years of struggle and sacrifice of the Chinese people, who were led to victory by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung of the Communist Party of China.

These victories are celebrated around the world by oppressed people struggling for emancipation from imperialism, social-imperialism, hegemonism, zionism, etc., and the shackles of wage slavery. These victories of the international proletariat and oppressed people inspire all of us to continue our struggle and dare to seize victory.

This year, our celebration of the October Revolution was coupled with deep grief at the death of the great leader and teacher of the international proletariat and oppressed peoples, Chairman Mao Tse-Tung. But we must turn our grief into strength by upholding the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, whose entire life was dedicated to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples around the world and the cause of communism. The teachings of Chairman Mao live on in the hearts and minds of all revolutionary peoples; his teachings are a spark that lights the flames of revolution around the world.

When we use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and the lessons of revolutionary struggles to guide us in our present tasks, we carry on the traditions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao, and the traditions of the Great October revolutions.

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA
In 1871, the great French proletariat carried out the historic uprising of the Paris Commune. This March 1871 uprising was the first attempt by the proletariat anywhere in the world to seize state power and overthrow the capitalist system, and become masters of their own destiny. The Paris Commune, although defeated because of the unpreparedness of the proletariat, was a great epoch-making revolution, the first dress rehearsal of world-wide significance in

the proletariat's struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. On the verge of the defeat of the Paris Commune, Karl Marx wrote, "if the commune should be destroyed, the struggle would only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are eternal and indestructible, they will present themselves again and again until the working class is liberated."

After the defeat of the Paris Commune, the most important principle of the Commune experience that Marx summed up was that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and use it for its own purposes. The proletariat must use revolutionary means to seize state power, smash the military bureaucratic state machine of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as a transitional period to the classless society of Communism. This is precisely the fundamental question that divides genuine Marxism-Leninism from sham. After the death of Marx and Engels, it was none other than V.I. Lenin who waged a thoroughly uncompromising struggle against the opportunists and revisionists in order to safeguard the principles of the Paris Commune. The dictatorship of the proletariat, in which the Paris Commune did not succeed, finally triumphed 49 years later in the Great October Socialist Revolution under Lenin's direct leadership. It was a continuation of the Paris Commune.

The tremendous exploitation and oppression of the Russian working class, peasantry and various nationalities under the yoke of Tsarism and the Russian bourgeoisie, unleashed what Lenin described as an "incredibly destructive power" directed against the Russian exploiters. This destructive power against Czarism is the constructive power of the masses of workers and peasants for bourgeois democratic revolution, and is used immediately to serve socialist revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, for the cause of Communism. This exploitation and oppression of the Russian proletariat, peasantry and various nationalities was aggravated and intensified by the first imperialist war of 1914-17. The Bolshevik Party turned these around into a fight for socialism.

The faint-hearted social-chauvinist parties of the 2nd International attempted to lull the working class of Europe into collaboration with their own bourgeoisies in the imperialist war. With the slogan "defence of the Fatherland"

these opportunists liquidated the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and advocated defense of one imperialist bourgeoisie against another! V.I. Lenin, the great leader of the Russian proletariat, raised the slogan "turn imperialist war into civil war" and unmasked the class collaboration of the traitors of the 2nd International, clearly pointing to the only road for the proletariat of Russia and all Europe. Lenin exposed the social-chauvinists who clung to legal forms of struggle, all too willing to defect to the camp of the bourgeoisie in the face of the sharp twists and turns of the war. The traitor Parties of the 2nd International were not prepared organizationally, politically or ideologically to lead the proletariat in class war against the bourgeoisie. Lenin said:

"...you are given a rifle or a splendid and most up-to-date quick-firing gun, take this weapon of death and destruction, pay no heed to the mawkish snivellers who are afraid of war; too much still remains in the world that must be destroyed with fire and sword for the emancipation of the working class; if anger and desperation grow among the masses, if a revolutionary situation arises, prepare to create new organizations and use these useful weapons of death and destruction against your own government and your own bourgeoisie. (Lenin, "Collapse of the 2nd International", 1915. In *Against Revisionism*. Progress Publishers, p. 261. Emphasis original.)

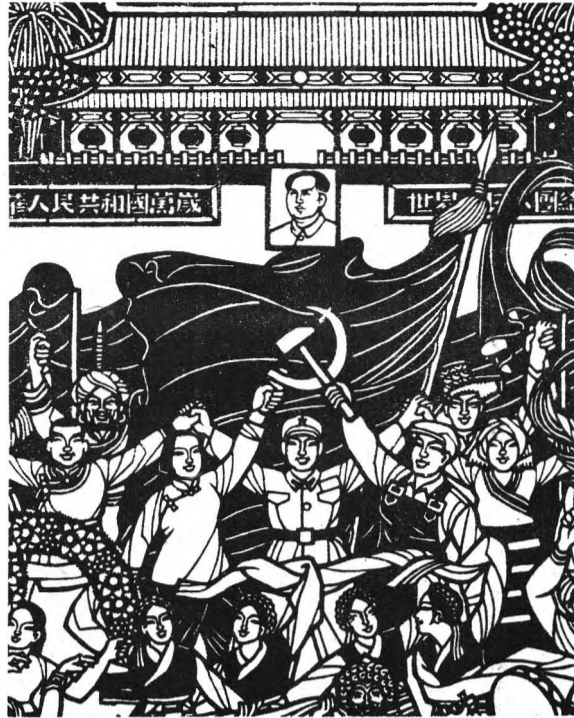
And in 1917, the Party of Lenin led the proletariat in class war against their own bourgeoisie, concretely turning a bad thing into a good thing: imperialist war into civil war. The Bolshevik Party was the only party capable to lead the proletariat to victory. An essential aspect of this was Lenin's struggle and exposure of the social-chauvinists of the 2nd International and the practical test of the correctness of the ideological and political line of the proletarian vanguard. The fundamental condition for the success of the October Revolution was the Bolshevik Party with the granite foundation of Marxist theory and steeled in struggle against opportunism.

This Leninist Party was a two-edged sword, honed and tempered in fierce class struggle. As Stalin summed up:

TRADITIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONS !!



LENIN ON RED SQUARE on the second anniversary of the Great October Revolution, 1919.



CHAIRMAN MAO PROCLAIMS the founding of Peoples Republic of China, October 1, 1949.

"The Bolsheviks wanted to create a new party, a Bolshevist party, which would serve as a model for all who wanted to have a real revolutionary Marxist party.... They worked for it stubbornly, persistently, in spite of everything.... Lenin's What is to be Done? was the ideological preparation for such a party. Lenin's One Step Forward, Two Steps Back was the organizational preparation for such a party. Lenin's Two Tactics was the political preparation for such a party. And Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism was the theoretical preparation for such a party.

It may be safely said that never in history has any political group been so thoroughly prepared to constitute itself a party as the Bolshevik group was." (History of the CPSU (B), Proletarian Publishers, p. 141.)

Led by this Party, the Russian proletariat carried out the first successful socialist revolution in October 1917, and established the first country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This victory of the Russian proletariat was a victory for the international proletariat. It was a shining beacon and inspiration to the workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world, the beginning of the world proletarian revolution.

The imperialist jackals, particularly the US, Britain, France and Japan, alarmed that the example of the Russian proletariat might serve to encourage the workers and soldiers of the Western imperialist countries, to turn their guns on their own bourgeoisies also, attempted to strangle the newborn Soviet state, and acting in league with the counterrevolutionary forces in Russia at that time, carried out armed intervention against the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the heroic Russian working class and people of various nationalities, with the support of the working class and revolutionary peoples around the world, drove off the imperialist bandits and consolidated the world's first great socialist republic.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN CHINA

Through the October revolution, the voice of Lenin quickly resounded throughout the world. The Chinese people's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal May 4th

Movement in 1919, as Chairman Mao put it, "came into being at the call of the world revolution of that time, of the Russian revolution and of Lenin." (Mao, On New Democracy.)

China, prior to the victory of the Chinese people in October 1949, was known as the "sick man of Asia." Plundered by imperialist powers from without (Japan, US, Britain, France, Germany, etc.) and internal feudal and bourgeois exploiters, the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC waged a long, and heroic struggle to overthrow feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the three great mountains on the backs of the Chinese people.

The CPC, formed in 1921, became tested and steeled, like the Bolshevik party in Russia, and here too, was the fundamental weapon for the success of the Chinese revolution.

Chairman Mao led the struggle against right and "Left" opportunists in the Party, pointing out, "When the incorrect line prevailed, the mistakes in the Party's guiding policy made correct solutions of practical problems impossible..." (Mao, Our Study and the Current Situation; Appendix: Resolution on some Questions in the History of our Party, 1960. FLPH, p. 63.) Chairman Mao waged these struggles in the ideological, political, organisational and military spheres, each time consolidating the correct line and policy of the CPC and enriching Marxism-Leninism. By upholding Marxism-Leninism unswervingly, the CPC and Chairman Mao were able to lead the Chinese people to victory. As Chairman Mao said,

The 20 years of the Chinese Communist Party have been 20 years in which the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism has become more and more integrated with the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution. ...it was only after WWI and the October Revolution in Russia that we found Marxism-Leninism, the best of truths, the best of weapons for liberating our nation. And the Chinese Communist Party has been the initiator, propagandist and organizer in the wielding of this weapon. As soon as it was linked with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism gave an entirely new complexion to the Chinese Revolution." (Mao, Reform Our Study, 1941. In, Selected Readings, FLP. P. 198-199.)

Guided by the most advanced theory of revolution, coupled with the correct reflection of the hopes and determination of the Chinese people for liberation, Chairman Mao and the CPC led the Chinese people to victory.

On October 1, 1949, after the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, overthrew the three great mountains, Chairman Mao in proclaiming the founding of the Peoples Republic of China, said that "the Chinese people have stood up!" China was no longer the "sick man of Asia". China is now another beacon for the oppressed and exploited people the world over. Nearly one quarter of the world's people had been liberated from the yoke of imperialist oppression and exploitation. This was truly a direct continuation of the Russian October revolution and the Paris Commune.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL LESSONS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Under the banner of Lenin, under the banner of the October Revolution, a new world revolution began, the era of proletarian revolution.

Lenin revealed a number of fundamental truths concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism on its deathbed. Lenin pointed out that because capitalism grown to the stage of imperialism intensified all of the contradictions of capitalism (intensifies oppression and exploitation), and because capitalism not only oppresses and exploits the people of its own countries, but also the people of the whole world turning most countries into their colonies and dependencies that imperialism is the source of world war because of its mad scramble for world markets, sources of raw material, investment and cheap labor. Lenin also revealed the law of the un-even development of capitalism, and the possibility of the victory of socialism in one or a few countries. So long as imperialism exists, because of its inevitable struggle to redivide the world, war will remain. Therefore, since this was the highest, and final stage of capitalism, imperialism is the eve of proletarian revolution, and the proletariat around the world must carry out the immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the

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THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

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proletariat.

Lenin also considered it of prime importance for the proletariat to establish the proletarian Party of a New Type that breaks with and grows in the struggle against opportunism, without which imperialism and capitalism cannot be overthrown. This party must be armed with the science of the proletariat, MLMTTT, rely on the masses, and be the advanced detachment of the proletariat. Without such a party the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be realized and the full mobilization of the masses carried out to consolidate and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat against external and internal class enemies.

Are these teachings of Lenin now outmoded? On imperialism, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the vanguard party? Imperialists and revisionists the world over have attempted to call these fundamental truths lies or outmoded things. The modern revisionists, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique in the Soviet Union distorted Lenin's teachings and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union, trying to negate and betray Lenin's thesis on the era of imperialism and the task of the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples. Genuine Marxist-Leninists had to thoroughly expose the absurdities of the modern revisionists, eradicate their influence from among the masses, awaken those that were temporarily hoodwinked by this garbage, and further arouse the revolutionary will of the masses.

The victory of the great Chinese people (through the theory of the two stage revolution, with the minimum program of New Democracy) solved for the first time in Marxist history the problem of making proletarian revolution in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where capitalism was not as developed as in European countries.

In the course of the Chinese revolution, in kicking out the imperialists, the Chinese people were also able to develop its culture, language, and its national identity, as a country with sovereignty and dignity standing equal among the community of nations in the world.

In making a transition from the New Democratic Revolution to Socialist Revolution in 1957, and in further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, socialist China stood out as a beacon for the working class and oppressed peoples and nations around the world.

The degeneration of Yugoslavia and particularly the great Soviet Union, once the bastion of the world proletariat, into capitalist states is a major issue for the working class and oppressed people of the world, both for the immediate interests of the working class and from the theoretical stand point. It shows that capitalism can be restored in the dictatorship of the proletariat once the superstructure, the line, and leadership are seized from the hands of genuine communists and fall into the hands of scabs and renegades of the proletariat, the revisionists. This struggle between revolution and restoration and counter-restoration has proven to be the principal question for the proletariat in socialist countries in this era of imperialism, socialism in one or a few countries, where the soil for capitalism still exists.

In the era of imperialism, socialism in one or a few countries, the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one or a few countries is a proletarian internationalist duty for the proletariat and oppressed nations and countries of the world. And conversely, Chairman Mao pointed out that China,

like other socialist countries, cannot be completely liberated unless the working class and oppressed peoples and countries throughout the world are liberated. For these reasons, the fate of the Chinese revolution and other genuine socialist countries around the world is a question intimately linked to the fundamental interests of the proletariat and oppressed people and nations the world over.

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao made fundamental contributions to the theory of MLMTTT. Besides political, economic and cultural aspects of the minimum program of New Democracy, he has further developed Marxism on the question of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He developed the basic line for the entire period of socialism. Besides fighting against the external imperialist threats, there is the internal problem of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, a necessary transition stage to realize communism. Throughout the entire period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions, and class struggle. There is the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. Inside the country, the exploiting classes which have been overthrown do not resign themselves to their defeat; they will always seek, by every means, to struggle to the death against the proletariat to transform their "hopes of restoration" into "attempts at restoration" in order to regain their lost "paradise." The spontaneous influence of the petty bourgeoisie gives rise to new capitalist elements. The development of classes and class struggle in socialist society and inside the Communist Party is caused as a result of the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideas, based on the relative independence of ideology, on the inertia of tradition inherited from the past, which is magnified by the three great differences (between town and country, between mental and manual labor, between workers and peasants) and bourgeois rights, wage differentials that exist under socialism, where it is still under the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The struggle between two roads and two lines is reflected inside the Party, between continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism. There is no third path. Due to the identity of interests and class outlook between the bourgeois democrats inside the Party and the bourgeoisie outside the Party, the struggle in society is reflected inside the Party, giving rise to

general representatives of these doomed classes (the strength of these doomed classes grows a thousand fold after they and their interests are overthrown). These general representatives of the bourgeoisie are the bourgeoisie inside the Party. They are not only representatives of the bourgeoisie; they often even turn into agents of the imperialists due to the identity of interests and outlook. That is why Chairman Mao teaches us that under socialism, the capitalist roads are inevitably still on the capitalist road and that they are inevitably right inside the Party. For that is where they can most effectively change the line and usurp the state power of the proletariat. On this question, on the need for the working class to exercise the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao said that "lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." (emphasis added) This question is also of fundamental interest for the proletariat in capitalist countries, for the class content of the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries is one and the same with the interests of the proletariat in capitalist countries. The dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries and the international proletariat are the nucleus of the united front against the Superpowers.

Both Superpowers, revisionists, and world reactionaries and their philistine followers are terrified by these truths of the October Revolutions. We must grasp the fundamental principles of the Paris Commune, the October Revolutions, winning victory after victory around the world. ●

Here in the U.S., the WVO has historically defended the truths of the October Revolutions, in the course of struggle against both right and "left" opportunism. Because of this, the party of the U.S. proletariat is on the verge of being formed in the near future, the principal task in our immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

LONG LIVE THE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-Leninism-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!!!

LONG LIVE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE THE OCTOBER REVOLUTIONS!

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WORKERS VIEWPOINT

is the political organ of a communist organization. The theory guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. We view ourselves as a part of the general communist movement in the U.S. and look forward to uniting with other communist organizations on the basis of a common program, strategy, tactics and organizational principles. We view the present tasks of our movement as the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the linking up of the working class movement with the communist movement to help build an anti-revisionist communist party in the United States.

We welcome your suggestions and criticisms. Also, if you would like to support us financially, be placed on our mailing list, or receive additional copies of our newspaper or our journals, please write to us. Address to:

WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION

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U.S. BACKED COUP IN THAILAND

Tries to Reverse Revolutionary Tide, Will Fail!

In Thailand on October 6th, Defense Minister Sangad Chaloryu led the Thai military, trained and equipped by the U.S. imperialists, in a counter-revolutionary coup and seized state power of the country. The military regime immediately abolished the country's constitution and dissolved the parliament headed by Prime Minister Seni Pramoj. The fascist military then unleashed a wave of terror which continues to today, with arrests of over 5000 people suspected of being communists or communist-sympathizers, and the murder of hundreds of people. Roundups and searches are continuing daily.

The coup came at a time of rising revolutionary struggle among the Thai workers, peasants and students. The Communist Party of Thailand has been carrying out armed struggle since 1965. They have established base areas in the countryside, built people's armed units into the People's Liberation Army and the Thai People's Armed Forces, which carry out extensive guerrilla warfare against the government and their reactionary armed forces including U.S. troops and remnants of the Kuomintang 93rd Division. The CPT is correctly following Chairman Mao's teachings on the minimum program of New Democracy for revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries: first rely on the workers and peasants, carry on protracted people's war, using the countryside to encircle the cities, finally take the cities and seize political power by armed force, and then pass on to the stage of socialist revolution.

In the major cities and industrial centers like Bangkok, workers and student struggles are irresistibly surging forward. At Thammasat University in Bangkok, revolutionary students of the National Student Center of Thailand led demonstrations against the recent return on Sept. 20 of former military dictator Thanom Kittikachorn, who has been in exile ever since his military regime was brought down by student-led revolutionary struggles in 1973. The students demanded that Thanom be deported or tried for the killing of 72 civilians during the 1973 upsurge and gave an October 2nd deadline. The Thai workers supported the struggle as 43 labor unions in Bangkok gave their own 3-day deadline or else a general strike would be called.

News of the demonstrations spread throughout the country, rallying broad support of the Thai masses to demand Thanom leave. The people of Thailand remember clearly the repression of the fascist military regime of Thanom and understand that although the puppet has been kicked out, the U.S. imperialists have continued their schemes and plots to maintain control in their country. While Thanom was in exile, many of the military leaders of his regime continued to hold important posts in the various coalition governments in the past three years. Since 1973 the U.S. imperialists have sent over \$150 million worth of military aid and weaponry. Throughout the Vietnam War, the U.S. imperialists used their military bases in Thailand to launch assaults against the heroic Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese peoples.

With the shining victories of the Indochinese people, the Thai masses grew even more politically conscious as the movement to demand that U.S. imperialists leave grew stronger and more powerful. The U.S. imperialists, trying to cling onto their last foothold in Southeast Asia, tried to suppress this struggle. While forced to pull out their regular troops, the U.S. imperialists made sure that the Thai military was trained and equipped to protect their interests.

While the present Thai military junta is trying to suppress the people's revolutionary struggle by daily arresting people suspected of having communist affiliations, the heroic tradition of the Thai people's resistance is already reasserting itself, and once again proves that "reactionaries make trouble, fail, make trouble again until their doomsday,



WITH THE DEFEAT OF US IMPERIALISM in Indochina, Soviet Social-Imperialists have become the main source of war. Both superpowers are the main enemies of the oppressed masses of the world. Here Laotian people denounce the US backed military coup in Thailand.

while the people fight, fail, fight again until a complete victory."

As Chairman Mao said,

'Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet' is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behavior of certain fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale. (Speech at the Meeting of Supreme Soviets of the USSR in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution, 1957)

This is already happening in Thailand as the fusion between the communists and the masses is increasing daily. The students who have taken the brunt of the recent attacks are being steeled and more determined to carry on. More of them have realized that the only way to true liberation is to integrate their struggle with the struggles of workers and peasants, to embrace the leadership of the CPT and take up armed struggle. Many have taken refuge in the jungles of northern and northeastern Thailand, trying to make contact with communist guerrillas who have bases there.

Along the way they receive help from homeowners and shopkeepers who support their cause. Others have reorganized themselves into "The October 6th Front" (in commemoration of the date of the Thammasat slaughter) and published a declaration which says in part:

"The U.S. is now desperately trying to tighten its vicious grip on the freedom-loving people of Thailand. A military coup is the last measure of safeguard U.S. interests in Thailand. This so-called National Administrative Reform Council backed by the U.S. must be overthrown by any means necessary."

THE WOLF THREATENS THE FRONT GATE, WHILE THE TIGER STALKS THE BACK DOOR

During the 60's, while the U.S. imperialists were preoccupied with suppressing the liberation struggles in Indochina but being beaten back step by step by the heroic Indochinese peoples, the Soviet social-imperialists took the opportunity to maneuver into a more advantageous position in Europe, the hottest of the hotspots of the superpowers' contention. After the USI were resound-

ingly defeated in Indochina, they hurried to strengthen NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) to counter the advances the SSI had made (i.e., the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Berlin Treaty). The SSI by that time were scheming to gain influence in Asia, where one of their goals (similar to the USI's) was to encircle socialist China, which under the leadership of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line stood as a beacon of light for all the world's workers, oppressed peoples and nations.

One of the SSI's tricks is the Asian Collective Security System which the renegade Brezhnev clique first proposed in 1969. They described it as a "treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation." But following the 1971 signing between the Soviet Union and India, laying the first brick of the so-called "Asian Security House," the Soviet Union immediately encouraged a war by India against Pakistan. Then again in April 1975, with the Soviet regime's blessing, India annexed Sikkim. This is the role the Asian "Security" System played in upholding "security, peace, and non-use of force" in Asia. In fact, the Soviet social-imperialists themselves openly said that by setting up an "Asian Security System," they want to "better replace" U.S. influence in Asia, to "fill the vacuum." At the same time, Soviet fleets are prowling the Indian and West Pacific Oceans, trying to expand its sphere of influence in the Gulf, Bay of Bengal and Malacca Strait.

To build up their aggressive influence in Thailand, the SSI are engaging in secret activities of espionage and subversion by agents. They are intensifying economic penetration by offering economic "assistance" and expanding their trade. Besides collecting military and diplomatic information, the Soviet agents also conduct reconnaissance activities in the southern border areas of Thailand to extend SSI influence to the Malay Peninsula and the Indian Ocean.

The U.S. imperialists, for their part, are trying to maintain their control over Southeast Asia by various means. In remaining spheres like Taiwan and South Korea, they step up military and economic influence. In Thailand they turn to fascist rule to regain lost control. In East Timor, they backed Indonesia's armed aggression against the new sovereign state in a fresh round of intense contention with the SSI.

While recognizing SSI to be the main source of war, the proletariat, and oppressed people and nations of the world must have no illusions about the criminal rule of USI. Through their day-to-day experience, the Asian people have seen through the schemes and plots of both superpowers and heightened their vigilance against the tiger at the back door (SSI) while redoubling their efforts to repel the renewed attacks of the wolf at the front gate (USI). For the U.S. working class it is especially important to smash any such illusions, for we are living in the belly of one of the monsters. We have the proletarian internationalist duty to make socialist revolution against the U.S. imperialists. ●

CORRECTIONS

CORRECTION FOR SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1976 ISSUE (VOL 1, NO 6)

"Build the African Liberation Support Committee into a Mass Fighting Organization," Page 9, First Column, Quotation from Lenin's Collected Works Vol 31, First Paragraph, Last sentence. Should read:

"However, it does follow that the Communist Parties' current task consists not in accelerating the revolution, but in intensifying the preparation of the proletariat... (our emphasis)."

ELECTIONS EXPOSE THE CRISIS OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

Workers Not Fooled by Capitalist Lies

This election, where Jimmy Carter was put into the presidency by the U.S. monopoly capitalist class, is a further exposure of the total bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy. The doomsday of U.S. imperialism is indeed around the corner.

The real significance of this election is that the U.S. proletariat, oppressed nationalities, and national minorities are seeing through this deception to an ever greater extent, that bourgeois democracy is increasingly exposed for what it is: democracy for the bourgeoisie and dictatorship for the working class. Voter turnout this year was around 53% (and probably lower given the lying and cheating that always goes on in elections in "free" countries) of those eligible to vote, which makes it the lowest turnout since 1960. In fact, since 1960, it has been getting smaller every presidential election. Among the working class, oppressed nationalities and national minorities, the non-voting rate is highest, thus revealing two different class responses and attitudes toward the elections.

The bourgeoisie's analysis is that the election revealed that increasingly the percentage of voters is much higher among the "upper middle-class" (petty bourgeoisie), which is more affluent, more republican, more informed and enlightened on the issues, and more aware of their democratic responsibilities. But in fact the elections revealed that more and more, bourgeois elections only appeal to the more backward and confused classes and strata. The elections sharply revealed the entrenched petty-bourgeois democratic prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie, while on the other hand, they sharply revealed that the working class, especially the advanced workers, are not deceived by the election fraud and deception one bit.

"Furthermore, faith in 'democracy' in general, as a universal panacea, and failure to understand that this democracy is bourgeois democracy, historically limited in its usefulness and its necessity, have for decades and centuries been particularly characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie of all countries. The big bourgeois is case-hardened; he knows that under capitalism a democratic republic, like every other form of state, is nothing but a machine for the suppression of the proletariat. The big bourgeois knows this from his most intimate acquaintance with the real leaders and with the most profound (and therefore frequently the most concealed) springs of every bourgeois state machine. The petty bourgeois, owing to his economic position and his conditions of life generally, is less able to appreciate this truth, and even cherishes the illusion that a democratic republic implies 'pure democracy,' 'a free people's state,' the non-class or supra-class rule of the people, a pure manifestation of the will of the people, and so on and so forth. The tenacity of these prejudices of the petty-bourgeois democrat is inevitably due to the fact that he is farther removed from the acute class struggle, the stock exchange, and 'real' politics; and it would be absolutely un-Marxist to expect these prejudices to be eradicated very rapidly by propaganda alone." (Lenin, "Valuable Admissions of Pitirim Sorokin," Vol. 28)

The presidential "debates" that the

bourgeoisie put up as publicity gimmicks only expose their deceptiveness even more to the working class. As the great leader and teacher Mao Tsetung, stated:

"But this so-called two-party system is nothing but a device for maintaining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; it can never guarantee freedom to the working people. As a matter of fact, freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people." ("On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions Among the People," Selected Readings, pp. 437-38)



Elections are a contest between various monopoly capitalist financial groups (such as the Rockefeller and Morgan, two of the biggest) to see whose representative will control the state machinery for the exploitation of the working class, oppressed nationalities and national minorities here at home and the oppressed peoples and nations of the Third World abroad. This is especially crucial for the capitalists now in the midst of the crisis, where they are scrambling for a rapidly shrinking area to exploit because of the victories of the Third World and the contention with the Soviet social-imperialists.

Elections are also part of the elaborate deception of the working class and oppressed masses, using the cover of bourgeois democracy to hide the armed dictatorship of the ruling class over the working class and oppressed masses. The last election shows that the working class, oppressed nationalities and national minorities are questioning the very premise of bourgeois democracy -- that elections, the change of different politicians and different bourgeois parties every once in a while makes any real difference to our oppression and exploitation by the monopoly capitalists. This is the real crisis of bourgeois democracy. It is a concrete indication that increasingly the proletariat can no longer live in the old way and that the bourgeoisie can no longer rule in the old way, a necessary precondition for proletarian revolution.

THE CRISIS OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

In 1976, the U.S. monopoly capitalists are passing through one of their most severe economic and political crises ever. Battered by economic crises, the rising resistance of the working class, oppressed

nationalities and national minorities here at home and the powerful national liberation movements abroad, and the severe splits among themselves, the rule of the monopoly capitalists are shaking as never before. Proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will finally topple the rule of the capitalist class, is closer than ever. The U.S. monopoly capitalists know this and desperately scrambled to find their best class representative to try to stem their inevitable downfall, and they found him in Jimmy Carter, a liberal fascist.

CARTER: THE LIBERAL FASCIST

With the increasing exposure of bourgeois democracy, the bourgeoisie is paving the way for fascism in a last ditch effort to maintain their rule. During the campaign, Carter tried to put up a "reformer" and "liberal" image, but he is only serving his capitalist masters to usher in fascism with these gimmicks.

On the one hand, Carter is attempting to keep the masses from the path of proletarian revolution by keeping them within the confines of bourgeois democracy, by promising all measures of reforms and by his reactionary appeals to "restore trust in government" and to "put morality back in government." Through the use of tricks such as the Boston forced busing plan and the ERA, Carter will try to deceive the masses, to convince them that these are "real reforms" under bourgeois democracy, while in reality splitting the ranks of the working class and thereby weakening its ability to fight the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

His promised "reforms" will serve the fascization process. For instance, his plan for fighting unemployment is to combat it where it is "most severe," meaning those areas where it represents a great threat to capitalism in terms of the rising revolutionary consciousness of the masses, such as youth and especially Afro-American youth in the urban ghettos. These "focused" targets will be forced to work for slave wages under the guard of the state. This is his Roosevelt-style "Civilian Conservation Corps." Along with this, Carter has again proposed forcing those on welfare to work for the bourgeoisie under a forced-work program, again under slave wages.

Carter's proposed "reorganization" of the Federal bureaucracy, cutting 900 agencies to 200, is in fact a plan to cut off even the small scraps thrown to the masses in the form of services such as daycare, education, etc. and at the same time centralizes and tightens the bourgeoisie's control over the state machine, a major step in the process of fascization in the U.S. today.

In the name of "stopping violent crimes," Carter is pushing gun control, essentially the rapid and total disarmament of the masses, leaving us open to the armed fascist attacks of the bourgeoisie and their agents like the police, KKK, the goons of the TUMS (trade union misleaders) and the fascist gangs.

The OL and the ATM (August Twenty Ninth Movement) make a big point in laying out that there will be absolutely no difference in a Ford or Carter victory, as both are representatives of the capitalist class. This is correct in

general, but offers us nothing but general platitudes. Neither of them understand the dialectics of liberalism and fascism (as underscored by their support of forced busing and the ERA).

Ford, clearly not the most advanced representative of the monopoly capitalists, would be rapidly exposed (much of which has taken place) but Carter, a more advanced representative of the bourgeoisie, will be more difficult. With a larger bag of tricks, a liberal facade, and more refined ability to speak out of both sides of his mouth, Carter's propping up of bourgeois democracy (and ushering in of fascism) will be slicker. On the other hand, his exposure will be much more thorough. The more tricks, the more thorough the exposure.

Carter, a classic representative of American pragmatism ("whatever works is fine") absolutely devoid of principles beyond protecting the interests of the capitalist class, carefully orchestrated his campaign to have the best of both worlds. On the one hand he appealed to backward racist ideas; on the other he paraded as a "friend" of the Afro-American, Chicano, etc. people; on the one hand appealing to backward religious morality, but on the other also grabbing the "liberal" play-boy crowd; on the one hand an aggressive war monger (Taiwan, Panama, etc.) but on the other having a "humanitarian" moral foreign policy; on the one hand parading himself as a successful rich peanut businessman, but on the other hand also a worker-farmer. Carter is truly a more sinister, conniving, advanced representative of the bourgeoisie.

Carter's role now is similar to that of the Social Democratic misleaders in Germany in the 1930's, who helped the bourgeoisie to bring in fascism. While keeping the masses in the grip of bourgeois democracy and legalism and away from the path of proletarian revolution, through all kinds of tricks under the guise of reforms, Carter is moving ahead the active preparation for fascism. This is Carter's mission for the bourgeoisie in the immediate period ahead.

CARTER'S FASCIST DEMAGOGY

Carter's campaign also shows that the monopoly capitalists have become so desperate that they were forced to appeal to the most reactionary and backward ideas among the masses, exploiting the masses' hatred of the bourgeois state.

If the monopoly capitalists are to institute fascism in this country, the open terroristic dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the groundwork must be paved for the masses to accept it ideologically, to overcome their revolutionary stirrings. Appeals to mysticism and backward instincts based on bourgeois ideology, such as religion and hedonism, help the bourgeoisie to disarm the masses ideologically and to weaken their ability to fight fascism and the bourgeoisie, who will try to institute it.

In his campaign, Carter said he stood for "ethnic purity," his appealing to the most reactionary, racist ideas. Carter tried to do this in a slick, liberal "inoffensive" way, but the outrage of the masses forced him to swallow this degenerate line and try to cover for himself; nevertheless it served its purpose of sending out a signal to the more backward sectors of the masses under the cover of "liberalism." This "liberal" appeal to fascist ideology was no mistake, for Carter or for the monopoly capitalists in general. In the U.S. we know that fascism will attempt to ride in on a tide of racism, whipped up by the bourgeoisie to mobilize elements of the petty bourgeoisie, declassed elements, and backward workers. At this time, racist appeals are used to split the working class through such subterfuges as the Boston busing plan, feeding the growth of fascist ideas and groups.

Carter has always used appeals to racism in his campaigns. In his 1970 election for governor of Georgia, he ran an openly racist campaign, calling

himself a "redneck," and visiting a segregationist private school during his campaign to show "where he stands." Even arch-racist Lester Maddox supported him in that campaign. Carter called Maddox "the essence of the Democratic Party."

This shyster, claiming to have been enlightened, and to have taken up the cause of the Afro-American nationality and national minorities, was exposed before election day (probably a Republican dirty trick - but nevertheless exposure) as belonging to a church that contains a clause in its membership stating that no "niggers" are allowed to attend the church. Carter immediately disclaimed his agreement with the clause, but the masses are not fooled by this double-talk. How can this "defender" of the oppressed nationalities and national minorities still belong to that church knowing that clause pertaining to membership? Carter is an out-and-out white chauvinist. White chauvinism is the main ideological justification for the super-exploitation of the Afro-American workers (in the Black Belt nation in the south) who have built up his \$6 million Georgia peanut farm and processing plants.



Carter is clearly a reactionary white chauvinist with a new cover of liberal "concern." But as the chief agent of the monopoly capitalists he will continue to ruthlessly attack the working class and oppress the Afro-American oppressed nationality and national minorities.

The Carter campaign was built by his cynically playing on the masses' hatred for the "mess in Washington." He appealed to gut emotions using slick words, anti-big government appeals and fascist ideas like "rebuilding trust in government and the politicians." His campaign employed the big-lie technique used by Hitler fascism, going so far as to say that he would "never lie or mislead the voters." These examples of demagogy exactly parallel the German fascists, who made use of any idea, even to the point of using anti-monopoly capitalist and anti-big government slogans and speeches, and even calling themselves "socialists". Like Carter, all of this was done in the interest of monopoly capitalism, to divert the masses from the only path that could lead to the end of their enslavement -- the road to proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This was Carter's appeal to reactionary ideas such as religious fundamentalism and to sexual hedonism as shown by his Playboy interview, which was essentially his sanctioning of pornography as "legitimate." This appeal to religious mysticism and sexual hedonism is one of the key components of the ideological preparation of the masses to accept fascism, to divert them from the reality of class struggle and from an objective dialectical and historical materialist analysis.

This kind of demagogy becomes predominant when the collapse of monopoly capital is imminent, and the working class must be suppressed. The present general crisis of U.S. monopoly capitalism has brought fascist ideology of the Carter-type to the fore because the bourgeoisie is less able to make concessions and must increasingly rely on tricks painted as reforms, and on force.



MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS: USE OF MISLEADERS AND LABOR ARISTOCRATS TO PROP UP BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

This year, the trade union misleaders took a very active role in pushing to get out the vote, especially for the Carter campaign. The trade union bureaucrats and misleaders like George Meany of the AFL-CIO, Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers, Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers, Leon Davis of 1199, I. W. Abel of the United Steelworkers, and Jerry Wurf of AFSCME went all-out to get the workers to register and vote for Jimmy Carter. According to the bourgeoisie's Wall Street Journal, the United Steelworkers hoped to have 25,000 volunteers, coordinated by 40 full-time union operatives helping to get out the vote for Jimmy Carter for election day. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education and other affiliates spent \$2.5 million for the same purpose, almost twice as much as the Democratic Party itself spent. And 225 union misleaders have paid the Democratic Party \$4.1 million dollars of the rank-and-file's dues, while many workers are destitute because of high unemployment and the lack of strike funds. This is the treachery of these trade union misleaders and how they serve the bourgeoisie.

Unlike Ford, Carter made full use of every kind of trade union misleader, poverty pimp and misleader and politician in the Afro-American and other national movements to bolster his campaign. Besides the trade union misleaders, Carter and his clique consciously enlisted the support of preachers like Martin Luther King, Sr., politicians like Andrew Young of Georgia, poverty pimps and community agency heads in big cities like New York, and went after misleaders in the Chicano communities of California and the Southwest, such as Cesar Chavez.

This shows how Carter is a more crafty servant of the monopoly capitalists than Ford.

Lenin, the great leader of the Russian Bolsheviks was crystal clear about the role of the agents of the monopoly capitalists in the ranks of the working class, and of the necessity to expose them and throw them out of the controlling positions in our trade unions. We must step up this task in this period.

With the working class, oppressed nationalities and national minorities being turned off more than ever to the bourgeois electoral system, the role of trade union misleaders and misleaders in the national movements like Representative Andrew Young and Martin Luther King, Sr. became more and more important to the bourgeoisie in trying to shore up the rotten foundations of the electoral farce, thereby exposing more sharply the lackey character of these pimps. From this election campaign, we can see that neither Carter nor Ford could really build strong followings among the masses, so deep is the hatred and distrust of the masses for the bourgeoisie's double-talk and tricks. This means more and more they have to rely on their agents within the working

(continued on p. 30).

Struggle for Equal Rights Through the Revolutionary Unity of the Working Class & Movements of Oppressed Nationalities & Minorities !

The revolutionary struggle of the working class and oppressed national minorities for quality education, against the fascistization process, national oppression and racism continues since the start of Phase I of the sham Boston forced busing plan in September 1974. At various times, the Asian, Puerto Rican and Afro-American working class students have boycotted the plan or refused to get off school buses. El Comité de Padres, a Puerto Rican working class community organization, boycotted because the forced busing plan lacked bilingual-bicultural programs and adequate educational facilities.

The Chinese Parents Association boycotted in protesting the lack of bilingual facilities and the denial of the right of their children to go to any school of their choice. A group of minority (mainly Afro-American) parents and students, forced to go to Charlestown High protested the plan because it does not improve the quality of education, lacks adequate bilingual programs, denies minority students the right to pick their own schools, has increased the number of students per teacher and has provided the conditions for police attacks and physical and verbal abuse of minority students by reactionary elements of the white community to increase since Phase I of the plan.

Last fall and winter, a group of Afro-American community agencies, parents, students and communists held several meetings and visited the homes of minority parents and students forced to go to Charlestown High to discuss the capitalist trick of forced busing. The overwhelming response from the Afro-American, Asian and Puerto Rican parents were opposed to the plan. The common concerns were lack of quality educational and teaching facilities, denial of the right to choose a school, lack of hot lunches, increased attacks from police and fascist-racist groups like ROAR and lack of bilingual programs. Some parents had put in transfers for their children to go to a school of their choice. Others were not allowing their sons and daughters to go to any school as acts of individual protests. Though the plan lacked quality education and physical attacks had increased, still other parents continued to send their children on the buses because "it is the law". At one meeting of the parents and students, Massachusetts State Representative Mel King, a Black liberal politician, attempted to mislead the group with lies of how Judge Garrity was doing "all he could for Black people", quality education was being achieved and we must fight these "racist whites". Though people agreed about the increased attacks since the court-ordered forced busing decision, one after another parents and students exposed this Black politician for what he was -- a lying liberal. The students presented graphic examples of the lack of quality educational programs and deteriorating school system. From discussion with parents in their homes and meetings, it was clear that they were not "pro-forced busing" but in favor of quality education, the right to go to a school of their choice and against national oppression and racism. On a small scale, Mel King showed the classic example of the role of liberals. While lying about "quality education being improved" in the Boston school system, he tried to play on the parents' just sentiments against fascist-racist groups like ROAR to take the blame off Boston finance capitalists and liberal misleaders like himself who in fact, by pushing forced busing under the cover of "integration", and the "constitution", are feeding the fascists even more.

As we stated in WV Journal #3 (May 1975), liberalism and revisionism will lay the ground work for fascism by "defending" democratic rights under the law.

"The development of fascism assumes different forms in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country' (Dimitrov). In this country, fascism would ride into power through the vehicle of racism. This is why the Boston busing issue represents more than simply racial strife." "George Dimitroff also wrote that 'in contradiction with German fascism, which came under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the constitution and American democracy'" (WVJ, #3, p. 54.)



FIGHT FOR REAL REFORMS IN A REVOLUTIONARY WAY!

Blinded by their faith in bourgeois democracy, gripped with liberal chauvinism and narrow nationalism, this is the same role carried out by the October League around the forced busing plan, by pimping off of the minorities' hatred for the racist-fascist ROAR, with "Smash those Racists!" and petty bourgeois liberal, economist "Fightback, Fightback" songs. The OL will never understand the dialectics between bourgeois formal democracy and fascism and the dialectics between reformism and bourgeois nationalism in the national movement, continuing to subordinate the class struggle beneath the national question (thus letting the bourgeoisie off the hook), as long as the OL is blinded by these ideological deviations.

Similar to struggles in the oppressed nationality communities, there exist white working class parents who are against busing and also anti-ROAR. Such a group has been active in East Boston. However, due to the one-sided presentation of the media and the physical attacks carried out by ROAR, these parents face an uphill battle. Also, in the meetings with national minority parents and students forced to go to Charlestown, the students described how white students who talked to minority students were beat and harassed by Powder Keg and ROAR.

Communists must support white working

class parents that are both for quality education, against the forced busing plans and against the fascist movement of ROAR. To the white workers, we must point out the reactionary nature of the forced busing plan and how the ruling class uses it to bring out national chauvinism among white workers in order to portray Afro-American workers as the cause of deteriorating education. Communists must forge multinational working class unity and direct the revolutionary movement right at the capitalist system and the bourgeoisie. The ruling class uses the forced busing plan to direct attention away from its exploitative and decadent capitalist system which denies both Afro-American and white working class communities quality education. The developing fascist movement is not in contradiction to monopoly capitalism but grows out of the "constitution", liberalism maneuvering in bourgeois democracy. In fusing the working class with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, we must rip away any illusions in US bourgeois democracy which liquidates the fact that under the imperialist system, education is a class question, it serves the interest of the ruling class -- a dying class. In exposing how chauvinism serves the bourgeoisie, communists have to point out to white workers the class essence of national oppression of Afro-Americans and other national minorities. Monopoly capitalism denies the democratic rights of oppressed minorities to go to any school of their choice. Monopoly capitalism denies the right to have bilingual and bicultural programs. By directing our fight at the ruling class, we take the revolutionary path of forging multinational unity through revolutionary struggle. This is our outlook in accumulating revolutionary forces for the immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat!

The fight of working class and national minorities in Boston for quality education, against national oppression and racism and against the monopoly capitalist system is a protracted one. The working class lacks organization, the science of MLMTTT and the leadership of genuine communists. Communists must put forth a positive program in order to lead the revolutionary struggle for immediate demands and our long-range goal to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat under socialism.

TAKE THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST CAPITALISM

All across the country the bourgeoisie is increasing its attacks on the quality of education of the entire working class, and denying the oppressed national minorities their democratic rights to go to a school of their choice. Boston is not an isolated incident. The ruling class has pushed the forced busing plan in Louisville. Here under the plan, schools are overcrowded, others nearly empty. Teachers lack textbooks. The bourgeoisie attempts to cover up the exploited conditions of the working class by directing struggle away from itself and have different sections of the working class fight each other over which poor quality school to be forced-bused to, while unemployment in Louisville Afro-American community is over 13%. For the blue-collar white working class communities in the suburb affected by forced busing, nearly half earn less than \$10,000 a year and unemployment is at 8.5%. Similar to Boston, out of these white communities fascist organizations have sprung up preaching chauvinism to further mislead elements among white workers and further drive a wedge

in the entire working class. In the Afro-American community, the NAACP fulfills its role as misleaders and social props (for its funders, the Ford Foundation) by crying that forced busing does not go far enough.

In Detroit, as a result of forced busing, two fascist groups have gained some influence in the white working class communities. In Los Angeles, the current and inevitable economic crisis of monopoly capitalism has directly affected the school system. Inflation has caused cuts in L.A. school supplies, educational aides, equipment, teachers and school workers' salaries. Last year the educational services received a \$21.6 million cutback. 'Bustop' (with several thousand members) and the KKK have begun to recruit in the white community. To divert the masses' attention away from this lack of quality education and the right of oppressed minorities to go to a school of their choice, the bourgeoisie calls for forced busing. Similarly in Berkeley, Calif., the forced busing plan -- a subterfuge -- has increased racial antagonism and splits in the working class while educational facilities deteriorate. Throughout the country, some 90 forced busing plans to achieve "desegregation" are in the courts or being implemented. With deeper and deeper economic crisis, the ruling class is less able to hold back the revolutionary working class movement with crumbs. Instead, the forced busing plans come down through the courts, as hollow, deceptive tricks to weaken the working class struggle with national chauvinism and fascist organizations.

The attacks on the working class through forced busing plans must be stopped. Communists and advanced elements and workers must lead in turning a bad thing into a good thing. We must take the offensive against capitalism guided by the science of MLMTTT! In WV Journal #3, we put forth five agitation slogans against the sham forced busing plan:

- Oppose the Ruling Class Forced Busing Plan to Split the Working Class and Usher in Fascism!
- Demand that the Government Provide Quality Education for All, Especially National Minorities!
- Uphold the Right of Minority Students to Go to Any School!
- Defeat and Isolate the Fascist Leadership and Their Diehard Followers!
- Organized Armed Self-Defense For the Black Community!

With the building of a genuine communist party as our central task, Marxist-Leninists must carry out propaganda (our chief form of activity) and agitation in the thick of class struggle, providing communist leadership in a revolutionary way for the immediate struggles of the working class, linked with the goal of socialism. Some of the partial demands we must struggle around in opposing the forced busing plan are the improvement of educational facilities in all working class schools, lower student-teacher ratios, reduced class sizes, adequate reading and math programs, free hot lunches, genuine parent and community input, minority nationality studies programs, bilingual-bicultural classes, the right of minorities to go to any school of their choice, removal of police from working class schools, an end to the organizing of fascist groups in the schools and white working class communities, and organized armed self-defense for the Afro-American community.

Communists must seek out and consolidate advanced workers as they come forth. We must provide a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the class nature of fascist groups such as ROAR and double-dealing social props like trade union misleaders and the NAACP. They must be constantly exposed as the direction of the main blow, while communists never lose sight of the target of the revolution -- the bourgeoisie -- overthrowing the criminal rule of the monopoly capitalist class and the aim of establishing socialism. In struggling for equal rights of Afro-American oppressed national minorities in the north, we resolutely uphold the right of self-determination for the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South, which is the historical basis of national oppression in the north.

FORCED BUSING: THE FASCIZATION PROCESS AND ATTACKS ON THE WORKING CLASS

The forced busing plans continue as a testing ground of the bourgeoisie as it further streamlines and centralizes



DEFEND THE AFRO-AMERICAN COMMUNITY'S RIGHT TO ARMED SELF-DEFENSE !

the state apparatus and educational system, pits the oppressed nationality and white working class communities against each other, increases the deterioration of working class schools, makes police occupation a continuing reality, denies oppressed nationalities the democratic right to attend the school of their choice -- all under the cover of "integration". The forced busing plan reveals the dialectics of bourgeois formal democracy as part of the fascistization process.

As we pointed out in WV Journal #3 (May, 1975), the forced busing plan is a subterfuge -- that diverts, splits and coopts the revolutionary struggle of the people for quality education, equal rights and against national oppression.

Two major characteristics of today's reforms distinguish them from those of the previous decade: (1) reforms are increasingly used to pit workers against each other to usher in fascism; (2) today's reforms are becoming increasingly hollow and deceptive. Today's reforms have increasingly become subterfuges -- tricks -- pure and simple! "The bourgeoisie is increasingly unable to afford crumbs to bribe the working class. More and more they are resorting to subterfuges to nullify the reforms of the previous decade and to usher in fascism through whipping up national chauvinism and racism to split the working class." (WV newspaper, Vol. I, No. 1)

The forced busing plan is a blatant example of how liberalism, in the guise of "equal opportunity and racial integration", is used by the bourgeoisie to usher in fascism from the base. It shows how the liberalism of Kennedy and the NAACP actually whips up racial hatred among the people and fosters the growth of fascist organizations. Events of the last year around the forced busing plan have testified to the dialectical relationship between the revolutionary struggle of the people and the reformist tactics of the bourgeoisie.

Through the forced busing plan, the bourgeoisie began its increased attacks on the working class and oppressed national minorities in Boston. The centralization (a product of both the inevitable, growing crisis of dying capitalism, which is beyond the control of the bourgeoisie, and a result of the conscious maneuvering of the monopoly capitalists) of monopoly corporations and bourgeois colleges with the Boston school system is more extensive and far reaching than at any time in the history of the United States, admitted by the bourgeois press (NYT 9/14/75). The reactionary pairing of the plan ties monopoly corporations and colleges directly to each school in the Boston educational system. For example, Harvard University and the State Street Bank of Boston has control over Roxbury High, Gillette Corp. controls South Boston High and John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. and Brandeis University

Expose the Boston Forced Busing Plan!

control English High. Under the capitalist system, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, education exists solely to maintain the exploitation and oppression of the working class, oppressed nationalities and other oppressed people. The pairing system enables the bourgeoisie to better carry out the maintenance of bourgeois rule, that is to further streamline and implement a more sophisticated curriculum to dull the minds of working class youth with increased bourgeois ideology and produce a better labor force for the bourgeoisie. The colleges and universities in the pairing system receive millions of dollars from the government through the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Law. As for the benefits that go to the monopoly capitalists, Gerhard D. Bleicken, board chairman and chief executive officer of the John Hancock Life Insurance Company summed up: "The fact is that the public school system is not providing us / the ruling class - ed. / with adequately trained people for jobs and this is a way for overcoming that problem." (NYT 9/14/75) Through the Federal Courts, the US government has directly stepped in to oversee the centralization process (an attempt to strengthen the rapidly decaying monopoly capitalist system under the cover of "better education"). A most blatant example of the tightening measures was seen last December when Judge W. Arthur Garrity of Federal District Court placed South Boston High in Federal receivership, thus making the school directly run by the federal government through the courts.

To "uphold the constitution" and implement the forced busing plan, the bourgeoisie has turned Boston, particularly oppressed nationality communities, into an armed camp of police. With the start of Phase I of the plan in Sept. 1974, there were 500 police assigned with the plan. With the beginning of Phase II, Sept. '75, there were 1800 police on the streets, 100 US Federal Marshals, 600 national guardsmen (with an additional 600 as back up), 50 FBI agents and six federal prosecutors. Over \$110,000 was spent a day for police alone! Clearly they were not in Boston to protect the democratic rights of oppressed nationalities and the working class. On the contrary, police have occupied both white and minority working class communities; in some cases, police cordoned off entire sections of minority neighborhoods. In the schools, students are frisked for weapons and are forced to walk through metal detectors.

By carrying out the bourgeoisie's law in the constitution, the forced busing plan has fed the growth of fascist organizations like ROAR, KKK, and the South Boston Liberation Army. The liberals have given these reactionary organizations more strength to mislead the white workers. A greater wedge has been driven between the multinational working class. Racial tensions are higher with fights in the schools and streets and stoning of motorists.

(continued on p. 10)

BUSING

(continued from p. 9)

In Boston, it has become increasingly clear that the forced busing plan is a tool of the bourgeoisie used to attack the education of both the white and minority working class communities. Under Phase II of the plan, millions of dollars for school facilities, teachers, materials and special programs have been cut back in the name of desegregation. Over 700 teachers were laid off since Sept. 1975, 27 schools closed down, bilingual programs eliminated, decrease in funding per pupil and elimination of hot lunches.

Not all members of the ruling class have come out in support of forced busing plans. The most blatant jingoist and chauvinist Gerald Ford does not support the plan. During the week of June 21, President Ford submitted anti-busing legislation to Congress. Ford's actions were to use the busing issue to further serve the bourgeoisie. Like all bourgeois politicians who try to hoodwink the masses of people, especially during election years, Ford's anti-busing stance is to appeal to various elements in the petty bourgeoisie, declassed elements and backward strata in the working class in order to swindle enough votes and delegates. Though Ford is against the plan, his reactionary outlook is to give the fascist movements like ROAR a victory and further feed their growth. Communists must expose those representatives of the bourgeoisie who push for a constitutional amendment to halt forced busing. The ruling class' stand is to encourage fascist groups to spread among the working class. The "liberals" like Kennedy push the busing plan to lay the basis for fascist groups to spring up. The more blatant reactionaries like Ford strive to give a victory to ROAR to aid its consolidation. Communists put forth a positive program for quality education, in support of democratic rights in order to smash the fascist organizations and struggle for the aim of overthrowing the entire ruling class -- both "liberal" and reactionary!

THE OCTOBER LEAGUE: REFORMISTS IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The OL does not understand the question of the forced busing plan as a subterfuge from the bourgeoisie. In fact they have no conception of reformism as a bourgeois tactic in OL's right opportunism. In "Spreading the Viewpoint of the Bourgeoisie" (!) (Class Struggle, No. 2), OL opens the article by saying that the "main weapon (of the bourgeoisie) has been violent suppression, guns in hand, through the state machinery (police, courts, etc.) and secondarily through fascist organizations which they support indirectly or directly as the case may be." So this is why the OL vowed to defend the forced busing plan "to the point of laying down their lives if need be." (Call Nov. 1974) This is why the OL has been criticized for objectively tailing after the NAACP. This is the general platform from which they see busing one-sidedly as the result of "a protracted struggle involving a broad spectrum of left and liberal forces, both Black and white." And this is why they have to lie in Class Struggle No. 2 (p. 86) that "likewise, the tens of thousands who marched December 14 (1974), demanding the right to be bused if they chose, ... constitute a 'broad spectrum'". We would like to clarify this opportunist wriggling of the liberal OL. The December 14 March Against Racism was exactly that -- a march against racism. It did not have support of forced busing as a principle of unity. We would like to remind the OL that its own Fred Hampton contingent which participated in the march did not have support of busing as a principle of unity. Of the principles of unity agreed upon by the participating contingent (which included the Boston African Liberation Support Committee), not one mentioned busing!

Reform and repression are the prongs of the rule of the bourgeoisie. Reform has been and still is the principal form of rule though reformism is increasingly

used to usher in fascism in this period of deepening crisis of imperialism. The OL does not understand this at all. Their deeply entrenched illusions in bourgeois democracy is like a dead hand holding them back from penetrating the appearance to get at the essence of capitalism -- the relation between reformism and developing of fascism in this period. This illusion is at the heart of their support of the forced busing plan, their support of the ERA. This is why, in spite of their new orthodox party building image and mutation to the position of seeing trade union misleaders as collaborators of the bourgeoisie, their faith in bourgeois democracy still helplessly jumps out. They continue to see fascism only as killer cops, outright fascists such as Hicks and Kerrigan, and completely lose sight of how fascism grows out of liberalism.

Throughout the struggle of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor movement, Lenin continued his warning of the "whip and biscuit" tactics of the bourgeoisie, the "sham dole and autocratic guardian" (Draft Programme) and the "mess of pottage" that the bourgeoisie would use to rob the proletariat of its "birthright" (A Letter to the Zemstvoists, 1903). He warned that the "liberal bourgeoisie grant reforms with one hand and with the other always take them back and reduce them to nought, use them to enslave the workers to divide them into separate groups and perpetuate wage-slavery. For that reason, reformism, even when quite sincere, in practice becomes a weapon by means of which the bourgeoisie corrupt and weaken the workers..." ("Marxism and Reformism", Lenin Collected Works, Vol. 19) Such is the nature of the forced busing plan. This capitalist trick is an attack on the quality of education of the entire working class.

The OL does not understand the dual tactics of bourgeois rule and communists' attitude toward reforms. Lenin teaches clearly:

"We shall never reduce our tasks to that of supporting the slogans of the reformist bourgeoisie [or the NAACP - ed.] that are most in vogue. We pursue an independent policy and put forward only such reforms as are undoubtedly favorable to the interests of the revolutionary struggle, that undoubtedly enhance the independence, class consciousness and fighting efficiency of the proletariat. Only by such tactics can reforms from above, which are always half-hearted, always hypocritical, and always conceal some bourgeois or police snare, be made innocuous [emphasis original - ed.]"

More than that. Only by such tactics can real progress be achieved in the matter of important reforms. This may sound paradoxical [to the OL! - ed.], but its truth is confirmed by the whole history of the international Social-Democratic movement. Reformist tactics are the least likely to secure real reforms. The most effective way to secure real reforms is to pursue the tactics of the revolutionary class struggle. Actually, reforms are won as the result of the revolutionary class struggle, as a result of its independence, mass force and steadfastness. Reforms are always false, ambiguous and permeated with the spirit of Zubatovism; they are real only in proportion to the intensity of the class struggle. [emphasis added above - ed.] By merging our slogans with those of the reformist bourgeoisie we weaken the cause of revolution and, consequently the cause of reforms as well, because we thereby diminish the independence, fortitude and strength of the revolutionary classes." ("Once Again About the Duma Cabinet", LCW Vol. 11) [emphasis original - ed.]

In the Class Struggle No. 4-5, p. 13, the OL quotes from this essay of Lenin's. What the Class Struggle article shows is that the OL can parrot Marxism-Leninism (with their new orthodox image) but cannot grasp and apply the stand, method and viewpoint of MLMTTT. On page 14 of the article, the OL criticized those who struggle in a revolutionary way to secure real reforms as right opportunist (mark that!). Yet on page 13 in their quote of Lenin, the revisionist OL italicized Lenin's words of "to secure real reforms"! The OL quotes Lenin to liquidate

Lenin. Reforms are always false, ambiguous. Yet communists struggle for real reforms in a revolutionary manner -- those reforms that "undoubtedly enhance the independence, class consciousness and fighting efficiency of the proletariat." Communists put forth "only such reforms".

Lenin's teaching in "Once Again About the Duma Cabinet" refers to how we struggle in a revolutionary way for those partial demands that aid the revolutionary movement. This is a question of the subjective factor--fusing the working class and oppressed nationality movements with MLMTTT, organizing these movements and providing the leadership of the genuine communist party.

Past reforms gained as a result of the revolutionary national movement of the Afro-American masses were precisely brought about "as the result of the revolutionary class struggle". However, the current forced busing plans are clearly not results of the revolutionary struggle but clear subterfuges made up literally by heads of monopoly corporations!

ATM: MORE REFORMIST THAN THE OCTOBER LEAGUE

Like the OL, the August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM) has not grasped that today we are in the third period of the development of capitalism -- the period of imperialism, where bourgeois democracy is political reaction all along the line. With a thoroughly right line on reforms, the ATM objectively believes that we are in the first period of capitalist development when capitalism was progressive in the sense of fighting feudalism. In WV newspaper, Vol. I, No. 1, we wrote:

"The revisionists always laud 'democracy' in general and in the abstract without placing it in proper historical perspective and concrete class interest. They do exactly what Lenin accused the revisionists of his time of doing: 'plodding along in the rear of the bourgeoisie, abandoning the standpoint of present-day democracy /Social-Democracy in Lenin's time or socialism - ed.] and shifting over to that of the old (bourgeois) democracy' ("Under A False Flag", LCW, Vol. 21, 1915) to straitjacket that which is on the rise, vital and vibrant, the proletarian movement."

In struggling with the liberal opportunists of his time, Lenin exposed them for having the petty bourgeois viewpoint of always longing for the old period of rising capitalism.

"Like all social chauvinists, Postorov is moving backwards away from his own period, that of present day democracy, and skipping over to the outworn, dead, and therefore intrinsically false viewpoint of the old (bourgeois) democracy. ("Under A False Flag")

In exposing their petty bourgeois outlook on reforms (Revolutionary Cause, May 1976 article on the Equal Rights Amendment), the ATM aids the bourgeoisie's subterfuge -- the ERA. ATM uses two quotes from Lenin on how to fight for a more "democratic...system of government" and how communists should be concerned with "liberal questions". (LCW, Vol. 23, p. 73 and LCW, Vol. 5, p. 341) What opportunists fail to comprehend is the time, place, condition and strategy for a particular stage of revolution being referred to. In these quotes, Lenin lays out the correct orientation towards reforms for communists in the first stage of a two-stage revolution -- the stage of overthrowing feudalism. During this stage, the bourgeoisie has a progressive aspect in the sense of fighting the feudal mode of production and laws. In Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution, Lenin lays out the basic thesis that even in the first stage (the bourgeois democratic revolution) of a two-stage revolution, the proletariat must seek hegemony from the leadership of the bourgeoisie. Lenin argues that, compared to feudalism, a bourgeois republic is a more democratic system of government. Under feudalism there are no laws for women to have the right to divorce. Though capitalism is the exploitation of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, the first stage of capitalism is progressive (in relation to feudalism) in the sense that bourgeois constitutions give women the right to divorce.

In Two Tactics, Lenin explains how reforms in rising capitalism "clear the ground for a wide and rapid development

of capitalism" and "make it possible for the bourgeoisie to rule as a class" as opposed to the landlord (chapter 6). The Socialist Revolutionaries, Lenin continued, were "unconscious ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie" because they failed to grasp the truth that the bourgeois democratic revolution (though bourgeois in its social and economic substance) would still bring reforms favorable to the peasant and worker. It would bring the democratic reform of laws for women's right to divorce. Therefore in order to have proletarian hegemony in the bourgeois democratic revolution, communists must concern themselves with "liberal questions". The bourgeoisie is competing with the proletariat for leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution and puts forth "liberal questions". Today, ATM, the proletariat is not struggling with the bourgeoisie to see which class will lead the proletarian revolution! This is precisely ATM's right line on reforms -- unconscious ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie!"

Failure to grasp the relation of reforms to the bourgeois democratic revolution leads ATM on a right opportunist line on their definition of socialism. In the same Revolutionary Cause, they wrote:

"Socialism will occur as a result of numerous battles on the economic and political front, during which communists try to lead the masses, THROUGH THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE to the conclusion that revolution is necessary and inevitable."

This is the thoroughly right opportunist practice-practice line of the RCP and borders on the incremental democracy line of "by accumulating more victories and reforms on the economic and political front, we get closer to socialism"! This line belittles the role of Marxist-Leninists fusing MLMTTT into the spontaneous movements, belittles the way communists lead in a communist way. It is the Bernstein line of the "immediate aim is everything ('palpable results'), the final goal objectively becomes nothing".

No, ATM, it is not "WVO's failure to grasp the relationship between the struggle for democracy / genuine communists never struggle for democracy in general -- which is objectively the struggle for reforms of the bourgeois democratic revolution; we struggle for proletarian democracy, democracy of the one-stage proletarian revolution - ed.] and the struggle for socialism that leads them to their dead end" (Revolutionary Cause, p. 12), it is ATM!

What the OL and ATM unite on is their right opportunist view of reforms and the proletarian revolutionary struggle for genuine reforms. The bourgeoisie maintains its reactionary rule by counter-revolutionary dual tactics -- reform and repression. However, there are reforms and then there are reforms. Certain reforms communists do struggle for in a revolutionary way (ie, for consistent trade union democracy, bilingual and bi-cultural programs, etc.). "We pursue an independent policy and put forward only such reforms as are undoubtedly favorable to the interests of the revolutionary struggle, that undoubtedly enhance the independence, class consciousness and fighting efficiency of the proletariat." The revolutionary struggle yields reforms which can aid us. As partial demands, we incorporate these goals of the immediate fight in our program in such a way that goes beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality and serve to accumulate forces in the movement for socialism. If we fail to fight in a revolutionary way, the bourgeoisie can turn these fruits of the struggle into acts of reforms. Because these partial demands would aid the revolutionary struggle, we do fight for them in a revolutionary way to turn them around.

However there also exist subterfuges of the bourgeoisie which can never be turned around into real reforms but are painted as reforms; they are not favorable to the revolutionary struggle and do not bring any immediate gains to the proletariat. In fact, as tricks, they divide and split the working class, pit different sectors against one another. And in the particular case of the forced busing plans, these tricks aid the fascization process. Lenin explains how in bourgeois society "the utmost freedom,

scope and clarity of the class struggle are combined with the utmost cunning, ruses and subterfuges." ("The Bourgeois Intelligentsia's Methods of Struggle Against the Workers", LCW, Vol. 20) The point is that we have to appraise each reform from a revolutionary perspective. Otherwise we will be tailing after the bourgeoisie's subterfuges which divide, weaken and split the working class.

These tricks (i.e., gun control, recent "independence of Transkei") painted as reforms, we would never struggle for because the more we struggle for them, the more we split the working class and aid the bourgeoisie. We expose these tricks, put forth our positive program (for partial demands and linked to the dictatorship of the proletariat) and fight for our program in a revolutionary way.

Lenin teaches:

"Revolutionaries, of course, will never reject the struggle for reform...if these will serve to strengthen the attack and help to achieve full victory. They (revolutionaries) will never forget that only by constantly having the 'ultimate aim' in view, only by appraising every step of the movement and every reform from the point of view of the general revolutionary struggle, is it possible to guard the movement against false steps and shameful mistakes." ("Persecutors of Zemstvo and Hannibals of Liberalism", LCW, Vol. 5. Emphasis added.)

The OL sees the busing plan as a step towards integration and against segregation. This leads to their revisionist position that places the integration

strategy above the revolutionary movement of the oppressed minorities for equal rights. OL labels the struggle of the oppressed minorities in Boston against racial violence and for equal rights of going to the school of their choice simply as a fight against segregation and call it a "pro-integrationist busing movement."

Integration only provides favorable conditions for revolutionary struggles and cannot be a substitute for revolutionary struggles. What the OL uses is in fact a gradual integration theory (the theory about creating favorable basis for class unity through busing) as a principal strategy and counterposes it against the revolutionary movements of the oppressed minorities for equal rights and quality education and the working class movement against capitalism. This "creating favorable conditions for class unity theory" is placing integration (in the abstract) above revolutionary strategy. After years of fighting against the "C" PUSA revisionist line on this question, this bankrupt line jumps out again in the communist movement around an unexpected issue.

The oppressed Afro-American people's desire for proletarian unity must be based on Leninist concepts of "consistent democratization", not moralist and idealist preachers' views on abstract "integration" and mixing of the races under God. Genuine integration must in the ultimate sense be willing and voluntary (a reflection of the economic development of capitalism) and based

on equality and the pride and struggle and revolutionary status of the oppressed minorities, and not based on pity and "upward looking integration" (such as the suggestions from bourgeois sociologist Coleman that blacks learn faster when they sit next to a white). Lenin clearly denounced the Russian autocracy policies of forced assimilation and Russification. From this he developed the communist policy of "the right of nations to self-determination", to deal with the dialectics of the two tendencies of capitalism on the national question. He pointed out that oppressed nationalities could not be forced, but have the right to fulfill the democratic right to choose. The forced busing plan is not against segregation and for quality education but in fact promotes formal integration to smother the movements of the oppressed nationalities to choose, and strait-jackets the essence of the revolutionary national movements which is the abolition of classes. Lenin expos-

"An abstract or formal posing of the problem of equality in general and national equality in particular is in the very nature of bourgeois democracy. Under the guise of the equality of the individual in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal or legal equality of the property-owner and the proletarian, the exploiter and the exploited, thereby grossly deceiving the oppressed class. On the plea that all men are absolutely equal, the bourgeoisie is transforming the idea of equality, which is itself a reflection of relations in commodity production, into a weapon in its struggle against the abolition of classes. The real meaning of the demand for equality consists in its being a demand for the abolition of classes." (Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Question.)

We must point out that every struggle of the Afro-American masses against national oppression has a revolutionary proletarian kernel for socialism and the abolition of classes which we support unconditionally.

In the struggle against monopoly capitalism, the movement of the Afro-American people is a direct reserve. The movements of the oppressed nationalities and national minorities for equal rights in every conceivable area (like jobs, education, housing, the right of self-determination up to and including secession) are powerful weapons which we must fuse with MLMTTT, unleash their revolutionary potential and link them closely to the historical mission of the working class, led by the genuine communist party. Speaking of the Afro-American rebellions in the 1960's, Chairman Mao stated, "It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than twenty million black Americans". Communists must actively build and support these national movements and link them to the working class struggle and demands.

The forced busing plan does not provide for integration on equal basis but in fact furthers racism, chauvinism and prejudices. This is shown by the eruption of violence, and the deepening split among the working class. In worshipping the busing plan as a plan for integration, the OL reduce themselves to the level of bourgeois sociologists and integrationists. Bourgeois sociologists have talked of assimilating for decades regarding the immigrant groups. They talked of "assimilation" in the total liberal sense of humanity of different races mixing in harmony. When the "melting pot theory" went bankrupt, "cultural pluralism" became the current vogue that says that US democracy allows for the integrity of the different cultural traditions. Its aim is of course, blurring class contradictions and is only a half-step from the "liberal" Kerner Commission Report on civil disorders analysis of "polarity of races", attributing the civil eruptions to "white racism" and conveying the continuing spectre of race war if liberal solutions were not implemented.

With its illusions in bourgeois democracy and liberal chauvinism, the OL is objectively polluting the communist movement and smothering the revolutionary national movements with its right opportunist line! ●

While fighting for the principle of the difference between the bourgeoisie's tricks painted as reforms (like ERA, Boston Forced Busing Plan, "independence" of Transkei) and real reforms (which are brought about by and aid revolutionary struggle), we presented the bourgeoisie's tricks as "sham reforms". "Sham reforms" leave room to interpret that there are reforms apart from revolutionary class struggle. Even real reforms, the bourgeoisie attempts to take away. We self-criticize ourselves for incorrect presentation of the distinction between tricks painted as reforms and real reforms (by-products of revolutionary struggle). Through the course of struggle, we learned that the presentation of the question should be sharper.

KOREA: "DETENTE" OR INDEPENDENCE & REVOLUTION?

U.S. workers oppose a second Korean war! We oppose all the capitalists' attempts to get out of their economic crisis through any imperialist war!

We oppose a second Korean war because we unconditionally support the Korean people's demand for the reunification of their country, free from all imperialist oppression, free to build up the independence and socialism that's thriving today in the North.

We also oppose a second Korean war because we pay for it with the lives of our young sons and daughters and with the blood and sweat off our own aching backs, through wage cuts, layoffs, speed-ups, rising prices, poor quality education, stripping away of vital services ... the list goes on.

In today's situation where the factors for both world war and revolution are rapidly rising, the revolutionary situation is excellent. Either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent the war.

The heroic Korean people and all the liberation forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America shine as a beacon for the oppressed people of the whole world. The Third World is truly the main force fighting imperialism today.

At the same time, the U.S. and Soviet superpowers are battling madly from one end of the globe to the other, constantly trying to oust each other and heatedly preparing for world war. Of the two, the younger, leaner and hungrier Soviet tiger is the main source of this war danger.

The strategic area of the superpowers' contention is in Europe. But they are contending everywhere through local wars and skirmishes, in the Indian Ocean, in Angola, Lebanon, Thailand and Korea.

We wholeheartedly support the Korean people's struggle, which is aiding oppressed people around the world, daily weakening the two superpowers and lessening the danger of world war!

U.S. IMPERIALISM IN KOREA

It was 26 years ago that the U.S. imperialists unleashed their war in Korea, in a doomed effort to violently turn back the forces of revolution that were brewing at that time in China, Korea, Vietnam and throughout the Third World. Many of us today can remember that war, which served to keep Korea sawed in half at the 38th parallel, with families, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, unable to see each other indefinitely.

Under the leadership of Kim Il Sung and the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK), the Korean people defeated the U.S. imperialists and defended the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the North. But the U.S. maintained its criminal rule in the South, and has since pursued its policy of "two Koreas", a policy of trying to keep Korea divided forever.

To this day, 42,000 U.S. troops are stationed on South Korean soil under cover of the United Nations flag with no intention of leaving. Gerald Ford made a speech in Hawaii on December 7, 1975 (the anniversary of the Japanese imperialist attack on Pearl Harbor), putting up the "Pacific Doctrine" which stands for a strengthening of aggressive U.S. military power in Asia, and partnership with Japan as a main pillar of this strategy. In the same breath he spoke of "peace" and "security", and of U.S. imperialism's "nine-day operation plan" and "five-day war plan" of aggression against Korea.

The U.S. capitalist press itself has admitted that there are units of "Phantom" jet tactical flying corps under the "missile command" and "air force defense commands" in South Korea. There are 1,000



COMRADE KIM IL SUNG lit a torchlight in the night sky over Bocheonbo to illuminate the road the Korean people should follow

nuclear weapons, 54 planes capable of carrying nuclear bombs, scores of missiles with launchers and hundreds of nuclear mines. And the fascist regime in South Korea under dictator Pak Jung Hi is asking the U.S. for \$1.5 billion more in credits over the next five years for military equipment. All this, in the midst of day-to-day mass opposition in the form of protests and strikes among Korean workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and all patriotic forces.

Yes, the threat of war affects us the most: poor, oppressed nationalities and the entire working class. We fight another imperialist war by being forced to support and join the army. We pay for it with our lives. We suffer because of it, as our democratic rights are increasingly stripped away and our standard of living cut to the bone. We face increased oppression as a result of it: brutal penalties for political dissent, arms restrictions, strikes and demonstrations becoming illegal, forced plans of the bourgeoisie to disarm and divide us like the Boston forced busing plan or the renewed version of the S-1 bill.

This means we have to be prepared and organized on every front we fight. In supporting Korean reunification, we always uphold the common interest between the U.S. proletariat and the people of Korea and other countries who are fighting to get rid of imperialist oppression.

The U.S. people bitterly fought against the U.S. imperialist aggression in China in the 1940s. We fought against the U.S. war in Korea in the '50s, and in Vietnam in the '60s and early '70s. U.S. workers, Afro-Americans and other oppressed nationalities, soldiers, women, students and intellectuals all came out wave upon wave, and went on strike, demonstrated by the tens and hundreds of thousands, carried on frapping, rioted and often laid down our lives, in support of national liberation and socialism around the world.

Three decades of our own battle at home against U.S. aggression abroad has taught us a profound revolutionary lesson. It has taught us the true nature of U.S. imperialism, and the true nature of its wars for capitalist "freedom" and capitalist "democracy".

Most of all, it has taught us that if the U.S. imperialists or Soviet social-

imperialists ever dare again to launch another war of aggression in Korea or the rest of the Third World, we must rise again in resolute support for these working class brothers and sisters and oppressed people abroad, fighting to turn the imperialist predatory war into a civil war at home to overthrow monopoly capitalism!

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST EYES ON ASIA

In 1969, the Soviet revisionist leader Brezhnev brought out the "Asian Collective Security System", intended as a big lever in its worldwide contention with the U.S.

In his report to the 24th Congress of the "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union, Brezhnev listed the principles of non-use of force, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, respect for sovereignty, and equality and mutual benefit. Yet no sooner had the ink dried when the Soviet superpower instigated India to unleash war against Pakistan and obstructed efforts in the United Nations for ceasefire.

The Soviet Union has definitely had its eyes on the Asian continent, especially since the U.S. got booted out of Indochina. In fact, it has more than that! Coastal ports and military bases, warships and aircraft that continually cruise around Japan, the occupation of Japanese northern territories, a wide network of dispatched spies, and imperialist investments everywhere.

In Korea, these revisionists give lip service to the Five Point Reunification Program of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), while simultaneously establishing exchange relations with South Korea in the fields of sports, culture and trade, and holding cordial meetings and friendly talks with the fascist Pak Jung Hi clique.

For example, the February 27, 1976, issue of Peking Review stated:

"As early as in August 1973, Soviet Ambassador to the United States Dobrynin held 'talks' with the former South Korean 'ambassador' Kim Dong Jo. In May 1974, the Soviet consul general in San Francisco had 'dialogues' with South Korean 'ambassador' Pyong Choon Hahn. In 1975, the Soviet Embassy in France officially invited the Pak Jung Hi clique's

'counsellor' to attend a social function in the Soviet Embassy. These contacts between the Soviet Union and South Korea have won the plaudit of the Pak Jung Hi clique which said that 'improvement in the relations between Seoul and Moscow is encouraging'."

These dirty deals only expose the counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet Union in blocking Korean reunification!

The two superpowers are the main enemies of the people of the world. The Soviet superpower is the more dangerous of the two. While driving the U.S. wolf out the front, the Korean people must beware the Soviet tiger at the back!

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA SUPPORTS KOREAN REUNIFICATION

In contrast to the Soviet undermining of reunification, the socialist People's Republic of China has always given genuine revolutionary support to the Korean people. Reaffirming their militant friendship sealed in blood, both countries signed a Joint Communique in Peking on April 26, 1975. It stated:

"The Chinese side reaffirms its resolute support to the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland. To reunify their fatherland is the Korean people's noble national aspiration. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has repeatedly put forward correct propositions and reasonable proposals for the reunification of the fatherland. In particular, the three principles for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland and the five point proposition for preventing national division and reunifying the fatherland, put forward by President Kim Il Sung, have charted the correct way for settling the question of the reunification of Korea.... (The Chinese side) condemns (emphasis added) the Pak Jung Hi clique which, supported and instigated by U.S. imperialism, has obdurately pursued a policy of national division, trampled on the Joint Statement of North and South Korea, tried to sabotage the North-South talks, intensified its fascist suppression of the south Korean people and continuously aggravated the tension on the Korean Peninsula."

THE KOREAN PEOPLE DEMAND REUNIFICATION

Against the U.S. imperialist policy of "two Koreas" which is aimed at maintaining their criminal rule over the south and permanent division, the Korean people have always fought for the reunification of their country.

On the diplomatic front, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea accelerated its offensive with the signing of the July 4, 1972 Joint Communique with the Pak Jung Hi clique of South Korea. It established three main principles for reunification, proposed by comrade Kim Il Sung, leader of the WPK:

1. "Reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference.
2. "Reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side.
3. "Great national unity as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideas, and social system."

The significance of this communique is that it forced the criminal Pak Jung Hi clique to recognize the burning desire of the Korean people for reunification before the eyes of the world, and also exposed that regime's obstruction and violation of this goal every step of the way.

In 1973, the DPRK set forth the Five Point Reunification Program. It proposed reduction of military forces by both sides; cooperative exchange between North and South; convening of a national assembly of all strata, social groups, political organizations to discuss reunification; establishment of a joint confederation under the name of Confederal Republic of Koryo; and entrance in the United Nations as a single nation under the name of the Confederation.

Again in 1974, the DPRK addressed a letter to the U.S. Congress proposing the replacement of the Armistice with a peace agreement to reduce arms tension and end foreign interference.

As these documents prove, the Korean people want independence and the peaceful reunification of their country. But this does not mean that reunification will come through peaceful, legal channels only. Not at all.

The Korean people and their genuine supporters would prefer to achieve reunification by peaceful means, and the DPRK's repeated proposals thoroughly expose the reactionary and fascist nature of the Pak Jung Hi clique which violates these proposals every day. But the Korean people will never have illusions and pin their hopes on the "peaceful" or "good-hearted" nature of imperialism, or on its "voluntary submission".

While continuing to expose the Pak Jung Hi clique on the diplomatic front, the Korean people led by the WPK will continue to answer every imperialist assault and will be ready to seize victory when conditions are ripe. U.S. workers and all oppressed people must unconditionally support the Korean people's struggle in all its forms, including armed struggle.

The Korean people will achieve independence and reunification by any means necessary!

ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI-FEUDAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE IN THE SOUTH, AS PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR UNIFICATION

It is no secret that in South Korea the fascist dictatorship of Pak Jung Hi brutally oppresses the people in every way. Criticism of the government is illegal, military tribunals have been set up to sentence violators, demonstrations and rallies lead to 10-year and longer imprisonments, total press censorship has been imposed, reinstatement of the Student Defense Corps has mobilized fascist youth, extensive Korean CIA network operates at home and abroad.

Yet none of this has prevented the daily, rising mass opposition among Korean workers, peasants, students, youth, intellectuals, and other patriotic people.

For example, in January of this year, more than 80,000 workers in 18 chemical industrial branches of South Korea rose in struggle for sharp wage hikes. 300 workers of a Masan fiber company in South Kyongsang province formed a fighting trade union in defense of their national dignity and democratic freedom against the daily intensified national insults, persecution and exploitation of Japanese monopoly capitalists. The workers have linked these economic struggles to the political demands of restoring democracy in the South and achieving reunification. In South Korea's jails are thousands of political prisoners who have raised their fists against the fascist regime.

In past years, the Korean people in the south achieved the June 3 Uprising of 1964 against the South Korean-Japan talks, the 1965 struggle to reject South Korean-Japan agreements and the 1967 puppet elections. They continue the battle against U.S. imperialist occupation and the local reactionaries, as part of the nationwide fight for reunification.

EXPOSE "C" PUSA SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST SABOTAGE OF KOREAN REUNIFICATION

There are those in the U.S. whose "support" of Korea is 100% opportunist. The "Communist" Party U.S.A., in particular, misuses the advances of the revolutionary Korean people's struggle, especially on the diplomatic front, and jumps to its itchy feet at any mention of the word "peace" and of struggle taking place through legal channels.

In their literature, Korea Focus, they blare out statements such as the following:

"Speculation as to whether the qualitative change of reunification must in the future be violent in the traditional sense is akin to speculation whether socialism must always come through mass upheaval. That question was wisely left open by Marx and Engels to the contingencies of the future, and it would be wise, in a time

of weakening imperialist influence, to follow their lead. Nor should the question of the desirability and possibility of reunification (under whatever conditions and at what time) be confused with whether it will or will not take place as now envisioned.

"Korean reunification, like peace, detente, socialism, is not a matter of now or never, all or nothing, this or not at all. These are all matters of various specific sets of concrete opportunities, every set of which has an element of uniqueness. The Koreans, like the Vietnamese, have elected to strive for peaceful reunification." (Korea Focus, Vol. IV, No. 1, March/April 1975)

These are damnable lies that slander a just revolutionary cause! The "C" PUSA pushes "detente", a predatory imperialist peace to prepare for world war. They try to neatly whitewash the contention between the U.S. and Soviet superpowers for world hegemony. It is no coincidence that in their same magazine they talk about Chile and blame anti-"detente" forces for Allende's fall, rather than exposing how the revisionist craving for "peaceful transition to socialism" will always fail.

Without question, the Korean people want rapid and peaceful reunification, but not revisionist "peaceful co-existence" which would mean a divided Korea forever.

The December 27, 1975 issue of the Pyongyang Times sharply outlined:

"The July 4 Joint Statement rejects antagonism between the north and the south from the viewpoint of national interests. From this some people are likely to be captivated by the atmosphere of detente and there will be a growing tendency toward peaceful co-existence. In other words, there is every prospect of the perpetuation of division masquerading under the name of peace. This we should be watchful against."

DPRK President Kim Il Sung has also stated repeatedly:

"If the South Korean rulers continue to suppress at the point of the bayonet the people's discontent and wrath that is underlying South Korean society, it will result in a greater revolutionary explosion.

"If revolution takes place in South Korea, we, as one and the same nation, will not just look at it with folded arms but will strongly support the Korean people.

"In this war we will only lose the Military Demarcation Line and will gain the country's reunification."

So peaceful reunification in Korea is conditional. Conditional first upon the withdrawal of foreign interference which bolsters the corrupt regime in the South. By toeing the revisionist line of "peaceful coexistence" and pinning their hopes on "peaceful transition to socialism", the "C" PUSA emasculates the truly revolutionary cause of the Korean people as a false case in "detente".

GUARDIAN REVISIONISTS' FAKE SUPPORT FOR REUNIFICATION

The revisionists of the Guardian newspaper are another bunch of sham supporters of Korean reunification, who always pledge their "support" and then stab the Korean people in the back.

Using the fact that U.S. imperialism is militarily occupying South Korea as an excuse, the Guardian completely covers up the criminal role of Soviet social-imperialism and the growing danger of world war. The Guardian pledges to help defeat U.S. imperialism in Korea and promote reunification, but by whitewashing the struggle against the Soviet superpower, the Guardian aides it and merges with the "C" PUSA. Even after the U.S. imperialists are thrown out, reunification will not be guaranteed, for the Soviet tiger is sure to step up its efforts to sneak in the back.

In the Angolan issue, the Guardian merged completely with the "C" PUSA. By supporting only the MPLA, the Guardian helped split the three Angolan liberation

(continued on p. 22)

WHAT'S BEHIND THE "INDEPENDENCE" OF TRANSKEI?



**ONLY BY REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE
WILL THE AFRICAN MASSES WIN
GENUINE LIBERATION!**



On October 26, the Republic of Transkei declared its independence from South Africa and claimed to become Africa's 49th nation. But in reality, the Azanian people of Transkei are no "freer," no more "independent" than the Azanian people in the rest of the country who are all victims of the fascist apartheid system of the white minority regime. Transkei is merely a continuation in higher form, a cruel trick of the fascist apartheid rule. It is a product of determined efforts by the racist South African authorities to disintegrate the surging revolutionary movement for the independence and national liberation of the entire country of Azania.

In response to the growing resistance to apartheid (such as the Sharpeville uprising of 1960), the desperate South African government hatched the Bantustan (or "homelands") self-government scheme in 1959 to solve the "race problem." They carved out on so-called African "reserves" 10 separate Bantu autonomous regions along racial and tribal lines, presumably so the various African tribes can achieve independence separately. They hail the Bantustan plan as the highest and only form of self-determination for the Azanian people, but the Azanian masses clearly see that it is nothing but an out and out divide and rule tactic designed to create splits and stifle the united movement for independence and liberation.

It's no wonder that this sham independence scheme comes at this time. Although this scheme was hatched in 1959, the current efforts to push forward with it are a direct result of the growing revolutionary struggles in all of southern Africa (Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, Guinea-Bissau) as well as within Azania itself.

Eventually, all of Azania's 18 million Black Africans would be imprisoned in these so-called "homelands" which cover only 13% of the entire country, while its 4 million white settlers would occupy the other 87%, reaping all the wealth and economic and political power. Moreover, the designated homelands are in some of the most barren, least fertile, land-locked areas of the country. Azanians would have no political or economic rights except in these respective "homelands"; in fact, they would be considered foreigners outside those areas, i.e. trespassers on the land of their birth and the land they developed with their own labor!

The Transkei is a good example of all this. It is the largest Bantustan and the first to accept independence (6 others have rejected the scheme and continue to demand full equality in the country as a whole). Its land is extremely primitive and poor, it has a semi-feudal economy, and most of the people live in thatched huts and live by herding. Economically and politically, it is entirely dependent on the racist South African government which escalated its investments in Transkei tremendously as the date for "independence" drew nearer. Key positions, such as those of the army, police, chief justice, etc., are held by South Africans recruited by the Pretoria clique. It all boils down to the Transkei being nothing but a colony of South Africa.

What's more, only about half of the 3 million Xhosa people (predominant tribe in Transkei) in Azania actually live in

Transkei. The rest live in separate Black townships clustered around major industrial cities such as Johannesburg and Pretoria and shuttle back and forth everyday with their passes, where they provide the vast bulk of the labor for the prosperous white-settler-owned mines and factories and where they earn only 1/20 the pay of white settlers. Their links to their geographical "homeland," like those of the members of other tribes, are very loose. Many have never even visited their so-called "homelands," having lived for generations in the townships around the cities.

Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the Prime Minister of the Transkei Bantustan, played an active part in securing the "independence" of Transkei. He says that he abhors apartheid himself, and denies that he is a puppet of the racist South Africans, yet he pushed this scheme the hardest among Azanians and had the solid backing all the way of the arch racists. There have been numerous demonstrations within the Bantustan against this sham independence scheme, and under his guidance many leaders of the anti-independence Democratic Party have been arrested under the Internal Security Act. But the anti-"independence" movement is still very active and its influence is growing rapidly.

The sham independence of the Transkei Republic has been condemned by the governments of virtually every country. The countries in the General Assembly of the United Nations are clear that independence of the Transkei is a cruel hoax, and 2 weeks ago unanimously refused to recognize the Republic, except for a lone abstention by the U.S. imperialists.

The U.S. imperialists, pressured by the need to protect their investments in South Africa, to maintain the white minority regime as its outpost in southern Africa, in order to contend with the Soviet social-imperialists, have taken to pressuring the Vorster regime to make more use of counter-revolutionary dual tactics in suppressing the growing Azanian masses' struggle. In response to the tremendous upsurge of the Azanian masses, the Vorster regime made a few concessions (wages, school language requirement, meetings with "responsible" Azanians) and stepped up violent repression (over 1000 have been murdered by the police and scores imprisoned). The U.S. imperialists, skilled in using counter-revolutionary dual tactics to confuse the masses, have urged the Vorster regime to step up use of this policy in order to "present a better image," chip away at South Africa's international isolation, lessen the embarrassment of the U.S. imperialists, and confuse and split the revolutionary struggle of the Azanian masses. Clearly, the Transkei scheme is a brazen, even clumsy, attempt to confuse the Azanian masses, that even the U.S. imperialists cannot come out openly and support, but only abstain from voting on. The Transkei scheme will only make the Azanian masses more resolved in their struggle.

The Soviet social-imperialists, the other superpower, of course couldn't betray their socialist cloak and came out opposing international recognition of Transkei. Both superpowers are stepping up their activity in Azania and all of southern Africa in an attempt to carve out spheres of influence and to get a foothold there before all Africa wins its independence and boots out the 2 superpowers once and for all.

Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance! Throughout the centuries, the African people have a tradition of consistently fighting imperialist and colonial invasion and rule. Defying vicious repression, wave upon wave of African people have risen up, each time stronger, as now in Zimbabwe and Namibia. In Azania, workers and students are rising up and dealing a death blow to the reactionary, apartheid Vorster regime. Carrying on the rich historical tradition, the June 16 Soweto uprising has accelerated and broadened into a powerful mass movement. The racist apartheid regimes in southern Africa are surely doomed!

As workers and oppressed people and communists in the U.S., we resolutely support the revolutionary struggle of the Azanian masses as part of the struggles of the oppressed peoples of the world in their fight against imperialism and hegemonism. Carry the struggle for national liberation and total independence through to the end!

REJECT THE SHAM INDEPENDENCE SCHEME OF THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT!

PEOPLES OF THE U.S. AND AZANIA, UNITE!

KICK THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM, OUT OF AFRICA!

SMASH APARTHEID! GENUINE INDEPENDENCE AND EQUALITY FOR AZANIANS!

THE AZANIAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY WIN COMPLETE LIBERATION THROUGH SELF-RELIANCE AND ARMED STRUGGLE!

**WVO
CALLS FOR LETTERS**

Communist organizations and Parties around the world must acquire the great traditions of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party summed up by the Communist Party of China: integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism. We think that one way for WVO to start acquiring these traditions is through our newspaper's correspondence.

We ask comrades and friends around the country to send us letters, criticisms, reports on struggles, etc., on our articles and other issues in the communist and workers' movements, the international and national situations, the national movements, working women's movements, etc. This correspondence will contribute directly to our common struggle to build the U.S. anti-revisionist communist party and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Write to: Workers Viewpoint Org.
GPO Box 2256
New York, N.Y. 10001

MLOC: Intriguing and Conspiring for a Revisionist Clique -

Statement by the Bolshevik Organizing Collective/ Communist Workers Committee (M-L)

The central task for all U.S. Marxist-Leninists is building a genuinely anti-revisionist Communist Party. In the past several years much fruitful work has been done in defining the character of the Party, charting its aims and course, establishing its methods of work, and actually organizing it. The struggle over lines on Party building has been the focus of struggle within the Communist Movement. Whether or not we build the Party correctly decides the course of the struggle to overthrow the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and build socialism.

In the past one and a half years, the struggle over this question has been particularly intense. Many proposals have been put forth to the movement, vigorous polemics have raged back and forth and, as a result, much greater clarity has emerged. But what we are reprinting and criticizing below is a proposal almost no one knows about because it was distributed secretly to a very small number of organizations. It is the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee's proposal to "Concentrate Superior Forces to Smash Revisionism and Build the Party." We are exposing this not because the MLOC is a force to be reckoned with in the Communist movement or among the masses, but as an example of one of the many opportunist trends that has a fertile class and social basis in the U.S. But some honest forces may be taken in by the MLOC's "profound" and "theoretical" look, and not recognize the formalism, careerism and unscrupulousness lurking just beneath the surface. We are reprinting and criticizing it to move forward the struggle to criticize revisionism in the communist movement and so deepen the communist movement's grasp of the correct Marxist-Leninist line and principles on Party building.

Why Publish A Secret Document?

Before going into a full analysis of this proposal, let us answer several questions that have been raised about our publishing a secret document. We are publishing it because in our view questions of line on Party building are matters for the whole Communist movement to debate openly, not matters of backroom maneuvering.

Studying the document convinced us that the document itself reflects the opportunism it claims it wants to defeat. This opportunism must be ruthlessly exposed, dissected and criticized before the Communist movement if we hope to break with it.

The secret document, like other MLOC publications, tries to present itself as a product of a most profound synthesis of the science of MLMTT with the concrete conditions of making revolution in the U.S. In fact it is a sham. It proudly boasts that "concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy force stems from a dialectical materialist world outlook and methodology," and that all our work must be based on a "granite theoretical foundation." But the MLOC never explains how or why concentrating a superior force is the correct method for Party building in the U.S. or how it reflects a dialectical materialist outlook. Nor does it tell us what the "granite theoretical foundation" is exactly. These are puffed up words to lend this thoroughly opportunist proposal an air of authority to inflate the MLOC's image.

MLOC is quite concerned about its "image." Recently, in an informal meeting with MLOC, we told them we had gotten a copy of their document and that we thought it should be published and criticized since it was thoroughly opportunist. They said it was being criticized, but no public statement would be made. Moreover, they said that we had no "right" to try to publish a secret document, that it was an internal matter. About two weeks after this exchange, we were called, told that there was going to be a public self-criticism in January which would be part of the organization's general criticism and summation of its work, and they asked if we were still planning to reprint it. We told them that our view was unchanged and that trying to prevent us from printing it was itself a clear reflection of the opportunism of the document.

(MLOC's entire secret "CREDO" program is on pages 29-30)

This kind of unprincipled maneuvering and double-dealing convinced us even more that the MLOC Party Building line needs to be published and fully exposed, and that the task of correctly criticizing the document not be left to the initiative of the opportunists themselves. The attempt to hide the document only brings out the basic opportunism of the organization more clearly. The MLOC put forth their line in secret; they liquidated open polemics for the correct line; they tried to organize communists to struggle against opportunism based on only the vaguest and flimsiest principles, seeing the struggle in military terms when in fact it is an ideological and political struggle; all these reveal the essentially bourgeois careerist character of the MLOC Party building line. This represents nothing but an attempt to intrigue and conspire to build a revisionist Party. It is no wonder MLOC panicked at the thought of our releasing it.

Several arguments have been advanced on why not to publish it. First, the view that this document should not be released because it is a secret document, and we should not let the state see it. But this is just another cover. The document has nothing in it that could possibly be used by the state to injure the Communist movement or the masses. There is much in it, however, that is instructive for the Communist movement and class conscious workers, all of it by negative example. The secrecy of the document is nothing but an attempt to avoid struggle over the line. This, like MLOC's general opposition to open polemics (*Unite*, Vol. 2, No. 2) violates Lenin's basic teachings on the role of open polemics.

"Open polemics, conducted in full view of all Russian Social-Democrats and class conscious workers, are necessary and desirable in order to clarify the depth of existing differences, in order to afford discussion of disputed questions from all angles, in order to combat the extremes into which representatives, not only of various views, but even of various localities, or various 'specialistes' of the revolutionary movement, inevitably fall. Indeed, as noted above, we regard one of the drawbacks of the present-day movement to be the absence of open polemics between oppositely differing views, the effort to conceal differences on fundamental questions." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 355)

The development of the correct line and the victory of that line, must take place "in full view" of the Communist movement and the class conscious workers. Open polemics serve to educate, temper and orient the movement. Incorrect lines that are put forth must be defeated and their class and ideological roots exposed, to prevent recurrence and to prevent decay into revisionism. Only in struggle against incorrect lines can the correct line emerge. Hiding our shortcomings or weaknesses, failing to expose incorrect lines, hurts the entire revolutionary movement. It preserves backwardness and one-sidedness, keeps comrades working along incorrect lines and in this way disorganizes the work. It prevents clear lines of demarcation from being drawn, and unity of will and action based on firm principle from being reached. MLOC's philistinism hurts genuinely revolutionary work. Raising security when no security question is involved only covers the MLOC's opportunism. It keeps this opportunism a secret not from the state, but from the Communist movement. It becomes a line of concentrating a superior force to smash the genuine one by one!

Another objection raised was that publishing the document is violating the wishes of the authors, and that we have no "right" to ignore the MLOC's request for confidentiality in this way. Here again one of the principal shortcomings of the Communist movement today is the refusal by groups to engage in principled, sharp polemics. How is it true that all groups have the "right" to try to conceal their mistakes, and even their views. This is a bourgeois "right" we are not bound to respect. We also have the right, in fact, the obligation, to point out how this goes against the revolutionary interests of the proletariat and the vast majority. This MLOC document is the most fully developed version of this cowardly view. It abandons all responsibility for defending and justifying its line before the Communist movement. It uses the cover of military operations to justify, and to hide, its own backwardness, its own lack of any clear lines on any of the burning questions of our movement or any plan to unite Marxist-Leninists based on principle.

The question we must ask ourselves is this: should we cooperate in keeping this thoroughly retrograde line hidden or should we expose it to the light of day? Only in hiding can this line survive, and concealment may even allow it to spread. Comrades, the question is not one of do we or don't we have the "right"? The question is one of class stand and of serving the interests of the vast majority.

Our action in publishing MLOC's secret document has historic precedents. In 1899, Lenin got hold of and published a document called the *Credo*, a statement of views by a group of Russian Economists, attacking the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism. The authors had intended for this document to be kept secret, but Lenin "published it without the consent and perhaps against the will of its authors." (*What Is To Be Done?*, FLPH Edition, p. 21) The same thing was done by Lenin with the *Profession de Foi*, also an opportunist manifesto, published by the Kiev Committee of the RSDLP in 1899. Both documents were published with full criticisms of the line, and both groups howled that they were not consulted. Lenin observed that the general feature of opportunism revealed here was "a fear of publicity" (*Ibid*, p. 22) by groups that "disapprove of all theoretical con-

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troveries, factional disagreements, broad political questions, schemes for organizing revolutionaries, etc..." (Ibid., p. 22)

In this case too we expect similar howling disapproval, cries of "violating security" or "you're being unprincipled in publishing this." But in fact, issuing a military call to the Communist movement to organize secret sorties, using military tactics "to smash revisionism" is a violation of the basic Marxist principles of being open and aboveboard, and practicing Marxism and not revisionism, and is an attack in principle on the principle of open polemics. We did have some hesitation about publishing the document and the polemic against it, but this was not for any of the reasons mentioned. We are quite sure that OL will use this document and the polemic against MLOC as a further piece of evidence of their opportunist theory that all the organizations in the Communist movement are allied against OL in an "anti-Party bloc." MLOC had to "in fact" hit the OL in order to attempt to wiggle its way into the then genuine revolutionary wing. Undoubtedly, the OL will try to use the release of this secret document, directed primarily against them, as a way to further consolidate their cadre. This will very likely be used to feed the OL revisionist machine. But we felt that we should not try to hide the truth simply because the opportunists will try to distort it in order to make use of it. In fact, deeply grasping the opportunism of the MLOC will help in combatting the main danger of revisionism, represented by OL.

"Practice Marxism, Not Revisionism"

Chairman Mao has taught that we should practice the "three do's and the three don'ts." He called on all communists to "practice Marxism and not revisionism, unite and don't split, be open and aboveboard and don't intrigue and conspire." Comrade Chou En-lai, at the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, in discussing these three general principles, said:

"Chairman Mao thus puts forward the criterion for distinguishing the correct line from the erroneous line, and gives the three basic principles every Party member must observe. Every one of our comrades must keep these three principles firmly in mind, uphold them and energetically and correctly carry on the two line struggle within the Party." (TNC Documents, p. 18)

In this proposal MLOC makes a mockery of these principles. In organizing secret maneuvers in the Communist movement against the right opportunists, they hopelessly confuse military and ideological and political struggle. The effect is to engage in totally unprincipled methods of struggle.

In the words of the recent published manual, A Basic Understanding of the CPC, "Is a person open and aboveboard, or does he intrigue and conspire? This forms the dividing line between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois careerists." (Shanghai, 1974, p. 64) This reflects very well the essence of the MLOC line on Party building -- a line of bourgeois careerism and opportunism.

MLOC's intrigues and conspiracies should be quite evident from reading this secret proposal. It is a call to sneak around the country organizing secret raids. In this way, the MLOC uses OL's and RCP's revisionism to justify its own retrograde character. In addition, they tried to use this unprincipled method to buy admission into the revolutionary trend. But this ticket is really a certificate of poverty. MLOC admits in its proposal that it has no line, and so it is reduced to such tactics. They try to get by with stacks of undigested reprints to cover a careerist scheme to wiggle its way into the revolutionary wing. Yet, as is clear from this document, the MLOC itself does not even know where it is going.

This proposal reflects a rotten world outlook. It reflects the striving of the petty bourgeoisie to remake the world in its own class outlook, which

only serves the bourgeoisie. It must intrigue and conspire since it is unable and unwilling to struggle openly for the correct line. This kind of secrecy about one's political views is characteristic of all exploiting classes. The bourgeoisie has interests that are objectively opposed to the working class. Hence, the bourgeoisie must lie to the workers about their real views in order to keep control over them. This is in sharp contrast to the method and outlook of the proletariat. The outlook of the working class is fearless because history is on its side.

The working class is convinced of the justice of its cause and certain of its ultimate victory. For this reason the Communist Manifesto proclaims "The Communists disdain to conceal their view and aims." (p. 76)

In all aspects, the method of struggle against opportunism put forth by the MLOC is saturated with the old world outlook. First, it begins without any clear and firm line of demarcation. It lists seven principles, but these are called "questions of line." They are not principled lines of demarcation. It quickly erases even these by saying "it is not a mechanical question of whether or not a single organization unites with all seven points." Although the MLOC hoped to unite with the revolutionary trend, it reduces the lines of the trend to a "question" and an "attitude." "The revolutionary trend," the document states, "is both a question of political line, and of the attitude toward unity and the importance of particular organizations on the overall struggle of the proletariat." This is the "firm" foundation on which MLOC hopes to build its Party, and to smash revisionism. In the process, they end up being to the right of those revisionists they are "smashing." Flexibility of tactics should not be confused with political instability.

Second, the MLOC advocates struggling "to destroy the enemy one by one." In warfare, the principle of struggling on one front at a time to conserve forces is correct. In ideological and political struggle, it is necessary to struggle on two fronts. This is because, as Chairman Mao teaches, in line struggle one tendency covers another. This is generally true. And in the U.S. Communist movement we can see this today. The "left" otzovist PRRWO/RWL and the right opportunist OL are the best examples. Each waves a baton at the other to cover their own opportunism.

One cannot develop a correct line without struggling on two fronts. Moreover, MLOC not only abandons the struggle on two fronts, but advocates that we take on one opportunist organization at a time. Comrades, this also is thoroughly bankrupt. The struggle against opportunism and revisionism is a long-term struggle that we must wage whenever and wherever we spot opportunism and revisionism in the working class movement. We cannot simply "destroy the enemy one by one" and hope to be rid of opportunism and revisionism.

Third, in struggling against opportunism, it is never correct to concentrate all our efforts to strike the opportunists where they are weakest. Lenin's polemics always strived to proceed from the strongest argument of an opponent. Anything less is pragmatism. We are not trying to win bourgeois debates by scoring points by any method available; we are trying to struggle out the correct line by which to lead the working class to battle with the bourgeoisie. We must dismantle the opportunists' best line so that it will not dupe the masses, not just side points and slips of the tongue. This is no Ford/Carter debate we're engaged in here. It is a question of clearly demarcating lines so the masses can be clear.

Fourth, the task is not to defeat opportunists "on a local basis in order to strike a decisive blow by surprise." The task is to expose the opportunist line showing how it doesn't reflect nor serve the interests of the proletariat and put forward a correct line; to expose the people who cling to the bankrupt line while winning away the honest elements. It means persistent exposure of the class and ideological basis of in-

correct lines. It means showing how these lines do not reflect reality and tend to mutate under criticism. None of this is a question of "local superiority," but a question of the general line. Least of all it is a matter of "surprise," a matter of the work being conducted "in a quiet, secretive manner, until such time as a superior force has been assembled... not to surprise the watch dogs at the gate before we are inside." It is a matter of persistent exposure before the masses so that the masses can be perfectly clear on who struggles in their interests and whose leadership they should follow.

Opportunism is the influence of the bourgeoisie on the workers' and communist movements, but we must not forget that it is an ideological and political influence. If we are attacked we should most energetically defend ourselves and strike back. But this is not the character of our struggle now. Opportunism must be exposed before the masses in order to win the masses to the correct line, and prepare for armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie. In Lenin's words,

"preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat calls, not only for an intensification of the struggle against reformist and 'Centrist' tendencies, but also for a change in the character of that struggle. The struggle cannot be restricted to explaining the erroneousness of these tendencies; it must unswervingly and ruthlessly expose any leader of the working class movement who reveals such tendencies, for otherwise the proletariat cannot know who it will march with into the decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie. This struggle is such that at any moment it may - and actually does; as experience has shown - substitute criticism with weapons for the weapon of criticism." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 189-190)

This is the task of ideological and political struggle. Without it, the revolution cannot move forward at the decisive moment with the masses fully prepared to take up arms against the bourgeoisie and their agents. MLOC, by its confusion of ideological and political struggle with armed struggle, advances a strategy that makes correct ideological and political struggle impossible. The result, for all its military allusions, is to fail to prepare the ideological and political conditions to actually move forward to real military struggle when the time comes. Comrades, MLOC is among those careerists and swindlers who must be exposed, isolated and defeated to move the working class to revolution!

How MLOC Liquidates The Decisiveness Of Line

Principled proposals to unite the communist movement must be based on an analysis of the communist movement, its history and development, the main tendencies within it and clear lines of demarcation between genuine Marxist-Leninists and opportunism. MLOC's proposal has virtually none of these.

MLOC fails to draw the correct conclusion from the struggle against RU's economism. They say that as a result of years of struggle, "many Marxist-Leninists came forward to recognize the necessity of party building as the central task in this period." However, the other, more fundamental line which emerged was a grasp of the leading role of theory. It is this which MLOC cannot grasp. This is not just a misformulation. As we will show below, it reflects how in fact MLOC was never part of the second period and tried to but was unable to sneak into the third.

The RU led the struggle to defeat eclecticism and uphold MLMTTT in the first period. In the second period, the communist movement divided into two and the RU turned into its opposite by opposing both party building as the principal task and the leading role of theory. It became the main proponent, along with OL as a junior partner, of a blind "practice, practice, practice" line, ideologically rooted in pragmatism. To uphold a strict, scientific approach in all our work was the basis for the formation of the revolutionary theory

trend of the communist movement. The struggles in the communist movement over these questions resulted in a general victory for the role of theory and the line of party building as the principal task; even the sham forces, OL and RU, took up party building. RU jumped out ahead and "completed" the task of building its sham party first; OL is now stumbling along to its first Revisionist Party Congress. The victory of the line of grasping the role of theory in party building as the principal task was in 1975. At that time, the third period began with the struggle over political line as the key link for the revolutionary wing.

MLOC latched onto and pretended to join these forces in upholding party building as the principal task and in giving lip service to the role of theory. And it failed to grasp what this means in terms of the specific tasks of making revolution in the U.S. The result is that MLOC could never be in the revolutionary theory trend, no matter how much it pretended.

For all their repeated calls to base unity in the communist movement on a "granite theoretical foundation," MLOC has done nothing to improve our use of theory to make revolution in the U.S. Less than nothing. MLOC has taken no position on burning topical class questions of the day. It has not used theory to illuminate contemporary social and political life. Instead, it has mostly reprinted Comintern, Albanian, and Chinese documents, provided some historical introductions and produced some tedious articles on the contemporary situation that are just long strings of quotes from the classics. They have made no attempt at independent analysis. This is why we say MLOC does not grasp how theory plays the leading role. They have promoted a servile formalism, of the xerox-type, toward theory, endlessly quoting the works of the great Marxist teachers and leaders, but never grasping the spirit and essence of MLMTTT.

This deviation is expressed in the MLOC slogan "theory is decisive." This slogan, on first hearing, sounds very learned; it seems to render Chairman Mao's statement, "the correctness of incorrectness of ideological and political line decides everything," more profound. But on close examination, this distortion of Chairman Mao's works is really evidence of MLOC's own opportunism.

When someone says something is decisive, we must ask, "For what?" In the case of Chairman Mao's statement, correct ideological and political line is decisive for leading and making revolution. In other words, this slogan means that a correct world outlook, and correct program, strategy and tactics are decisive in leading and making a particular revolution. What does it mean to say "theory is decisive?" Decisive for what? In examining MLOC's slogan, let us assume the best and say MLOC would answer the question by saying "theory is decisive for making revolution." But what, then can this mean? Theory is the summed up experience of the international communist movement taken in its general aspect. How can the general experience of the working class movement decide the fate of our particular revolution in the U.S.? What is decisive is how well we are able to grasp this theory and find our bearings, politically and ideologically, and lead the class forward through the twists and turns of class struggle. Other countries' experience and theory provide invaluable light to help guide our way, but theory must be applied as a guide to the concrete conditions of the society to give the movement clarity and direction in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie. In Lenin's words:

"a movement that is starting in a young country can be successful only if it implements the experience of other countries. And in order to implement this experience, it is not enough merely to be acquainted with it, or simply to transcribe the latest revolutions. What it requires is the ability to take this experience critically and to test it independently." (What Is To Be Done? p. 29)

Comrades, ideological and political line is always decisive! MLMTTT is the theoretical basis guiding our thinking, a necessary basis for ideological and political line. In the second period, the key link was grasping the role of theory in party building, necessary (but not sufficient) in itself for developing the correct ideological and political line. The slogan "theory is decisive" is a crystallization of the MLOC's view of theory. All the reprints and attempts to render Chairman Mao more "profound" cannot erase the fact that MLOC raises the banner of "theory" only to liquidate the role of MLMTTT as a living guide to action, and to liquidate the decisiveness of ideological and political line.

This explains why MLOC could never take its place in the revolutionary trend of the communist movement. Basing itself on a fuller understanding of the role of theory guiding the development of line, the revolutionary wing took all the tasks of developing line seriously. The correct view of theory led it to struggle fiercely for the truth, sparing neither itself nor others in the struggle for the correct line. This is as it should be. This is why engaging in polemics is a principle, and why a correct view of criticism, self-criticism, repudiation, and transformation is necessary. If errors are made, if we are subjective in our thinking, the errors must be ferreted out. They must be hunted down to their ideological and class roots, their class effects exposed, repudiated and transformed. And this must be done to educate the communist movement and class conscious workers.

This is in sharp contrast to MLOC, which, when it listed the seven points of unity of the revolutionary trend, omitted open polemics and criticism, self-criticism; moreover, as this whole proposal for party building shows, the MLOC fails to uphold these two basic principles in practice. But the role of theory, polemics, and criticism, self-criticism were the real basis of unity of the revolutionary trend.

MLOC was never in the revolutionary trend; and they could never grasp the real basis of unity of the revolutionary trend. The deviation of the PRRWO/RWL clique, their "left" dogmatism, is totally different from the MLOC's deviation, formalism of the xerox-type. But in the case of the otzovists before they degenerated into a consolidated revisionist sect, they struggled for their line. MLOC, on the other hand, doesn't believe in the "theory" it so pompously puts forth, so it fails to struggle openly, mutates its lines and tries to sneak into party building efforts based on no line at all. In this way MLOC raises theory only to liquidate it.

MLOC Tries To Sneak Into The Third Period

While pragmatism was defeated in the communist movement and the opportunist OL and R"C"P sorted out, pragmatism by no means died. In fact, as part of the bourgeois ideological superstructure, pragmatism influences our thinking. MLOC, with its thoroughly opportunist attempts to squirm its way into the revolutionary trend, represented an attempt to import pragmatism (running any kind of "theory" that works) into its party building efforts in order to cash in on the victory of the revolutionary theory trend in defeating the economist RU and OL.

MLOC's proposal tries to "unite" with other groups who are struggling against opportunism. But it never defines, ideologically or politically, what is the specific content of opportunism. At the same time, it puts forth the struggle against opportunism as the only basis of unity for the revolutionary trend. Opportunism is defined as certain groups - the R"C"P and the OL, not in terms of the ideological and political line of the opportunist trend. So, without understanding the lessons of the second period, by simply opposing the recognized right opportunist organizations, MLOC tries to sneak into the third period and so into the motion to build a genuine Communist Party. Just

as OL points to the "C" PUSA and cries "revisionist" to cover its own revisionism, so MLOC points the finger at the OL and the R"C"P to cover its own unprincipled character and dishonesty. And this dishonesty is best revealed by its secret proposal.

First, as already stated, the supposed 7 points of unity are presented as optional. Even MLOC's criteria demarcating groups in or out of the communist movement are entirely subjective. They say that OL is still in the communist movement while R"C"P is "consolidated bourgeois elements," but give no basis for this different view of the two main opportunist groups.

Second, they call for unity before they have even developed political lines on which to unite. In fact, the theoretical work MLOC calls for under section (3) is the main content of the political line around which Marxist-Leninists would unite. Most groups already had definite views on these questions. Yet MLOC put forth that the theoretical work to hammer out line on these questions was the view of unity.

Third, in the development of program, MLOC has a wholly un-Marxist stand. It states "In struggling to unite Marxist-Leninists, it is obligatory for communists to seek and find compromise with the program of other genuine Marxist-Leninists when this does not violate one's principles." This formulation is, at best, hopelessly confused. Does it mean that our program and principles are different things? What can this mean except that our program is unprincipled? The fact is that MLOC does believe program is entirely separate from one's principles. This is most clearly shown in their recent issue of Communist Line (Aug. 1, 1976), where they issue a call for joint work on the Program. They invite everyone and anyone to join them in this opportunist venture, not drawing lines of demarcation based on the fruits of the last 7 or 8 years of line struggle in the communist movement. They even leave out their earlier seven points of unity which they had called "the most important questions of line at this time." So indeed, the worst is true; for the MLOC, the party's Program is nothing but a bargaining chip.

What basis can there be for unity? MLOC had to resort to the most retrograde, subjective methods to tie this thing together. It calls up bourgeois friendship ties; "In uniting Marxist-Leninists, we must first develop fraternal relations among organizations in order to unite the revolutionary trend." This is a method that Social Democrats always resort to in order to keep their organizations together.

"One view on unity may place in the forefront the 'reconciliation' of given persons and institutions. The identity of their views on Party work, on the policy of that work, is a secondary matter. One should try to keep silent about differences of opinion and not elucidate their causes, their significance, their objective conditions. The chief thing is to 'reconcile' persons and groups. If they do not agree on carrying out a common policy, that policy must be interpreted in such a way as to be acceptable to all. Live and let live. This is philistine 'conciliation,' which inevitably leads to sectarian diplomacy, to 'stop up' the sources of disagreement, to keep silent about them, to 'adjust' conflicts at all costs, to neutralize the conflicting trends - it is to this that the main attention of such conciliation is directed." ("Notes of a Publicist," In Against Liquidationism, p. 76)

This cannot be the method to build a revolutionary party. But given the fact that all MLOC has is "good" intentions and a stack of Comintern reprints, all it can offer is a hand-shake and a smile. "Organizations stand abreast," says MLOC and "Marxist-Leninists must begin to work together in a much more intense way, on the basis of equality and mutual respect." What is this but a catering to retrograde circle sentiments, belittling of line and "philistine conciliation?"

Before MLOC's document was written,
(continued on p. 27)



Two Roads

Bolshevik Organizing Collective/Communist Workers Committee

The Bolshevik Organizing Collective/Communist Workers Committee (M-L) is a collective in North Carolina which recently merged to form one organization. Comrades from the Bolshevik Organizing Committee, whose political history was primarily in the Black Liberation Movement, were once part of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). They split from RWL during the struggle for the correct line. Comrades from the Communist Workers Committee, whose history was primarily in the student, anti-war, and women's movements, were once associated with New America Movement (NAM). These comrades split from the social-democrats of NAM in the struggle to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the working class as the most revolutionary class. Both groups merged in the course of struggle against "left" otzovists of RWL and the main danger of the right October League (OL) and in the struggle to unite with the correct line of Workers Viewpoint Organization.

On every question, there exists two class interests, reflected in two outlooks, two lines, two roads. One is the road of the bourgeoisie and the other that of the proletariat. The central task which has faced the revolutionary proletariat in the U.S. since the degeneration of the "Communist" Party USA (CPUSA) has been the question of building the proletariat's genuine, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party. In

the 60's and early 70's there were mass spontaneous upsurges among students & oppressed and national minorities-- "fire at the treetops"--the most conscious sectors of society of that period against U.S. monopoly capitalist rule. Internationally, masses in the Third World waged fierce struggles of national liberation against U.S. imperialism.

At the same time, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, waged a determined struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionists led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Internationally, under the leadership of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line the Chinese people also waged the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These were the "salvos" which led the most advanced revolutionary elements from the fire at the treetops to struggle to grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and adopt the proletarian world outlook in struggling to defeat U.S. monopoly capitalist rule and struggle for socialism. Today with the emerging flow in the working class movement and the struggle by the growing anti-revisionist communist forces to fuse Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung

Thought (MLMTT) with the working class movement, the fire at the tree tops has begun burning at the tree trunks!

It has now been 8 or 9 years since revolutionary forces have been struggling to grasp MLMTT and apply it to the concrete conditions of making revolution in the U.S. and forging a Party. In these years the major question facing our young communist movement has been which way to the Party, the instrument necessary to create the revolutionary subjective factor for revolution, the instrument needed to lead the working class in smashing capitalist rule, and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are forces in the Communist movement calling for and some actually constituting an Organizing Committee, while others are calling for the slaughter of circles. The Question IS: WHICH ROAD TO THE GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF THE U.S. PROLETARIAT?

As all the great Marxist teachers taught us, Marxism grows, "becomes stronger, more hardened, and more vigorous" (Lenin) in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, in the struggle against revisionism. This is the great lesson concentrated in the slogan raised by the Communist Party of China (CPC) of "Study Marxism, Criticize Revisionism!" Our movement went through three periods during which there was fierce struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in sphere after sphere. It was through this struggle of the last 8 or 9 years that a "sorting out process" has taken place between genuine and sham, between those who waged merci-

PRESENTATION ON PARTY I

by The Union for Working Class Emancipation

Expose the ANARCHO-SOCIALISM of PRRWO/RWL!

Speech given at forum

Houston, Texas 9/19/76

Comrades, developing Marxist-Leninists, advanced workers and friends of socialism:

Welcome to the first public forum of the Union for Working Class Emancipation. We gather here tonight in the aftermath of a colossal loss to the international communist movement and the oppressed and exploited of the whole world: the passing of our great teacher and leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The grief this gives rise to must be turned into strength -- towards redoubling our efforts. Towards making use of this most powerful model in building our Proletarian Party of a New Type, in grasping as he always taught, "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything".

Before going into the body of our presentation, we must initially level a self-criticism of our recent work, which reflects belittling Right Opportunism as the main danger in the communist movement and also belittling political line as the key link in the present period. Both of these deviations became clear to us immediately following the public forum of the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party (Sept. 11).

We attempted to expose the party building process by directing our blows at the Right Opportunism of the OL, the force behind the OC. In the course of the struggle, the blows we directed at the OL were not exposing (as key) the principles of unity of the OC, which was steadily being called for by the rank and file who were present.

We see these deviations as a continuation of the small circle (mentality) spirit which so heavily permeated the life of the RWL. Although we raised up our responsibility to the CM, of furthering the exposure and isolation of the "left" opportunist PRRWO/RWL clique, following six months of intensive struggle inside the RWL this was given greater attention here recently to the exclusion of Right Opportunism; one tendency covered another. We ask comrades to help deepen these criticisms.

We must (at the same time) also level a criticism at those communists who sat through the entire course of the struggle against Right Opportunism and did not level a single blow. We say frankly, that irrespective of whether they believe it or not, that objectively they served as support to Right Opportunism and failed in their communist duty of taking an irreconcilable stand against opportunism, which is foreign to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. We remind these comrades, "that the fight against Imperialism is a sham and humbug

unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism". We call upon these comrades to repudiate this deviation and grasp that Truth -- MLMTT, develops in struggle against falsehood. Comrades, take this criticism to heart, for this deviation is like a crack in the watershed of opportunism.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UFWCE

We entered various universities throughout Texas during the height of the student protest movements, such as those against the war in Vietnam, against discrimination and racism, and our participation in those movements raised tremendously our understanding of the society we live in, most importantly the need to work for change. This consciousness at first was not at a level where we knew what exactly was wrong with the system. Our ideas of our role in society and the source of what we began to see as bankruptcy, were also influenced by the Black Liberation Movement, which had grown beyond the civil rights struggle.

An increasing awareness of the suffering of the masses of the people and the brutal assassinations of leaders like Malcolm X and Martin Luther King inspired in us a hatred for exploitation and oppression.

The struggles we took part in, some

To Party Building

Organizing Collective/ Workers Committee (M-L)



less struggle against bourgeois ideology and for a firm proletarian stand and world outlook, and those who raised MLMTT only as a show piece but continued to be dominated by the bourgeois world outlook, by old habits of thought & action.

The struggle in the three party building periods of the communist movement was fierce & merciless. In the twists & turns of the bourgeoisie's counter-revolutionary dual tactics, in the struggle to answer the pressing questions facing the proletariat in its struggle for revolution, opportunists & revisionists jumped out right and "left." The comrades of Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) correctly lay out a summation of the Communist movement in the U.S. (see *Workers Viewpoint* newspaper, Vol. 1, No. 5, August 1976, page 6)

Throughout this struggle, we see how dialectics is a mercilessly sharp two-edged sword which cuts right & "left." It is in this struggle that opportunists and revisionists have been sorted out, and that genuine Marxist-Leninists have been steeled and are moving forward.

THIS SORTING OUT PROCESS GOES ON. At this point, there are forces like ATM and several collectives around the country, that were in the past part of the rising genuine Marxist-Leninist forces, but have now taken a centrist stand in the most recent period in the sharp struggle against the "left" otzovist* clique of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization/ Revolutionary Workers League

BUILDING

of which we led from 1969 to 1972 were primarily on campus. This growth through struggle led us to unity with the ideas of the Black Panthers, Stokely Carmichael, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, and Kwame Nkrumah.

This revolutionary outlook we had grown to in struggle for change, was also happening to many others throughout the U.S. Some recognized the necessity to hook up these many groups and individuals into a nationwide organization -- using as models to build this organization the experiences of others like SNCC [Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee - ed.] and SDS [Students for a Democratic Society - ed.] who by this time were declining.

Such was the organization that started out as the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) and later grew into the Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOBU). Our guiding idea while in YOBU was Pan-Africanism, which was based upon the view of the unity of interests of Black people around the world.

The growth of the revolutionary movement throughout the U.S. was much higher than we actually knew at the time, although we were part of it and were steadily being influenced by it, mainly through our most energetic and devoted leaders. As they were influenced by the "higher forms" of the movement they disseminated it to us; and we in turn did likewise to many others. The influence of these "higher forms" of the movement and our determination in affecting change ultimately led us to junk the "theories" of Pan-Africanism.

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(PRRWO/RWL). (*Otzovists were left opportunists that Lenin struggled against, who argued against all open Communist work.)

These forces tried to stand above the concrete line struggle that came down between WVO and the "left" opportunists. August Twenty-ninth Movement (ATM) and these other collectives used either slander and/or false lines of demarcation between themselves on both sides of this concrete line struggle.

This opportunism was facilitated by conditions set by such opportunists as the October League (OL) and PRRWO/RWL, which consistently spread slander, lies, half-truths, and false accusations about WVO in the Communist movement as a cover for their own opportunism and revisionism. ATM has yet to take a clear and principled stand on this struggle. So far, it has resorted to some of the worst methods used by consolidated opportunists & revisionists in the movement. In *Revolutionary Cause* #7, ATM writes:

We recognize national nihilists (ATM is referring to PRRWO) when we see them, such as their chauvinist cousins in WVO who slap the entire movement of the Puerto Rican national minority in the face by referring to this history and YLP's role of leadership as the actions of 'shock troops.' (WVO Journal #4, p.11 [sic. p. ii]) Of course, we mustn't forget that when the masses were in the streets fighting the state's forces, one of WVO's leaders were in the PLP condemning them for "bourgeois nationalism." He has since left the PLP but has laid its baggage "on the threshold of the party" to quote Trotsky. Let him deny it in print.

Comrades, is this drawing lines of demarcation? The above statement by the ATM shows in a concentrated form some of the most opportunist maneuvers used by the OL and PRRWO/RWL. The statement accuses WVO of national nihilism & chauvinism. The first statement "shows" how WVO is "national nihilist" by taking a statement out of context, and by confusing readers about the meaning of the term "shock troops." Let's look at the context of the WVO statement. WVO writes:

"...our opportunists (PRRWO) are not bourgeois democrats. They are petty bourgeois democrats who first came into the movement on their genuine indignation against capitalism. And during that period they played the role of 'shock troops.'"

Here WVO is talking about the period in which the Young Lords Party, the predecessor to PRRWO, was playing a genuine anti-monopoly capitalist role. Is calling someone "shock troops" a "slap in the face"? Comrades, shock troops means troops especially chosen, trained & equipped to lead the attack! In fact, this term was used by Lenin to describe bourgeois democrats in their original vanguard role against the Czarist autocracy.

And then we see the same lies that OL has continually used about the "leaders" of WVO being past "leaders" of PLP. This is the main response OL has been able to come up with in the sharp & cutting polemics WVO has directed to the right opportunist OL. Again, this is slander based on lies. This is not a principled nor substantial line of demarcation. Comrades, carefully look at the direction where this is moving! This is headed in a straight road right into the marsh, and it will end up in the marsh unless comrades wage struggle against it and make a determined change in direction.

At this point after 8 or 9 years of struggle, our movement is demarcated into clear and definite trends. There is the opportunist trend which includes OL, representatives of the left-wing of social-democracy in the U.S.; the anarcho-syndicalist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) representing the anti-monopoly petty bourgeoisie; the "left" otzovist clique of PRRWO/RWL and an assortment of loose groupings like Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC), League for Proletarian Revolution, I Wor Kuen, Revolutionary Communist League (formerly Congress of African People).

Finally, there's other groupings which have taken opportunist stands & put forth opportunist lines, but given the fact that these groups struggled in a principled manner against the pragmatic trend led by OL and RCP and that some struggled against the otzovist clique, we see comrades in this grouping as likely to join with the genuine forces. It is with these comrades that we seek to struggle in the immediate future, with an eye of moving forward our tasks of forging a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party of the U.S. proletariat and uniting them around the correct line of WVO.

IMMEDIATE PREPARATION FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS AN ESSENTIAL ASPECT OF THE BASIC LINE OF OUR PARTY. THE BASIC LINE IS THE LIFE BLOOD OF THE PARTY.

In the recently published book, A Basic Understanding of the Communist Party of China by the CPC, we read:

Chairman Mao formulated the basic line for the entire period of socialism as follows: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the complex & protracted nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every month and every day so that we can retain a relatively sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." This basic line of the Party is founded on Marxism-Leninism; it is the lifeblood of our Party, the torch that illuminates all our work, the essential guarantee of the triumph of socialist revolution and construction." (P. 46-47)

This is the line put forth by Chairman Mao representing a major development in the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the class struggle during the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism. The Northern Star guiding the proletarian vanguard in the period of socialism is grasping the key link of class struggle. This is clearly not to mean that there isn't class struggle during other periods, nor that it is less important then. The point is that during socialism, there is greater danger of losing sight of this fact (as we can see by the capitalist roaders in China pushing the "Three Directives" as key link). Maintaining or

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TWO ROADS..

(continued from p. 19)

not maintaining this orientation is decisive as to whether the socialist or the capitalist road will prevail.

Likewise, we must grasp the basic line guiding us through this stage of the struggle of the proletariat to smash the rule of capital and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this key link of class struggle within the party (or within the genuine communist movement before the formation of the party) takes place in sphere after sphere, in one ideological realm after another, where necessity dictates that the struggle between the 2 classes, the 2 lines, and 2 views within the communist movement or party, is terribly fierce. We must grasp our "Northern Star," that essential orientation which will decide whether or not we serve the proletariat and lead it in overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

Foto Cami, from the Party of Labor of Albania, in his article, "Objective and Subjective Factors in Revolution," writes:

"Imperialism, Lenin pointed out, is the 'epoch when according to the general admission of the Marxists, the objective conditions have already ripened for the destruction of capitalism' ... Under these circumstances special importance was assumed by the role of the subjective factor which was elaborated by Lenin in an all around manner."

An essential aspect of the basic line of our party during the period up to the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat was laid out by Lenin in his Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International. In this great work, Lenin calls on all genuine Communists to undertake "the immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat." Lenin writes:

The present stage in the development of the international communist movement is marked by the fact that in the vast majority of capitalist countries, the proletariat's preparations to effect its dictatorship have not been completed, and in many cases, have not even been systematically begun. From this it does not, however, follow that the proletarian revolution is impossible in the immediate future; it is perfectly possible, since the entire economic and political situation is most inflammable and abounds in causes of a sudden flare-up; the other condition for revolution, apart from the proletariat's preparedness, viz. a general state of crisis in all ruling and in all bourgeois parties, also exists. However, it does follow that the Communist Parties' current task consists in not accelerating the revolution, but in intensifying the preparation of the proletariat.

The "immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat" as an essential aspect of our basic line is a question of the orientation of our work, of the focus of all of our tasks, in this period and up to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

This slogan constitutes a line of demarcation between genuine Marxist-Leninists and sham forces who unite with the dictatorship of the proletariat in words, but who fail to take up the difficult but pressing work of immediately and universally preparing for it.

We must grasp how the amateurishness of our movement, how any backwardness is not merely a problem we have to correct before we reach a revolutionary situation in the future, but rather that all backwardness represents immediate and serious obstacles to the proletariat's development of its revolutionary consciousness, leadership, and organization. Failing to grasp this slogan opens communists to adopting a patient attitude towards our shortcomings and towards backwardness in our movement. On the other hand, upholding the revolutionary interests of the proletariat and the vast majority necessitates that we grasp this slogan and that we adopt a ruthless intolerance for any and all backwardness, which stand in the way of preparing the proletariat to seize state power, and a revolutionary determination to overcome all obstacles. It is the difference between providing excuses for ourselves and our movement on the one hand and setting out in a determin-

ed manner to overcome all and any obstacles quickly on the other. Comrades, this is a crucial orientation; this is our Northern Star which we use to find our bearings in all situations, which we use to place all our tasks in their correct context. In grasping this, we take up our smallest daily work with a sense of urgency, with a strong determination to cast aside all that stands in the way.



Lenin further writes in elaborating what the immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship consists of:

Hence, from the point of view of the international proletarian movement, it is the Communist Parties' principal task at the present moment to unite the scattered Communist forces, to form a single Communist Party in every country... in order to increase tenfold the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of political power--political power, moreover, in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 31, P. 189)

Comrades, we must grasp this deeply! In our view, those forces which have refused to take a principled stand on the struggle between WVO and the otzovist clique (PRRWO/RWL) have lost this orientation. In Revolutionary Cause #8, ATM writes that their Second Congress, "on the basis of a careful summation of the history of party building in the U.S. over the past several years laid out the correct line that party building, like our revolution itself, will be a protracted process in the U.S. (emphasis in the original). We take it that ATM is referring to party building not in the general sense, which goes on throughout the history of the party, but rather, that ATM is referring to the formation of the Party. The line put forth here reflects a loss of one's bearings. It is as if the aim of the movement itself becomes forming the Party, rather than keeping our orientation in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrades, we cannot take a view that the formation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S. is a far away goal that someday (maybe!) we will reach!! This insubordination to the underdeveloped aspects of our movement; it is a failure to keep our bearings, and a failure to take up the struggle for the Party, which, as Lenin said, will "increase tenfold the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of political power"!

We must remember Lenin's teachings:

The opportunist wing of any party always defends and justifies all backwardness, whether in programme, tactics, or organization. (One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, LCW, Vol. 7)

The view that sees the Party as a far away goal objectively denies the history of our movement and the fruits of that history. This view denies the fact that struggle has been fiercely waged for 8 or 9 years in our movement, and that this struggle has not been a waste of time. The truth, comrades, is that this struggle has been taking place, and it has been tremendously fruitful in that it has forged a core of genuine Marxist-Leninists, has forged line clarity and clear lines of demarcation. It is the duty of genuine Marxist-Leninists to struggle to unite on the basis of the overall most correct line which has emerged in this struggle, and under the leadership of the leading circle which has emerged out of this struggle, the WVO!

PARTY SPIRIT VS CIRCLE SPIRIT

In the view of Marxist-Leninists there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class political party. All political parties have a class character. Party spirit is the concentrated expression of class character. (A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, P. 42)

Upholding the interests of the proletariat in the U.S. today means actively and seriously struggling to forge the genuine revolutionary M-L party of the U.S. proletariat. We firmly unite with WVO that "a firm proletarian class stand, 'serving the interests of the vast majority,' dictates that genuine communists and the advanced must actively work to liquidate their present circles, based on unity of ideological and political line, to form the great whole -- the Party of a new type."

Upholding the proletarian class stand on the question of party building is a question of practicing Party spirit. The fundamental criteria for determining who practices Party spirit and who practices circle spirit is the stance one takes towards Chairman Mao's teaching that the "correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The question of Party spirit is a question of actively striving to slaughter all our own circles and actively waging sharp class struggle against any and all lines which stand in the way of this. In this struggle we must grasp how this question of party spirit vs. circle spirit is a question of class struggle, a question of the struggle between the proletariat's stand, method, and viewpoint on this question and the petty bourgeoisie's stand, viewpoint and method. We must grasp how the petty bourgeoisie's class outlook fosters circle spirit due to the petty bourgeoisie's fear of becoming "a cog in a wheel," the petty bourgeoisie's striving for autonomy, individualism and anarchism, all of which are in direct opposition to the proletarian party. Our movement has a strong social basis for the kind of petty bourgeois autonomy and anarchism which clearly stands in the way of forging the party. We must grasp how lines objectively reflect circle spirit, even if it is not "intended."

We first came to grasp this question in struggling against a slogan put forth by RWL saying that "political line is not mere formulation" and RWL's accusation that "WVO holds that political line is mere formulation." Comrades, this is a cover for circle spirit.

This view that "political line is not mere formulation" has been taken up by many of those forces who have not taken a clear stand, or rather, have taken a centrist stand on the struggle between WVO and the PRRWO/RWL clique. This is an opportunist line which belittles the decisiveness of line and provided a convenient way of creating false lines of demarcation with the correct line, and thus justified not uniting. In this way, this line serves circle spirit. This line also stops principled line struggle by saying "lines merely formulated are not significant," thus it is not important to struggle for line clarity. It serves the worst kind of philistinism. Political lines are concrete answers to the questions facing the proletariat in its struggle for state power, for political power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. A line that is put forth either in the main answers correctly questions facing the proletariat in its struggle, or it doesn't answer it correctly. Formulating political line involves a correct analysis of both the objective and subjective conditions and a correct application of MLMTT to those particular conditions. In our struggle against opportunists we expose their line, show how it fails to represent the interests of the proletariat and of the vast majority, and show what class interests in fact it does reflect. We then deepen this by showing how it represents a failure to understand and correctly apply MLMTT, and how it is an incorrect analysis of the concrete conditions.

Again, we need to repeat Chairman Mao's teaching that the "correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."

This "mere formulation" line is a total belittlement of the decisiveness of line. Further, it serves the purpose of maintaining autonomous circles by drawing false lines of demarcation and, thus, standing in the way of the building of the Party. Comrades, this serves the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and not of the proletariat.

In order not to bow to spontaneity and, thus, allow bourgeois ideology to take command of our practice, the Chinese comrades explained "In itself the question of the line is part of the ideological superstructure, but because it represents in concentrated form the interests, the aspirations and the world view of a definite class, it constitutes the basic principle which guides all action." (Basic Understanding of the CPC, our emphasis)

We can also see where this line is headed. Ideological and political lines are approached as "mere formulations" that don't mean much until we see them in action, as opposed to seeing ideological and political lines as either correct or incorrect guides to revolutionary practice which we must perfect and propagate, and on which our practice is based. This is headed right into the same corner of the marsh which RCP occupies with their pragmatism and empiricism. This is headed towards the same belittlement of theory and worship of blind practice that was defeated in the second period of party building.

Chou Er-lai, at the Tenth National Congress of the CPC, said:

Chairman Mao teaches us that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. (Tenth National Congress Documents, P. 17)

It is on the basis of line that Marxist-Leninists liquidate their circles and unite. Clearly, the ultimate test of line is actual history and attempts to put it into practice, but Marxist-Leninists use their telescope in formulating line, in differentiating correct and incorrect lines by grasping the class effects and class purpose of particular lines that are put forth. As the movement developed and grew, opportunism and revisionism found better and higher forms to hide behind and try to pass off as genuine. But at the same time, genuine forces have heightened their grasp of the science and heightened their ability to differentiate sham from genuine.

ATM has recently also come out with a variation of the "mere formulation" line. In Revolutionary Cause #8, they write:

...the most important part of this process (of party building) is the TESTING of the political line in practice. It is this testing of views, of stated unities, in the crucible of mass struggle which will allow us to develop the solid basis of programmatic unity. This component must be taken into account and made a central part of any real viable plan for party building.

Comrades, this is nothing but circle spirit and the belittlement of the decisiveness of line. This is nothing but stuff we heard in the eclectic period, when everything was judged by how much practice, not what kind of practice or what guides our practice. This is opportunism in party building defined, when fundamental differences in programmatic elements are still rampant, when the bourgeois and petty bourgeois lines of revisionism are still disguised under "Marxism-Leninism." And those opportunists are talking about building the same party we are talking about!

Just at this point, then, when these opportunist organizations need to be forced out into broad daylight so genuine communist organizations can unite around correct guiding principles and lines, the ATM is coming out with the proven bankrupt line of the RCP, that "the most important part of this process (of party building) is the TESTING of the political line in practice."

Does not this remind us of the notorious distortion of Marxism by the Russian economist Rabocheye Dyelo, when

they misquoted Marx, "Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes"?

Comrades, this is the ghost of RU and OL reappearing in the flesh of ATM! This marks the reappearance of the circle spirit of the pragmatists. The internal basis for this circle spirit is failure to uphold the revolutionary interests of the proletariat and the vast majority. There are also particular historical circumstances which have helped this failure to uphold the proletarian class stand to jump out. Many genuine and honest forces in the Wing, or close to the Wing were completely baffled or confused by the appearance of the thoroughly bankrupt and degenerate "left" otzovists of PRRWO/RWL. Because of a weak grasp of the development of opportunism and revisionism, many honest forces were left at a loss to explain where the degenerate line came from, how it emerged, etc. ATM, among these forces, goes to great length in its political organ to explain how the PRRWO that it had unity with is a different PRRWO from the "left" opportunist PRRWO. ATM describes this metaphysically as if it were two different organizations altogether, rather than grasping and explaining the dialectical process of development and degeneration. This reflects the same ideological and theoretical weakness which has led to opportunist accusations of WVO over the questions of whether there existed unity for the WVO and RWL merger. This would also lead many to not understand how the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks were even in the same Party. It is the failure to grasp firmly that contradictions exist inside the proletarian Party between bourgeois and proletarian ideology and lines.

In Workers Viewpoint newspaper (Vol. 1, No. 5, August 1976, P. 18), WVO correctly pointed out how the disintegration of the Revolutionary Wing was an example of the inevitable sorting out process in the communist movement. But some honest comrades have a petty bourgeois pessimistic view that the communist movement is falling apart. Based on this incorrect outlook, they fear sharp turns and want a guarantee and insurance for "success," and lasting unity.

Comrades, our approach to uniting M-L is struggling for unity on line, "the more or less clear expression of social classes." Achieving this constitutes a principled basis for unity. Clearly, we want to struggle to ensure that the line we unite with is implemented. We all recognize how social practice naturally lags behind our most advanced development of line. Thus we struggle to see whether an organization is waging some form of rectification struggle to overcome deficiencies in practice and to correct past errors, etc. But, it is our duty as communists to seek to unite on the basis of line, and on the basis of this unity, liquidate our circles and unite into the larger whole.

Comrades, the immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat demands that genuine communists struggle hard and urgently so that we may achieve principled unity around the correct line and unite to build the Party. It is this unity which will "increase tenfold the work of preparing the proletariat" for the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Lenin said in Retrograde Trend in Social-Democracy, forming the Party is the greatest step towards the fusion of the communist and working class movement. It is the concentration of genuine communist leadership, the ability to organize widespread national political exposures, the ability to bring all our forces under one center, that will allow us to make major strides in the preparations to defeat the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrades, we must not lose our bearings! Grasping party building as an immediate task facing the proletariat, and not a far away, protracted struggle, is grasping our Northern Star, grasping the slogan of taking up the immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Throughout the struggle for communism, both in the struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, a watershed between genuine

and sham has always been the stand taken towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. In our concrete time, place, and circumstances the stand we take towards the dictatorship of the proletariat is determined by the stand we take towards the forging of the genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, the necessary instrument for the immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrades, we call on you to take the revolutionary road of the proletariat, to struggle against all who excuse and justify backwardness in the movement, to struggle against all who advocate complacency and "patience," and who fail to push for intolerance of backwardness and a sense of urgency in moving forward our tasks!

TWO ROADS TO BUILDING THE PARTY

In the struggle to forge the genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the U.S. proletariat, we must grasp the international experience of the revolutionary proletariat as summed up by our great teachers. We must also grasp the particularities of the present conditions in the U.S. and apply the MLMTT stand, method and viewpoint in correctly laying out the road to the Party.

The theoretical basis guiding the thinking of the Party is the highest current development of the proletarian science. Today, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tund Thought constitutes the theoretical basis on which we must build our Party. Is this sufficient basis on which to demarcate the Party? NO. In general modern revisionism is exposed to Marxists, and because of this revisionists and opportunists need to hide under the signboard of MLMTT.

Further, in studying the Russian experience in party building we need to look not only at the struggle leading up to the Second Congress of the RSDLP (1903), but more significantly we need to look at the 1912 experience when the Bolsheviks constituted themselves an independent Party. Up to that time factions were permitted in Social-Democratic parties. But history made clear that the proletariat needs a party of Bolsheviks and not of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. It is because of this that the Party must be built on one trend, on clear lines of demarcation, on the highest development of the line and the highest level of Bolshevization of various spheres that exists at any time. Because of this, it is important that revisionists and opportunists be sorted out as much as possible before the Party, and once the Party is formed, class struggle continues and we must purge the Party of all opportunists.



The revisionists in the Communist movement have discarded all the above principles and lessons. The OL is building a revisionist Party on the least common denominator, letting every petty bourgeois element they can get their hands on into "their" petty bourgeois, unprincipled "unity trend," and allowing them to put in their "two cents" on the "line" of the Party. This is the exact same capitalist road to party building which the MLOC is advocating, calling on everyone to join them in writing the Programme with no lines of demarcation (see article in this issue), and even recently accusing OL of being too exclusive! Then there is the otzovist clique of PRRWO/RWL, who have screamed loudest about drawing firm lines of demarcation and thus building the Party on a principled basis, but whose deeds have proved otherwise. The clique ran around yelling charges of "hegemonism" because WVO struggled against the view "all organizations stand abreast." Instead WVO scientifically argued that comrades needed to struggle for the overall most correct line around which the Party would be built. In essence, the PRRWO/RWL methodology of "all stand abreast, no overall most correct line, everyone has aspects of the most correct line, etc." is the same stuff MLOC and OL are trying to get over.

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TWO ROADS..

(continued from p. 21)

The otzovist clique simply has a more "militant" cover. This shows the unity of "right and left," Menshevism and "inside-out" Menshevism.

WHICH ROAD TO THE PARTY ?

Again, we must seek the stand, method and viewpoint of the proletariat on the question, not dead formulas. Unlike the Russian Bolshevik Party and the Communist Party of China, the party building struggle in the U.S. has been growing in conditions of bourgeois democracy. This has several implications. One is that it has been easier to wage open polemics and to circulate the various papers and journals put out by the Marxist-Leninist groupings in the U.S. This has made it easier for genuine forces who correctly grasp and uphold the leading role of theory, and who uphold the decisiveness of ideological and political line, to carry out the necessary struggle around lines put forth in the movement. These conditions of bourgeois democracy have also made it more possible for any petty bourgeois intellectual(s) to start a circle around themselves. As Lenin said about the various Russian Social-Democratic circles abroad, who were also functioning under less repressive circumstances, "there was no criterion /other than line struggle/ by which to judge the strength or importance of one or another circle. The importance of many of them, which are now forgotten, was exaggerated, but in their time they wanted through struggle to assert their right to existence." ("Preface to the Collection of Twelve Years," Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 13, p. 106) Finally, these conditions have made it possible for forces to group and regroup, and for trends to consolidate into definite organizational forms.

In One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Lenin wrote:

...everyone at the Congress /Second Congress of the RSDLP/ clearly realised what any impartial person may easily ascertain from the Congress minutes and from the entire history of Iskra, namely, that the Organizing Committee was mainly a commission set up to convene the Congress, a commission deliberately composed of representatives of different shades, including even the Bundists; while the real work of creating the organized unity of the Party was done entirely by the Iskra organization. (Emphases in original, p. 75)

The Organizing Committee approach to building the Party is connected to particular conditions and circumstances. At this point in our movement, putting forth an Organizing Committee approach to uniting genuine Marxist-Leninist forces is a concession to petty bourgeois illusions and demands for bourgeois democracy as the method for building the Party. In fact, the Organizing Committee approach today represents the capitalist road to the Party and cannot build a genuine Party.

OIL (continued from p. 1)

are selling out the workers behind his lies. Such agents of the monopoly capitalists within the working class must be driven out of the trade unions. We must take back the unions in our preparation for winning over the masses of workers in the final onslaught against the monopoly capitalist class.

We must learn from the strengths and weaknesses of our past struggles. For example, our courageous brothers and sisters at Union Oil in Beaumont, Texas, immediately responded to the attacks by the monopoly capitalist divide-and-rule schemes by downing tools and hitting the picket lines on August 4th. What began as a walkout of 15 electrical workers quickly spread to a plant-wide wildcat, in which all 750 workers fought against the splitting tactics of the monopoly capitalists to divide union workers from non-union workers. Shaken and threatened by the powerful solidarity of the multinational working class, which stood firm and united against the company, the monopoly capitalists resorted to a court restraining order in an attempt to break our strike and suppress the fighting spirit of our class. Although our brothers and sisters at Union Oil went back to work a few days later, they provided a clear lesson on the need of the working class to prepare for struggle against the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, there is the proletarian road to party building! The proletarian road correctly grasps the stand, method and viewpoint of building the Party as laid out by the great revolutionary teachers of the proletariat, particularly Lenin and Chairman Mao. The proletarian road demands that firm and clear lines of demarcation be drawn and that genuine forces unite on the basis of the highest development of the correct and leading Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line in the Communist movement. The correct proletarian road to party building also grasps how the Organizing Committee method is not appropriate to the present conditions in the U.S. Communist movement, in which the correct trend of building the Party on the proletarian ideological plane led by the WVO has emerged as the only trend on which the genuine party of the proletariat in the U.S. can be founded.

The WVO represents the leading force in the proletarian road to party building. In the last two years, WVO has demonstrated clear and consistent revolutionary leadership in the struggle against right and "left" opportunism. During this time the WVO has led our movement in making major strides in grasping MLMTT in the conditions of making revolution in the U.S. It has been a leading force in retrieving a MLMTT understanding of the development of the Party and of the struggle to build this party on the proletarian ideological plane, of the character of the proletarian party. It has clearly proven its ability to grasp deeply the international situation, based on Chairman Mao's teaching, the growing danger of fascism, the dual tactics of the bourgeoisie and how it comes down in particular questions. WVO has clearly demonstrated a grasp of MLMTT strategy and tactics, a correct analysis of the working class movement and the communist movement as it has developed through its periods, and a correct grasp of the principal contradiction developing in the movement.

In this past year, WVO has not only clearly emerged as representing the leading line in the Communist movement, but also has developed the national scope and organizational infrastructure to, in fact, organize the genuine forces in the Communist movement. It is because of this that we say that WVO not only represents the leading line, but, in fact, it is the leading circle in the Communist movement today. It is on the basis of this line and organization that the Party will be built. That is why we say that the Proletarian Road to party building is not setting up an Organizing Committee, but rather, the Proletarian Road is the liquidation, the slaughter of circles in the interest of forging the larger whole!

Lenin in 1909 wrote:

The Bolsheviks prepared the ground for partyism by their implacable struggle against the anti-Party elements in 1903-05 and in 1906-07. Now the Bolsheviks must build the Party, build the Party out of their wing,

While such a militant tradition of our fellow workers is a great inspiration for our struggles, we must also bring to the working class the fundamental lesson that in order to win the day-to-day battle against the monopoly capitalists for our partial demands, we must use the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as our guide. We must learn that we need the headquarters of the proletariat, the anti-revisionist Communist Party, to lead our struggles so that each of them will be directed towards a final overthrow of the monopoly capitalists and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The upcoming contract struggle will be a tremendous opportunity for us to win over advanced workers that come out in the struggle and to conduct propaganda on the nature of monopoly capitalism and the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the course of fighting for the burning partial demands of the oil workers, on which we must stand firm: "a closed shop with one industrial union," "no forced overtime," "put an end to speedups," "improved health and safety conditions." Yet in fighting for these demands, we must not for one moment forget to link these struggles with our principal task of party building and the immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat for the cause of revolutionary socialism and communism! ●

build up the Party by utilising the vantage-ground gained in the inner-Party struggle.

Comrades, today we must build the Party out of the genuine revolutionary trend led by the WVO! And the path to this party necessitates the slaughter of circles! The petty bourgeoisie is deadly afraid of this slaughter. The "small shop proprietor" outlook fears organization, fears the thought of becoming a cog in a wheel. Thus we see circle spirit jumping out! We must wage a resolute struggle in the short period ahead against those forces who are honest and some genuine who have not consolidated into an opportunist trend, but who in the ruthless line struggle in the Communist movement have momentarily lost their bearings or who, because of a failure to grasp the inevitable appearance of opportunism, or because of fear that opportunism will jump out unexpectedly, thus seek "guarantees" and "insurance" on class struggle and hope that this 'won't happen again.'

Comrades, the struggle in the Communist movement has been fierce, but definitely positive. In this struggle we have sorted out opportunism and revisionism right and "left." In this struggle comrades have been steeled and the correct ideological and political line has developed, been deepened, been tested, and been sharpened!

Comrades, we must build the Party from the ranks of those genuine forces, the most class-conscious forces, that have emerged in the cause of the fierce struggle and the sorting out process in the Communist movement. We must stand firmly with the proletariat and for the interests of the vast majority, which means that we wage sharp struggle in order to build the principled unity of genuine Marxist-Leninists in the U.S., that on this basis we earnestly seek to liquidate our circles and unite into the whole, into the genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary communist Party of the U.S. proletariat!

Comrades, there are only two roads! The BOC/CWC on the basis of having achieved ideological and political unity with the leading circle -- the WVO -- have chosen the correct proletarian road and are prepared to liquidate our circles and form the great whole! ●

FORWARD to the PARTY CONGRESS !!

KOREA (continued from p. 13)

forces (the MPLA, UNITA and the FNLA) and helped the Soviet superpower, thereby sabotaging the Angolan people's liberation struggle.

The Guardian is dangerous because it calls itself "Marxist-Leninist" and even "anti-revisionist", and pretends to oppose the Soviet superpower. This is how they hide their pure revisionism in a centrist form, calling the Soviet Union "social-imperialist" in words, while always smothering it with kisses and treating it as an ally of the Third World in practice.

Instead of sham support, U.S. workers and oppressed people must genuinely support the revolutionary cause of Korean reunification and actively link it with the worldwide struggle against the two superpowers, against the danger of world war, and with our struggle to build the genuine Communist Party that will guide our flourishing fight for socialism in the U.S.! ●

SUPPORT THE DPRK FIVE POINT REUNIFICATION PROGRAM!

U.S. OUT OF KOREA NOW!
SUPPORT THE DPRK AGAINST SUPERPOWER ATTACKS!

SMASH "DETENTE"!
UPHOLD THE RIGHT TO REUNIFICATION BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!

RESTORE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN SOUTH KOREA AND RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

Party Building

(continued from p. 19)

The good thing, however, about our introduction to Pan-Africanism through YOBUE, was that there was contained within it the influence of the more developed forms of the revolutionary movement, aspects of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

This deserves note here because Pan-Africanism as it was espoused across the country was terribly uneven. For example when we looked to SOBU (YOBUE) for leadership while on different campuses in 1971, we received Pan-Africanism with the philosophical basis of communism, ie dialectical materialism. While right here in Houston, a major national spokesperson of Pan-Africanism would "have nothing to do with" Karl Marx.

This development of Pan-Africanism can be more clearly seen with the emergence of the two-line struggles in ALSC, one right and reactionary, espousing an atavistic return to the yesterday of African culture, and the other left and progressive, espousing a developing revolutionary line containing aspects of MLMTTT.

When we said that we "junked" Pan-Africanism, we do not mean that in a utilitarian sense, ie we did not use it until it wore out and had to throw it away. No, we had to discard it because it did not answer the hard questions that faced us. Questions that cried out for answers: racism, the oppression of women, poverty, Capitalism, etc. It was in the last stage of the first period of party building 1970-72 that we took up Pan-Africanism; this was during the same time RU /Revolutionary Union - ed. had undertaken the task of bringing MLMTTT to the student and national movements (69-72). These movements had been previously working off of various eclectic theories, of which Pan-Africanism was an example.

To answer the questions at hand we needed a coherent and systematic body of ideas and views, theories which took everything into account, ideas which were current and up to date but yet had a history that verified their correctness; in other words, in working out our problems we needed a science.

Internally the theories of Pan-Africanism were overwhelmed by the development of MLMTTT. It was the rational kernel of MLMTTT within the thin shell of Pan-Africanism that we latched on to and developed. As our study and practice continued, we deepened our understanding of MLMTTT and became more aware of the Communist and Workers Movement.

It was our grasp of certain fundamental principles which gave us the impetus to form a collective and concentrate in Houston. Our motions within the collective served to consolidate us behind MLMTTT and raised our level of understanding of its meaning to the US proletarian revolution.

Early in 1974, we were approached by former "friends" (YOBUE) and were encouraged to join a new National Cadre Formation, the forerunner of Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). For four months we struggled against this new formation; the struggle for unity came down to Party Building and our responsibility to the Black Liberation and Student Movements. The low level of clarity around the road to Party Building and our narrow nationalism led us to unite with the line of the NCF on how a National Black Cadre Formation was the best possible means of contributing to Party Building and maintaining our responsibilities inside the Black Liberation and Student Movements.

We still, however, insisted that our unity would have to be built through struggle and joint work, therefore we put forth a proposal for six months of struggle over line differences and joint work to clearly demarcate our unities and disunities, and then if possible unite. The local representatives of the NCF put forth an ultimatum which said that we knew enough about them that needed to be known and that we had two weeks to make up our minds. After internal

struggle, unity with their line on Party Building won out.

For two years we waged struggle within RWL; sometimes adequate, other times not so adequate; sometimes staunch, often liberally; a great deal of the time principled, but sometimes unprincipled. There were significant struggles around the incorrect lines of RWL on the attention given to theory, agitation and propaganda, who were the advanced workers, and the abstention from mass work.

Our departure from RWL (via "the great purges" and resignations) indicates the surge for Building the Party on the Proletarian Ideological Plane and clearly reveals the sorting out process of the genuine from the sham.

We take great pride in the responsibility before us: the task of Building the Party on the Proletarian Ideological Plane. Part and parcel of this job is the continual struggle against revisionism, in both its Left (PRRWO/RWL) and Right (OL/RCP) forms.

Build the Party on the Proletarian Ideological Plane and Grasp the Key Link of Political Line

There is much unity today around the need for a party, and this is good. The working class is in great need of a vanguard to teach, lead, and guide them in bringing forth socialism and a better world. But the points to be taken up here are not the "general unities" on the need for a party, but what kind of party do we want and how is this party to be built!? Here is where the lines have been and are being drawn between genuine and sham party building processes.

The question of party building in advanced capitalist countries is not a simple task, it is of a very complex nature. E.F. Hill trenchantly expounds upon this difficulty:

"In such conditions the problems of building a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party have their own peculiarities. Much of the previous experience had been negative. It cannot be said that the problems had been adequately solved anywhere. There were no guideposts. Moreover the main leaders of Communist Parties in almost all so-called bourgeois democracies had succumbed to revisionism. The question of party building had not been put sufficiently on the ideological plane. Therefore the Marxist-Leninists in Australia were compelled to face the question in a new way, what sort of Party, how to build the Party, how to put Party building on the ideological plane." (Hill, Australia's Revolution p.118)

We must witness the failures of past Communist Parties the world over and use these as lessons for insuring against future setbacks. Analyze and unfold the cause and reasons that led these parties to become shipwrecked upon hidden reefs, and make use of their experiences to avoid these unseen obstacles. And indeed, to temper and accumulate the knowledge that can afford us to see the unseen.

Just as the bourgeoisie uses technological advances and equips his armed forces to detect unseen phenomena with radar and various magnetic sensing devices, we must use the historical experiences of the international communist movement, and make use of the most revolutionary theoretical and practical advances summed up as MLMTTT and persist in our party building motions.

We seek to construct a party of the working class which will lead and guide the class through a most difficult journey in the struggle for socialism. Only a party which has been nurtured and steeled with a theoretical foundation of MLMTTT in the heat of class struggle can accomplish this goal. A party of the type which we speak of is captured in the first part of our slogan, "Build the Party on the Proletarian Ideological Plane and Grasp the Key Link of Political

Line". If such a course is not taken it is likely that we will suffer great hardships and much pain. Hill, referring to the Australian Communist Party's degeneration says:

"The betrayal of Communism by the revisionists was no mere partial betrayal expressed in a few political aberrations such as the peaceful transition to socialism, but it was a betrayal that went to the root of Marxism-Leninism. It embraced everything. It repudiated, while pretending to adhere to, the world outlook of Communism, materialist dialectics, the very basis of Communism. Moreover it revealed the weakness in ideology in the history of the Communist Party of Australia." (*ibid.* p. 119)

It is just this ideological vulnerability which we must "vaccinate" ourselves against.

When Lenin talked about the growth of Bolshevism in summing up the Russian revolution, he always showed how this growth was related to the struggle against Revisionism and Opportunism.

These struggles, theoretical and practical, are exactly what we see as giving the utmost importance to theory and scientific tenacity in building the Party, using the theories of MLMTTT to fend off all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reactionary designs upon revolutionary social transformation.

Development is dialectical, and proceeds through the struggle of opposites. This is the cornerstone of Marxist philosophy, i.e. dialectical materialism; for the Party to develop and qualitatively progress, it must engage in struggle against that which opposes it, ... its opposite. For example, if we adhere to the integration of theory and practice, then we must fight against dogmatism and spontaneity. For the Party to have close ties with the masses, we must struggle against and criticize sectarianism. To maintain high levels of revolutionary theory, we must conscientiously study Marxism and criticize revisionism.

These struggles, all of them, require from us a revolutionary initiative; a critical militancy that has us always on guard with our MLMTTT as weapons. As Workers Viewpoint Organization puts it in their journal:

"Marxism is not just some abstract truth to be retrieved in leisure, in a vacuum... The struggle to build a party itself is class struggle; it itself is urgent and has immediacy. Marxism has immediacy for its stand, viewpoint and method means it has to be used to change the world, to wage tit for tat struggle against class enemies and bourgeois ideology within our ranks. That's why Marxism is characterized by its combativeness against the bourgeoisie and all its influences." (WV Journal #4, p. 41)

It is in the process of criticizing revisionism and bourgeois ideology that we tighten our grasp of Marxism. For example, the struggles waged against the Right opportunism of the OL and RCP, and the Left opportunism of PRRWO/RWL are not just arbitrary battles waged on the theoretical front. They are not polemics for the sake of wanting to polemicize. They are the concretization of the slogan "Build the Party on the Proletarian Ideological Plane and Grasp the Key Link of Political Line," they are actual struggles against real bourgeois deviations along the lines of party building. A raging battle both theoretical and practical against incorrect lines on party building and the grasping of the correct lines in this process, actually serve to build the Party on the Proletarian Ideological Plane. Through these struggles against revisionism, clarity and the correct lines and principles of MLMTTT are upheld and are tightly grasped. Consequently becoming an integral part of the genuine party building efforts.

Why must we strengthen our ideological and theoretical vigilance?

We must conscientiously study Marxism and criticize revisionism, because as Lenin argued:

(continued on p. 24)

Party Building

(continued from p. 23)

"For the simple reason that the bourgeois ideology is far older in origin than the socialist ideology; because it is more fully developed and because it possesses immeasurably more opportunities for being spread. And the younger the socialist movement is in any given country, the more vigorously must it fight against all attempts to entrench non-socialist ideology, and the more strongly must the workers be warned against those bad counsellors who shout against 'overrating the conscious element' (these shouts are very similar to those of PRRWO/RWL, when they scream about spending too much time talking about ideology - Ed.) (WITBD, p. 50)

We clearly must struggle to maintain and develop revolutionary Marxism in a hostile environment of revisionism and bourgeois ideology.

Our international experience is rich in lessons on exactly how this is to be done. Writing in 1920, Lenin explained how the Bolshevik Party achieved such great victories:

"Only the history of Bolshevism during the whole period of its existence can satisfactorily explain why it was able to build up and to maintain under most difficult conditions the iron discipline needed for the victory of the proletariat. And first of all the question arises: how is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent, if you like, to merge with the broadest masses of the toilers -- primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses have been convinced by their own experience that they are correct. Without these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party that is really capable of being the party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved. ("Left-Wing Communism," p. 6)

These lessons are further sharpened by our Chinese comrades in their 3 Great Traditions, and 5 criteria for membership in the Communist Party of China, which all communists in the U.S. must adopt in building the Party ideologically.

The 3 Great Traditions are:

1. Style of integrating theory and practice
2. Maintaining close ties with the masses
3. Practicing criticism and self-criticism

The 5 criteria for membership in the CPC are:

1. Conscientiously study MLMTT and criticize revisionism
2. Work for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world
3. Be able to unite with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the State always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries
4. Consult with the masses when matters arise
5. Be bold in making criticism and self-criticism

This is the experience which we must master! As WVO says:

"To build the party on the ideological plane, to Bolshevize our ranks to build the cadre core for the party must be done in the heat of class struggle. The relationship between Communists and the masses must be like that of fish in the ocean.

We must study Marxism and criticize revisionism.

We must link theory with practice and, in the course of linking them up in the thick of struggle against capitalism win the advanced to communism, practice the mass line 'from the masses, to the masses' and utilize the wisdom of the masses." (WV Journal #4, p. 38)

Fusion of the Communist and Workers Movements

We have stated our views in a general fashion on how we see the party being built on the ideological plane.

We would like to approach the party building process from still another angle. This view which we would like to entertain is one in which the development of the Party is seen in relationship to the fusion of the Communist and Workers movements.

What is the significance of the term fusion?

Is the term used arbitrarily and is it of no consequence?

For example, when the OL does not have a line on fusion in their party building process, does it really matter? Can their attempts at building a party suffer from such an exclusion?

Of course it will, and it must; but this is only one aspect of our contentions with the OL's opportunist call for the party!!

We take our stand upon the scientific approach to party building, the approach of Lenin. Yes, there is a scientific credence to the term fusion, and it was used by Lenin in unfolding an analysis of the party building process in Russia.

Lenin writes thus:

"Precisely this is what happened in Russia. In Russia too, socialism has been in existence for a long time, for many decades, standing aside from the struggle of the workers against the capitalists... However, the Russian socialists did not hold to their undeveloped, fallacious theory. They went forward, accepted Marx's teaching and evolved a theory of worker's socialism applicable to Russia.

At the present time the principal task for all Russian socialists and all class conscious Russian workers is to strengthen this fusion, consolidate and organize the Social-Democratic Labour Party. He who does not wish to recognize this fusion, he who tries to draw some sort of artificial line of demarcation between the working class movement and Social-Democracy in Russia renders no service but does harm to worker's socialism and the working class movement in Russia." ("Retrograde Trend," p. 258)

Explicit within this statement is the necessary relationship between the socialist movement and the worker's movement. A combination of which legitimizes the theories of socialism by the concrete material force of the working class movement. A legitimacy which has not always been present. For socialism did not grow out of the spontaneous movement of the workers, but had to be carried into it. As Lenin summarized:

"At first socialism and the working class movement existed separately in all European countries.

For this reason we see in all European countries a constantly growing urge to fuse socialism with the working class movement in a single Social-Democratic movement. When this fusion takes place the class struggle of the workers

becomes the conscious struggle of the proletariat to emancipate itself from exploitation by the propertied classes, it is evolved into a higher form of the socialist workers movement -- the independent working class Social-Democratic Party." (Ibid., p. 257)

So in viewing the party building process we firmly hold to the position that one has to have an analysis of fusion, which is a scientific approach to party building. This characterizes a concrete approach in viewing our tasks, it reveals the level of fusion and the necessary tasks that must be undertaken to further this unity between the communist movement and workers movement. Our analysis of this process of fusion, of this combination of the communist movement with the workers movement, is seen concretely!

Within the process of fusion as a whole resides definite periods, specific junctures upon which the process of fusion as a whole depends. This dialectical composition of concrete instances, of historical moments is the content of fusion. These moments within fusion are termed periods; we must have an analysis of periods to approach party building scientifically. We unite with the view of periods as stated by the WVO:

"One aspect of strategic thinking of Communists on party building is the question of periods. It allows us to see what we have gone through and what is the next obstacle we must overcome in order to make the qualitative leap necessary to form the party.

Each phase, therefore, is characterized by a line struggle, with a dominant line, whether correct or incorrect. Resolution of the two line struggle, resolution of the principal contradiction that characterizes the movement as a whole, enables the communist movement to liquidate the old period and surge forward." (WV Journal #4, p. 93)

With these ideas stated, we take a definite stand on the fusion of the communist and workers movement of today.

Our view is that the communist movement has gone through two periods and is now in the third. The communist movement of today is traced back to the degeneration of the CPUSA and the unsuccessful attempts of its splinter groups, the PLP and the POC to reconstitute the party. The first period dates from the mid-60's to 72. This was the period where eclecticism reigned, theories of Che Guevarism, Nkrumahism, and student and lumpen vanguardism. A period in which developing Marxism-Leninism struggled for hegemony, in which the RU played a vanguard role in the reaffirmation of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The second period dates from 1972 to 75; it was one in which the vanguard role of the RU turned into its opposite. This period is characterized by the struggle against the practice-practice line of the RU by a developing revolutionary theory trend which put party building as central and placed theory in a leading role. This Revolutionary Theory Trend (WVO, BWC, PRRWO, ATM) developed in 1974 around the leading role of theory, party building as central task, criticism and self-criticism, and the role of open polemics. These principles were in complete opposition to the opportunists RU/OL/CL/IWK.

This Revolutionary Theory Trend crystallized in the fall of 1975 into the revolutionary wing of the communist movement (WVO, ATM, PRRWO, RWL) and was united around:

"the leading role of theory and the principal task of party building, propaganda as chief form of activity, factory nuclei as the basic unit of communist organization, necessity to get down with the ideological roots and national specific forms of revisionism, focus on winning the advanced workers and a M-L analysis of periods, key link and the advanced worker." (WV, Vol. I, #5, p. S-12)

The third period began in late 1975 when political line became the key link -- this led to the disintegration within the revolutionary wing.

When the struggle over programmatic views, i.e. political lines, began, and the impending merger of RWL and WVO was halted, the floodgates of opportunism were flung wide open.

These are our views on the importance of fusion and periods in party building -- compare this with the way the OL analyzes periods as the rise of collectives, study circles, and local groups to national preparty organizations, and says nothing about line struggles!

But alas, our analysis does not stop here. As Lenin noted:

"Karl Marx and Frederick Engels did their greatest service: they created a revolutionary theory that explained the necessity for this fusion and gave socialists the task of organizing the class struggle of the proletariat." ("Retrograde Trend," p. 257)

This is where we take on our anarcho-syndicalists PRRWO/RWL. It is here where these opportunists were halted; in the third period of party building, because they could not answer the question!

And a pressing question indeed. How to build the party on the proletarian ideological plane -- grasping the key link of political line?!

They were prevented from answering this question by the force of their narrow nationalism and dogmatism; their well-rounded Leftism!

Our analysis of the disintegration of the wing is opposed to the type of analysis of OL. They cannot answer the question of why and what objective phenomena forced the split, what motion independent of the wills of those involved pushed forward the disintegration process. All that they can say is that they are the "unity trend" and that the wing was an anti-party bloc and had to split up and, "wreck" itself, because it was an unprincipled combination in the first place, merely to oppose the "unity trend," i.e. the OL.

We vehemently beg to differ here! We think that the disintegration proceeded from objective causes, from the objective development and requirements of the movement. Coming out of the second period where the Revolutionary Theory Trend crystallized into the revolutionary wing, there was a concrete basis of unity (the leading role of theory, the central task of party building, propaganda as chief form of activity, factory nuclei as the basic unit of communist organization, etc.)

The continuing struggles in the third period over political line was what sorted out these petty-bourgeois fellow travelers and it was due to their inadequate assimilation of MLMTTT; their indiscrete inability to exercise Marxism concretely and not abstractly and dogmatically.

In this process, the leading circle in the communist movement (WVO) achieved resounding victories against opportunism and has without contention, laid the basis for the further development of political line in this, the third period.

What is this Anarcho-Socialism?

Lenin explained the phenomena of anarcho-socialism as a lawful occurrence engendered by the economic system. By the crushing effect of capitalism upon the petty-bourgeoisie which drives them into the proletariat. Entering the ranks of the working class, these former petty-bourgeois elements appear within the revolutionary movements of the workers, but only assimilate aspects of MLMTTT because they are unable to break from their "old outlook." This petty-bourgeois revolutionism is unstable and as Lenin said can:

"become swiftly transformed into submission, apathy, fantasy and even a frenzied infatuation with one or another bourgeois fad..." ("Left-Wing Communism," p. 17)

It is this phenomena which we must deal with... revolutionaries who appear to be -- but in fact are not.

They are so revolutionary, that they go beyond the masses. They concentrate on great sounding slogans and fixate on words instead of concretely analysing concrete conditions. They stop at the letters of MLMTTT and cannot understand the living spirit. They can talk about Bolshevism -- and cry out "we are the Bolsheviks!"

But as Lenin once said:

"the 'Left' Communists have a great deal to say in praise of us Bolsheviks. One sometimes feels like telling them to praise us less and try to understand the tactics of the Bolsheviks more..." (Ibid., p. 53)

How did PRRWO/RWL answer this question of building the party and utterly fall on their faces?

To PRRWO/RWL, party building is the central and only task facing the communist movement. They quote Stalin's article, The Party Before and After Taking Power, to reinforce their interpretation. This view of PRRWO/RWL's on party building as the central and only task is related to the rest of the left opportunist lines. Flowing from this interpretation are their views of propaganda and agitation, the spontaneous mass movements and the role of communists within them, ideology as key, and fusion just to name a few.

What is meant by the statement that party building is the central and only task?

From Stalin's article, The Party Before and After Taking Power, PRRWO/RWL use the expositions of the first period of winning over the vanguard and the second period of going over to the broad masses as an historical parallel for their own party building efforts. As the journal Bolshevik reads:

"Comrades we hold that we are in the first period that Stalin talked about, the period of winning the vanguard to communism, where we must pay attention to the party itself." (p. 33)

Their reactions to agitation and participation in broad united front work is that the first period is being skipped over. For example in Palante we read:

"However, any way they put it, it is opportunist to even give the impression that we are in the second period, when we cannot go to that period without winning the vanguard and organizing the advanced detachment, the party." (Vol. 6, #5, p. 7)

This is a most metaphysical, dogmatic and petrified method of thinking and clearly reveals our anarcho-socialists' inability to grasp dialectics. Their interpretation of Stalin's article also fosters their fears of bowing to spontaneity which is really fears of engaging in the spontaneous struggles of the class.

But what are the facts here, and where is a dialectical presentation of the question?

First of all the article by Stalin was written in 1921 and was a summary of the achievements made by the Bolsheviks which was necessary and without which a successful insurrection against the bourgeoisie in Russia would have been impossible. What Stalin referred to as periods in his 1921 article, Lenin more precisely explains as steps in his 1920 pamphlet Left-Wing Communism.

What our anarcho-socialists do is in place of an analysis of periods in our party building motion, they instead drop on us Stalin's exposition on insurrection.

Let us use Stalin too. But we will use him concretely, within an historical context and precisely speaking to a party building process.



Organizing the Class Struggle of the Proletariat

Writing in 1901, Stalin summed up the early activities of the Russian Social-Democrats:

"The Russian Socialists established contact with the masses of the workers only at the beginning of the 90's... Russian Social-Democracy now concentrated all its efforts and attention upon the movement that was going on among the Russian workers at that time... There was no systematic organizational work in that movement at that time, of course: that movement was a spontaneous one. And so, Social-Democracy set to work upon this unconscious, spontaneous and unorganized movement. It tried to develop the class consciousness of the workers... to combine them in a common class struggle in order that it might become the struggle of the Russian working class against the oppressing class of Russia; and it tried to give this struggle and organized character." (Russian Social-Democratic Party and its Immediate Tasks," CW, vol. 1, p. 11-12)

This was Stalin! This is what Lenin meant by organizing the class struggle of the proletariat; this was the concrete fusing of the Socialist and workers movement. This is the correct approach. A dialectical materialist conception of what is to be done and how to do it. There is no clap trap about only winning the vanguard and avoiding the spontaneous upsurges as a prevention to the disease of opportunism.

No! A correct view sees the relationship between the spontaneous movement and the need for communist consciousness to provide leadership and does not perform a transmutation upon the "spontaneous movement" deriving from it a "spontaneity" which is the root of all opportunism.

Lenin expressing himself said:

"Were not our strikes mere spontaneous outbursts until the revolutionary circles of socialists undertook extensive agitation and summoned the working masses to the class struggle, to the conscious struggle against their oppressors? Can one find in history a single case of a popular movement, of a class movement, that did not begin with spontaneous, unorganized outbursts, that would have assumed an organized form and created political parties without the conscious intervention of enlightened representatives of the given class? (Apropos of the Profession De Foi, LCW, vol. 4, p. 290)

What we end up with is PRRWO/RWL's dogmatism and abstention on the tasks of communists in organizing the class struggle. Their view of conducting agitation today is that it's not supposed to be done yet; that periods are being confused; i.e. the going over to the masses comes only after winning over the vanguard. This defect in their conception of the motion of the party building process goes hand in hand with their methodology of getting their line across.

When their line flies in the face of reality, and when what they say does not conform to historical fact, they can not rely on truth to reinforce their line, but must resort to a most vulgar practice of posturing, of an over reliance on forms, of staunchness and not correctness, upon being "super" Bolsheviks.

They rely on the lower instincts of the workers, by whipping up their emotions to support a very ragged line. This is the methodology of declassed elements of the petty-bourgeoisie -- this is their hustlerism.

In 1899, was Lenin skipping periods and bowing to spontaneity when he wrote:

"the task of Social-Democracy is to bring definite socialist ideals to the spontaneous working class movement, to connect this movement with socialist convictions that should attain the level of contemporary science... by organising the workers, by conducting propaganda and agita-

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tion among them, to turn their spontaneous struggle against their oppressors into the struggle of a definite political party for definite political and socialist ideals. ('Our Immediate Task', LCW, vol. 4, p. 216-217)

Well, according to the line of PRRWO/RWL, Lenin would be both bowing to spontaneity and skipping from the first to the second period.

In that same year, he writes again:

"A socialist, on the contrary, will draw from it the conclusion that the time has long been ripe for political agitation, for the broadest possible appeal to the working masses to engage in political action and political struggle. (Apropos of the Profession De Foi p.290)

This is 1899, three years before the Second Congress organizationally formed the Party. This is a correct line on party building, one that takes into account the real life struggles of the working class and the practical job of fusing the communist movement with the working class movement to form a genuine revolutionary party. It expresses a real connection between agitation and propaganda. Between expounding upon many ideas which only a few people can understand, and delivering a few ideas which many people will comprehend. Propaganda is the chief form of work, but there is also agitation; and not seeing the connection or refusing to see agitation anywhere else but in a "mythical" second period is bloc-headedness.

To PRRWO/RWL these activities that Lenin talked about would be "building the mass movement"! To Lenin, and ourselves, it was and is the activity of organizing the class struggle of the proletariat.

This deviation of our "Lefts" results from their inability to conceive of the dialectical process. They view the party building process as two periods consisting of (1)winning over the vanguard and (2)going over to the broad masses. The two periods are pure and non-contradictory. In the first period there is only propaganda and not agitation, because agitation to them means going over to the broad masses, which they say is in the second period, and before you can do that (according to them), the vanguard must be won over and the party formed. The formation of the party will represent the consciousness that is needed to prevent/curtail all of the "bowing to spontaneity" (read: engaging in spontaneous struggles of the class) which they most forcefully maintain is rendering everyone opportunist at this time.

These errors in outlook, which are metaphysical and idealist, are consistently committed by our Anarcho-Socialists, and it runs throughout their lines.

Their position on the international situation is a good example of a left and lifeless line. While appearing to be revolutionary, and saying revolution is the main trend in the world today, PRRWO/RWL sabotages the correct approach to building a party under the present conditions of "two contending trends of war and revolution, either war gives rise to revolution will prevent war."

Their error lies in viewing the process of revolution as a straight line with no twists, turns, or setbacks. Instead of making a concrete investigation of the current situation, sophistry is resorted to; the using of quotes out of context of time and place.

For example, in the Bolshevik, they take quotes from the Chinese in 1971 and in 1975; in both of these instances the Chinese were analysing the current situation which in both cases were different. In 1971, revolution was the main trend. In 1975, the factors for both war and revolution were rising.

But our left opportunists refuse to see the real world and act upon their illusions, going right ahead in their journal and using the quotes (out of context of course) of the Chinese comrades to refute the correct analysis of the Chinese and to shore up their line of revolution as the main trend in the world today.

Not having a correct line on the international situation prevents PRRWO/

RWL from preparing the working class for the immediate struggle. Their line on Angola, that it represented revolution as the main trend, ignores the contention of the two superpowers in Angola and the danger of the rising factor of war as well as revolution. This position repudiates an earlier one and concretely supports the MPLA, the Soviet Union's "aid for the revolutionary cause", and the Cuban mercenaries "proletarian internationalism". This downplays the Soviet Social-Imperialists as the main source of war today!

Another example is the united front and unite to expose tactics that Lenin expounds upon in his book, Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder.

For left opportunist PRRWO/RWL, as well as the right opportunist OL, this means nothing. To them there is "no united action with revisionists"! This by the way is a very good example of the unity between the Left and Right, on being in essence--OPPORTUNISTS.

The statement that the OL and PRRWO/RWL both use is taken from the struggles between the Soviet Social-Imperialists and the Communist Party of China in the early 1960s. It was the hegemonic schemes of the Social-Imperialists to broaden their influence in the International Communist Movement by attempts to impose their lines upon it. They sought to unify the International Communist Movement around their Revisionism, and this was when the Chinese put forward their opposition to united action with revisionists.

Actually, what the OL, and PRRWO/RWL do is use the statement (No United Action with Revisionists) to abstain from the task that Communists have of severing the influence that opportunist leadership has upon the masses. Not adhering to these united front tactics, our opportunists certainly would not think of "entering forbidden premises" and going wherever the masses are to be found to influence them.

For example, we attended a forum just last week that was initiated by the OL. This forum was called by the Organizing Committee for a M-L Party.

We made a concrete analysis of this forum: (1)we knew that we would be relatively free to expose the opportunist OL, and (2)our view of the audience was that there was a mixture of honest folks as well as hard core OL, and that the opportunity of destroying the influence of the opportunist OL over these workers was present.

We attended the forum and actively attempted to expose the opportunism of the OL party building motion, which we think was overall successful, taking into consideration the maneuvering, distortions, and attempts at slandering by the OL.

This forum was not attended by the "SUPER BOLSHEVIK" leadership of the RWL, this is an example of their boycottism--their "cave dwelling mentality". Their fear of spontaneous struggles and their isolation from the mass upsurges leads them straight to a cave, from which we can hear their words echoing--"Bolshevik this"! "We are the Bolsheviks"! "Check it out"!

IN CONCLUSION:

We have formed the Union For Working Class Emancipation with the high hopes of destroying it. That is to say, we practice party spirit. We formed the organization with purpose of contributing to the party building efforts in the U.S. and not with the aim of practicing small circle spirit, viewing the organization as ours, all ours. We view the wvo as the leading circle in the communist movement at this time, and we seek to work in unison with what we term as the most overall correct line.

*****ADDENDUM:*****

In the presentation, we did not attempt to speak to all of the questions, in regards to our line on party building nor the PRRWO/RWL's Left Opportunist lines.

What we attempted to do was push ahead our understanding on ideologically building the party, and center in on what we analyzed to be a crucial "plank" in our Anarcho-Socialists' "boardwalk" to party building (the use of Stalin's The Party Before and

After)

This presentation should be seen as an initial skirmish in a continuing battle with Anarcho-Socialism, one that will intensify, further develop and render the "Opportunists from the Left" a sure defeat. ●

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MLOC... (continued from p. 17) about 7 or 8 years of intense line struggle had already sorted out many groups based on the struggle against opportunism. MLOC appears suddenly, rising out of a split in the Black Workers Congress, admitting that it has no positions on any major questions. What few principles it does have are easily discarded, and it tells the communist movement that "all organizations are equal." MLOC has the nerve to tell the other groups to be "bold" in uniting, that the main danger in the revolutionary trend was "requiring overbaked unity" and that "comrades must develop the ability to become Marxist-Leninist statesmen, capable of uniting not only with those with whom there is agreement, but with those with whom there is disagreement..." Coming from a group that has no principled basis on which to demarcate itself from anyone, what can all this possibly be other than a naked attempt to sneak into the revolutionary trend, based only on maneuvers and not on line?

Line differences are all supposed to be erased, according to MLOC, and we are supposed to "think in terms of the majority." In uniting genuine communists, we must always think in terms of the correct line. This is the only way to serve the vast majority. Thinking in terms of the vast majority means thinking of how to move forward revolution, which is always a question based on the correct line. By abandoning the attempt to unite on the basis of the correct line, MLOC abandons the only real way to serve the interests of the vast majority. By raising "think in terms of the majority" as a principle of Marxism-Leninism to the forefront, the MLOC only means that we should try to please everybody.

This is made completely clear by their philistine view of polemics - that there should be no public polemic until private discussions have exhausted the possibilities. Rather than expose differences to the whole communist movement as a way of pushing us all ahead, MLOC prefers instead to have friendly chats. On the one hand, it presents the face of "reasonableness" and "patience" to the communist movement as a whole. On the other hand, the MLOC secretly tries to appear to the revolutionary trend as a ruthless fighter against all opportunism, calling for military strategy "to strike a decisive blow to defeat the dominant economist line in our movement." But this call for military strategy inside the communist movement is a sham. It is meant to create the illusion of staunch opposition to opportunism, just like the MLOC reprints reams of old documents to create the illusion of firmly upholding the leading role of theory. In reality it is nothing but double-dealing to create an image in the communist movement. MLOC raises the "opportunist tide" to try to "impress" the revolutionary trend with maneuvers against revisionism. But MLOC's method for "struggling with opportunism" amounts to diving in and swimming with the tide, and, as their "credo" program shows, is opportunism concentrated and personified. A brief look at MLOC's "heroic" struggle against OL will show this.

Wanting To Swim In The Opportunist Stream Is A Revisionist Principle

It is clear from this proposal that the motion of OL toward its revisionist party was the immediate stimulus to MLOC to put out its proposal to practice revisionism and to intrigue and conspire. Repeated references to the OL's "size," its "imminent" party building motion, and its newspaper circulation, make this clear. These references point to the wholly philistine attitude of the MLOC, its petty bourgeois blindness of only seeing numbers but never quality, the OL's social democratic line. Let's look at MLOC's "struggle" against the OL, the strategy of open accommodation and closed maneuvering.

MLOC tells us that "an adequate struggle on a national level, conducted in a principled manner, has yet to be waged with the OL." We assume MLOC

means their secret proposal to be the basis for this "adequate...principled" struggle. The general statement that "an adequate struggle has yet to be waged" is a denial of the definitive polemics on OL that had already been waged by the WVO (WV Journal #3, May, 1975, and elsewhere), clearly demonstrating OL's character. Given MLOC's lack of specifics, we can only take this to mean a general promise to do better.

But did they do better? Shortly after this proposal came out, OL unveiled its plan to form the party. The reaction in the communist movement was universal and immediate. Almost all the forces publically polemicized against OL taking this step, since it could only further consolidate its already opportunist line. MLOC waited. It maintained its closed liaison with OL. It formally endorsed and attended the Fightback Conference, in order to "struggle in a principled manner with honest forces in the OL and around them." Only in the Feb-April 1976 Unite did it finally openly criticize OL's flagrantly opportunist call for a party. MLOC was the last organization in the communist movement to take an open stand against OL's sham motion. But still it maintained its closed liaison with OL. And, since there has been no self-criticism, we assume it also kept up its attempt to "concentrate superior forces" against OL.

AND MLOC'S ORGANIZATIONAL LINE IS A MODEL OF PETTY BOURGEOIS LIBERALISM AND LOOSENESS, PROMOTING AUTONOMISM AND ANARCHY. TELLING THE REVOLUTIONARY WING THAT "NO ORGANIZATION STANDS AT THE HEAD AT THIS TIME," BUT RATHER THAT "ORGANIZATIONS STAND ABREAST," THAT "NO SINGLE ORGANIZATION WILL ACHIEVE HEGEMONY" -- ALL THESE STATEMENTS LIQUIDATE THE DECISIVENESS OF LINE. AND IT IS WITH THE PURPOSE OF PRESERVING THE CIRCLES AND OF NOT OFFENDING THE PETTY BOURGEOIS PROPRIETORSHIP MENTALITY THAT MLOC ADVANCED THESE POSITIONS TO FURTHER ITS OWN SCHEMES.

In Aug. 1976, it openly admitted maintaining its liaison with OL, even wanting to consult privately with them about their Organizing Committee. And MLOC has the audacity to criticize right opportunist OL for not getting back in touch with them after MLOC contacted the OL to talk about the unity conference!!

In Sept. 1975, MLOC put forth that "an adequate struggle has yet to be waged with OL." In Aug. 1976, the MLOC, whimpering like a hurt puppy, tells OL that it should have returned their call. This is MLOC's "adequate struggle." MLOC's proposal was "to strike a blow by surprise." But who was "surprised?" By having secret chats, rather than public polemics, MLOC conciliated with the opportunists and thus gave OL time and room to maneuver to fool more people. But the error is much more serious than this. With no principles of its own, therefore failing to demarcate itself or to base itself on principles, MLOC inevitably rushed toward the OL. In fact, MLOC criticizes OL from even further from the right! It has criticized OL's Organizing Committee for being too ideologically and politically rigid and exclusive: "the stand of the OL as a major force in building the OC was not one of seeking to struggle out differences, but of subjective selection based on the degree of unity with the line of OL." (Communist Line, #9, Aug. 1976, p. 3). Comrades, OL/OC is a model of Menshevik ideological looseness and flabbiness. No wonder MLOC's call for joint programmatic work dropped all its prior "principles." (By comparison with MLOC, OL, which mutated most of its major lines between Nov. 1975 and May 1976, is a model of revolutionary consistency!) And MLOC's organizational line for the Party is a model of petty bourgeois liberalism and looseness, promoting autonomy and anarchy. Telling the revolutionary wing that "no organization stands at the head at this time," but rather that "organizations stand abreast," that "no single organization will achieve hegemony" -- all these statements liquidate the decisiveness of line. And it is with the purpose of preserving the circles and

of not offending the petty bourgeois proprietorship mentality that MLOC advanced these positions to further its own schemes. This is clear from its argument that "each organization rely upon their own practice in evaluating a question... (and)...maintain its own independence and initiative." This is an invitation to autonomism, petty bourgeois anarchism, a formula for a social democratic organizational line. This is a theoretical line for circle spirit. This is above and beyond OL's classical Menshevism in their promise of "full democracy for all" line. MLOC in fact advocates the modern revisionist "advanced democracy for all!!"

Military, Not Ideological And Political Struggle, To Build The Party

Like the bourgeoisie's struggle against the proletariat, MLOC's method of "struggling against opportunism" has two tactics: open conciliation (MLOC's opportunist conciliation with OL's opportunism) and secret preparations for a "military" strategy. On no level does MLOC take up principled struggle, the only real way to combat opportunism and revisionism.

MLOC's opportunist view of opportunism, as discussed above, is that it is only located in certain definite organizations, and that these organizations must be isolated and smashed. MLOC distorts ideological and political struggle in the communist movement with military struggle and united front tactics against the bourgeoisie and imperialists. In the final analysis, this represents a complete lack of understanding of what it means to build the party ideologically. This is shown in both its general statement about the task of building the party and the specific proposal realized to unite Marxist-Leninists.

Class Outlook Of The Petty Bourgeois Careerist

MLOC's proposal reflects the outlook of the petty bourgeois radical intellectual striving not to serve the movement of the working class, but to wriggle and jump out and take the leadership. This bourgeois outlook can only lead to setbacks for the working class. But in the final analysis, class struggle will expose and smash opportunists like this.

The petty bourgeoisie has no understanding that the struggle to overthrow the rule of finance capital will be a prolonged, bitter, life and death struggle. Its orientation is to look for short cuts, easy ways out. Its position is that of a transitional class caught hopelessly in the struggle between labor and capital. Its political temperament fluctuates widely. Exaltation and despair rapidly alternate. As a class, it cannot generate sustained, stable political work, just like a small business under monopoly capitalism cannot produce a stable life for its owner. As the petty bourgeoisie must depend on itself for survival, it sees only itself in the political arena. The vast working masses are only an army waiting for the orders of the petty bourgeoisie. Yet it is an ambivalent, vacillating force, unable to carry revolution out systematically in all spheres, unable to combat the bourgeoisie on all fronts. This is because the petty bourgeoisie secretly harbors wishes of becoming the big bourgeoisie, of some day being rich and independent. Its ambivalence makes the petty bourgeoisie a wholly unreliable, two-faced force in revolution. And this wish for independence, generated by its isolated conditions of work, makes the petty bourgeoisie hate and fear organization. Organization means it must subordinate itself to the general whole. But the petty bourgeoisie cannot do this for it wants to direct all the work.

Proletarian work requires the opposite attitude and outlook. The struggle

(continued from p. 27)

gle to overthrow bourgeois rule will be long and tortuous. And while capitalism's fall is inevitable, and revolutionary upsurges possible at any time, the struggle will be protracted and hard, going through many twists and turns, with defeats as well as victories along the way. Opportunism, the bourgeoisie's useful tool in crisis, is a social prop which supports its rule when it is threatened with revolution. Opportunism will have to be combated every step of the way up to and especially after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. MLOC's attempted short cut, to "strike a decisive blow against opportunism," "to qualitatively transform the balance of forces in the revolutionary movement between Marxism and opportunism," liquidates this truth. It is as if this absurd proposal for a lightning series of attacks on the opportunists will magically blow them away.

Nowhere in this document, either in the spirit or the letter of it, does MLOC show any evidence that it understands the long, uphill struggle that must be waged.

The deep class and social roots of opportunism make opportunism inevitable. It will not be dislodged as long as there are classes. MLOC's proposal is especially absurd when we realize that by abandoning principled ideological and political struggle, we abandon the only way we can really defeat opportunism.

But at the same time as MLOC addresses its brave "anti-opportunist" military strategy in secret to the revolutionary wing, it continues to meet in private with OL, the enemy they have sworn (secretly) to defeat. And they not only continue private meetings, but whine about the fact that OL didn't invite them to their Unity Conference. And then it calls for an OC with less principles than OL's Unity Conference! What staunch fighters against opportunism! This petty bourgeois spinelessness, a cover for its careerism and philistinism, is the real content of its call for the communist movement to "become Marxist-Leninist statesmen." It is a call to exchange firm, stable principles and principled struggle and struggle for the correct line, for equivocating, vacillating, and unscrupulousness maneuvering.

MLOC's proposal is conscious bald-faced, doubled-dealing bourgeois politics, a naked bid to promote themselves into the leadership of the revolutionary trend of the communist movement. It is based on no principles, no history of line struggle and no history or possibility of mass work. Like OL or any other bourgeois politicians, you are willing to bribe and flatter your way into leadership, making offers to organizations to "maintain independence and initiative" and telling them that "organizations all stand abreast." You are willing to promote autonomism to promote yourselves, and to undermine the proletarian organizations of the Party in order to secure yourselves a place. This is your "Marxist-Leninist statesman!"

The working class needs leadership, genuine proletarian leadership and not petty bourgeois careerist leadership, to wage all-sided struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie! Its Party must be based on strict principles of democratic centralism, binding members together with strict proletarian discipline based on the correct line. MLOC's proposal is designed not to provide that, but to cater to petty bourgeois prejudices, autonomism and circle spirit, and represents a clear attempt to liquidate the role of theory as a guide to action and the decisiveness of line.

MLOC's formalism, scholasticism, and careerism led them into this bankrupt "military" proposal and united front tactic to unite Marxist-Leninists. Taking an important and correct article from Peking Review on military strategy (Dec. 27, 1974), they one-sidedly miss the essence in their rush to promote themselves. The article makes clear that even in the military sphere, concentrating superior forces follows from a correct ideological and political line and its centralized leadership. MLOC's proposal as we have shown is an attack

"Take the Money and Run!"

On Oct. 29, the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC) held a party building forum in Wash., D.C. that resulted in the total ideological and political rout of this little sect of petty bourgeois academics. The D.C. forum, part of a recent tour, was designed to be a report by MLOC on superpower war preparations and on party building. When the spokesman for MLOC laid out the agenda for the evening, it quickly became clear that they were not going to allow any time to struggle over line differences, just as in their forum a week before in Atlanta, where they tried to squash line struggle by limiting comments from the audience to 3 minutes per "question;" their plan was for the audience to listen to a lengthy 3 hour presentation and poetry reading by MLOC followed by about 15 minutes for "questions." The audience immediately took up the demand to have principled ideological and political struggle. Though other communist organizations were in the audience, it was the WVO, the Bolshevik Organizing Collective/Communist Workers Committee,

and many independent Marxist-Leninists who demanded that MLOC answer for its line and proposed to have at least an hour to struggle over line. But rather than allow the necessary struggle to push the communist and working class movements forward, MLOC tried to silence the audience, resorting to all types of bourgeois maneuvers: "we paid for this hall," "you can either hear our whole presentation or leave, there's no other choice," and even "people should line up in a straight line in the back to get your money back." As MLOC's opposition to principled struggle increased with all the features of a grade-school teacher unable to con-

trol an unruly class, the outrage of the audience grew and the call for struggle was taken up by the vast majority of the audience. MLOC's spokesman even abandoned the stage three times, took down its flashy poster display, and quietly sneaked out as the attention of the audience changed its focus towards the October League, representatives of the main danger of right opportunism. The OL, who had taken no stand on MLOC's maneuvers, was called on repeatedly to answer for its mutations on party building, but were unable to respond. Finally, one OL cadre got up and recited a laundry list of statements: "... we have a newspaper, a theoretical journal, a position on the national question..." without responding to a single question. At that point, it became clear that MLOC had arranged to close the hall. MLOC had, in fact, deserted its own forum, taken the money, and fled!!

But MLOC's line emerged clearly in spite of itself. Their attitude of no struggle, their thorough philistinism, exposed itself; its refusal to be open and above board, to put forth its view, to practice Marxism and not revisionism, revealed that it has never taken up the outlook and stand of the working class. The forum revealed MLOC's total lack of principle and its petty bourgeois stand. The forum revealed MLOC as only a more blatant form of OL's character -- the same slipping and sliding, fear of struggle, the same careerist schemes on party building. MLOC's departure from their own forum clearly exposed its small proprietor outlook on the communist movement: "Take the money and run!!"

on both! Like some petty bourgeois academic professor graciously offering his leadership to the working class from his lectern, the MLOC eclectically cites articles and engages in empty phrasemongering about how "whether or not to concentrate superior forces as the basis of strategy and tactics for party building is a fundamental question of a dialectical materialist outlook and methodology!!" Meanwhile, MLOC has no line at all on the burning questions facing the working class movement, provides no guidance at all for the day-to-day struggles of the masses. This means that anyone following the MLOC's line cannot possibly do any communist mass work. It also shows how cushioned these academics are from the class struggle. And by providing no leadership on any of these questions, MLOC insures that this separation from the masses will continue.

LIKE SOME PETTY BOURGEOIS ACADEMIC PROFESSOR GRACIOUSLY OFFERING HIS LEADERSHIP TO THE WORKING CLASS FROM HIS LECTERN, THE MLOC ECLECTICALLY CITES ARTICLES AND ENGAGES IN EMPTY PHRASE-MONGERING... MEANWHILE, MLOC HAS NO LINE AT ALL ON THE BURNING QUESTIONS FACING THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT, PROVIDES NO GUIDANCE AT ALL FOR THE DAY-TO-DAY STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES... IT ALSO SHOWS HOW CUSHIONED THESE ACADEMICS ARE FROM THE CLASS STRUGGLE... COMRADES, MLOC IS THE MOST FLAGRANT EXAMPLE IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF THE PETTY BOURGEOIS CLASS STAND!

Comrades, MLOC is the most flagrant example in the Communist movement of the petty bourgeois class stand. Not only do they refuse to subordinate themselves to the interests of the vast majority, or to do patient work among the masses, but they are willing to hurt the interests of the proletariat and the vast majority to promote themselves and their sham unity plan.

Comrades, many elements from the petty bourgeoisie will be drawn to the Party of the proletariat. And as Lenin said:

"There is nothing abnormal or terrible in this, if the proletarian Party is able thoroughly to absorb these foreign bodies and not be controlled by them, and is able to see in good time that some of these elements really are foreign bodies, and that in certain conditions one must clearly and openly dissociate oneself from them... In order to fulfil this obligation of the proletariat, it was necessary to take patiently in hand and reeducate those who had been attracted to Social Democracy by the days of liberty... who were attracted chiefly by the vehemence, revolutionary spirit and 'vividness' of our slogans, but, who, though militant enough to fight on revolutionary holidays, lacked the stamina for workaday struggle under the reign of counterrevolution. Some of these elements were gradually drawn into proletarian activities and assimilated the Marxist world outlook. The others only memorised a few slogans without grasping their meaning, could only repeat old phrases and were unable to adapt the old principles of revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics to the changed conditions." (In Against Revisionism, pp. 43-44, emphases added)

MLOC is a group from which we "must clearly and openly dissociate." The MLOC's opportunist use of theory "sounds good" to some honest comrades because MLOC seems to take our theoretical tasks seriously. But beware, comrades, their petrified formalism and thoroughly degenerate world outlook can only build a revisionist clique. Look beneath their rhetoric. Their "granite theoretical foundation" is really quicksand! Break with this retrograde trend or you will sink with the MLOC!

Comrades, our movement is surging forward! The historic march of the communist and workers movements, building on the rich lessons of the last 7 or 8 years, will brush aside this band of fellow-travellers who attempt to deceive those comrades who have not and are not trying in earnest to repudiate their petty bourgeois baggage and embrace Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Forward To The Party Congress!!

MLOC'S "CREDO" PROGRAM: Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy Genuine Marxist-Leninists One by One

#1: OUTLINE NOTES FOR A PLAN TO UNITE MARXIST-LENINISTS, SEPT. 1975

Over two years ago, through intense ideological and political struggle, many Marxist-Leninists came forward to recognize the necessity of party building as the central task in this period. This advance in the revolution represented the fruits of many groups and individuals in struggles waged against the economist-liquidationist line of the Revolutionary Union, and others.

Now, over two years later, our revolution still lacks a clear and definite plan for actually uniting Marxist-Leninists. Organizations, collectives and individuals definitely have some ideas. But the question of "How to form the party," remains unanswered. A genuine plan of action for unity has yet to emerge - a plan which will establish with authority a guiding line and policy to build the vanguard communist party.

Part of the source of this failure to date has been that the revolutionary elements within the Marxist-Leninist movement have yet to strike a decisive blow to defeat the dominant economist line in our movement. We remain fragmented and somewhat divided. At the same time, however, particularly in the last several months, there has been a flowering of Marxist-Leninist organizations and collectives around the country, with plans for more than one new national newspaper in the works. However, this upsurge, in itself, cannot defeat opportunism.

The widespread growth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a very positive development, particularly since this development represents the increasing isolation of the economist trend of our revolution. As we have seen, with the isolation of this economist, retrograde trend, it becomes ever more backward, more regressive, more revisionist, as evidenced by the attack against Mao Tsetung Thought in the Draft Party Program of the Revolutionary Union.

To strike a decisive blow against Imperialism and Opportunism - to reconstitute the vanguard communist party - it is necessary for the revolutionary elements of our movement to concentrate a superior force; ideologically, politically and organizationally. This means that Marxist-Leninists must begin to work together in a much more intense way, on the basis of equality and mutual respect. While the pace of this work must increase, it must be conducted in a quiet, secretive manner, until such time as a superior force has been assembled. We must not arouse the watch dogs at the gate before we are inside.

Within this context, it is appropriate and mandatory for Marxist-Leninists to come forward with outline plans for uniting Marxist-Leninists. Not that any one plan advanced by any particular organization, including the MLOC, will necessarily represent a complete or a correct approach, but in the sense that the advancement of such a plan is the basis for struggle and unity, the basis to defeat passivity, the basis to take the initiative.

To strike a decisive blow against Opportunism - to reconstitute the vanguard communist party - requires that we give full play to the dynamic subjective factor of many organizations and collectives. It is only by truly mobilizing a superior force that we can bring about a transformation of the balance of forces that currently exists in the revolutionary movement.

Since the liquidation of the proletarian communist party in 1944, there have been numerous efforts to reconstitute the party, including the POC, the PL, the National Liaison Committee and the Continuations Committee, and others. These efforts, both positive and negative, must be summed up objectively, together with the international experience of the communist movements of other countries who have built genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, or who have reconstituted genuine parties after the break with modern revisionism. Out of this kind of summation a genuine unity plan can emerge.

Organizations such as the MLOC, ATM, WV or PRRWO individually work in a limited part of the country, have few cadre and limited theoretical training. Working individually, in a few particular areas, it is not possible to qualitatively transform the balance of forces in the revolutionary movement between Marxism and Opportunism - where opportunism is still the dominant force. Precisely because the retrograde opportunist trend of our revolution is stronger today, it is important for Marxist-Leninists to take the opportunists seriously, carefully consider the correct forms of struggle, and concentrate all our efforts to strike the opportunists where they are weakest, step by step, to create local superiority in many campaigns, winning over the honest forces, and smashing opportunism and revisionism.

If we succeed in concentrating our forces ideologically, politically and organizationally, it will be possible to move from a quantitative to a qualitative change and from a local to a national transformation of our movement. This is the basis for party building.

Comrades, the enemy that we face today, which holds back the reconstitution of the vanguard communist party, is opportunism, national chauvinism and American exceptionalism. The principle of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces has been advanced by Comrade Mao Tsetung as the correct strategy for warfare, as well as the correct strategy for carrying out all forms of proletarian work. In the final analysis, this is a question of ideological and political line, concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy force stems from a dialectical-materialist world outlook and methodology.

This represents the strategic and tactical thinking of the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee on how to move forward toward the party. The following outline notes for a plan to Unite Marxist-Leninists are offered for discussion and struggle with comrades.

We take up the question of unity from the (1) Ideological, (2) Political and (3) Organizational frameworks. Our view is that a high degree of ideological unity has already been achieved amongst some organizations, and that this is being confirmed in practice at this time. Politically, that a relatively high degree of unity can be consolidated in the immediate months ahead, if organizational steps are taken to enforce and develop the existing political unity. The most important organizational step at this time is a definite schedule of contact and work amongst organizations.

On the basis of these notes, we would seek to set out such a definite schedule of contact and work.

These notes are offered confidentially, and we would request that they not be distributed except to the appropriate body of your organization.

We look forward to clarifying any questions this raises, and hearing your views regarding the task of Uniting Marxist-Leninists.

#2: ON STRATEGY AND TACTICS, NOV. 15, 1975

In September 1975, the MLOC advanced its views on Marxist-Leninists Unite! in the document CONCENTRATING A SUPERIOR FORCE TO SMASH REVISIONISM AND BUILD THE PARTY. The present document is the second in this discussion series, to further develop the question of strategy and tactics for party building. In line with our general strategy of concentrating a superior force to strike a decisive blow, these views have not, and will not be advanced in public documents of the MLOC, but offered on a bilateral basis to organizations and friends with whom the MLOC struggles to unite toward the reconstitution of a vanguard communist party.

First, we would like to summarize concisely the development of our line on party building to this point:

Four Tactics of Party Building: (1) Political line is Key, Theory is Decisive. What we stress here is the development of political line based upon a granite theoretical foundation, based upon the view that the political line of no organization at this time is adequate as a minimum basis of unity. That it is through joint theoretical work to develop political line that material unity will be built within the revolutionary trend, and a genuine center in our movement emerge through this struggle. (2) Bolshevization of Cadre. (3) The principal slogan in the communist movement is Marxist-Leninists Unite. (4) The principal slogan in the workers movement is Win Over the Advanced to Communism.

Second, in September, in the document CONCENTRATE... we pointed out that our evaluation of the last thirty years of the struggle to reconstitute a vanguard communist party in this country, together with our summation of the international experience of the communist movement (particularly the struggle to build new Marxist-Leninist parties) pointed to (1) the need for a definite plan and policy to forge concrete unity, overcome passivity and spontaneity; (2) the importance of concentrating a superior force to win victories on a local basis in order to strike a decisive blow by surprise; (3) the need to break the isolation, fragmentation and small circle outlook that still permeates the revolutionary trend and many genuine forces; (4) that opportunism and imperialism must be attacked at their weakest link - which today is on the theoretical front; (5) that whether or not to concentrate a superior force as the basis of strategy and tactics for party building is a fundamental question of dialectical-materialist outlook and methodology. (6) Briefly discussed the ideological, political and organizational basis for breaking with modern revisionism, which constitutes the kernel of an actual plan in this regard.

Third, in October, COMMUNIST LINE #1 developed these views further by (1) tracing the historic struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat internationally and in the US - drawing conclusions about our tasks regarding proletarian internationalism; (2) conducted a preliminary investigation of the struggle to build a vanguard communist party in the US and its revisionist degeneration; (3) outlined the major efforts at reconstitution since 1944; (4) advanced the view that political line is key and theory is decisive; (5) outlined the historic right danger of American exceptionalism and national chauvinism; (6) drew some conclusions regarding method in historical analysis; (7) developed the historical two line struggle in the US on the questions of the united front, the black national question and the trade union question.

Even though the MLOC is relatively new as an organization, we have undertaken the development of a theoretical journal, COMMUNIST LINE, because it is on the theoretical front that we believe that a decisive blow must be struck at this time, in order to strike future blows on the political and organizational fronts.

Based upon our investigation both of the objective and subjective factors, the MLOC believes that the communist movement is at a critical turning point, and that unless a genuine vanguard party is formed in the near future, unless very substantial steps in this direction are taken in 1976, that either the disintegration of the subjective motion of the movement or the objective conditions - in the form of war or severe repression, might result in a setback of our movement that could take many years to recover from. In short, that Marxist-Leninists must make bold action to unite and form the party now.

The following represents a further development of our strategy and tactics to UNITE MARXIST-LENINISTS!

(1) The Revolutionary Trend

We believe that within the revolutionary trend no organization stands at the head at this time, but rather that organizations stand abreast of each other. A center within the trend has not emerged, nor does it appear that a single organization will achieve such hegemony. On the contrary, that a center will emerge for the movement as a whole out of the struggle to unite within the revolutionary trend. Therefore, while we have identified seven basic points which characterize the motion of the trend, it is not a mechanical question of whether or not a single organization unites with all seven points. Even with those organizations with the highest level of unity, that unity has yet to be tested in the storm of the class struggle, nor has a granite theoretical foundation been given to that unity. Therefore, the revolutionary trend is both a question of political line, and of the attitude toward unity and importance of particular organizations in the overall struggle of the proletariat. Comrades must make every effort to work together with the closest allies available, think in terms of the majority, and unite with those with whom there are differences on the basis of unity-struggle-unity.

The most important questions of line at this time are: 1) Party building as the central task. 2) Political line is key in this period. 3) Right opportunism is the main danger in the workers and communist movement. 4) Marxist-Leninists Unite as our banner in the communist movement. 5) Win the advanced to Communism as our banner in the workers movement. 6) Factory nuclei as our form of organization in the class. 7) The right to self determination up to and including secession for the Afro American nation.

The composition of this trend includes national organizations as well as many small circles and collectives on a local basis who are struggling to overcome their small circle mentality and unite to build the party.

(2) State of the Communist Movement

The economist tendency within our movement remains the dominant one at this time, but the Marxist-Leninist forces are on the rise. The profusion of collectives and organizations around the country - most in opposition to economism, marks a very important development. However, such collectives remain very isolated. The national organizations cannot be truly called national. There is no organization with the capacity to sum up political work on a national basis and unite various collectives and groups. Organizations have certain areas of strength, not a national presence in the East, West, South and Northwest, Southwest. This makes the struggle for unity amongst the major organizations with-

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in the revolutionary trend very important - in order that they can mobilize the movement as a whole on a national basis.

At the same time, it is now clear that the October League plans to form a party within the next several months, by "this Spring." They are also proceeding to form a national workers organization out of their Fight Back Conference and a national Communist Youth Organization. The circulation of the Call presently is about 22,000, and it plans to publish weekly, probably by mid year.

This development makes it all the more imperative that the revolutionary trend seek unity in order to combat the right opportunist tide and unite many honest revolutionary elements who today, have contact only with a large organization such as the October League.

The MLOC believes that it is very important to struggle in a principled manner with honest forces in the October League and around them, and that an adequate struggle on a national level, conducted on a principled manner, has yet to be waged with the OL.

Strategy and tactics of concentrating a superior force must relate to (1) organizations and groups within the revolutionary trend, (2) the large number of collectives, (3) the OL party building plan, (4) consolidated bourgeois elements such as the RCP, CLP, etc.

(3) The Theoretical and Political Front

Our sense of the motion of the movement is that for at least the next several months, through the middle of 1976, the major front against opportunism will continue to be the theoretical form of class struggle, in order to weld the core on a correct political line. At the same time, steps must be taken toward organizational consolidation.

a) Major Theoretical Tasks Nov 75-June 76: 1. The nature of the Crisis of Imperialism. 2. The Black National Question. 3. The Chicano National Question. 4. The TU Question. 5. Preliminary work on Class Analysis. 6. Preliminary Outline for Party Program. The MLOC believes that substantial progress or completion of these tasks could be accomplished in the next six months, based upon the state of work at this time. Here we are talking about a presentation of the questions with at least the same breadth and depth as COMMUNIST LINE #1, hopefully more substantial.

b) Clarity in regard to political line can be achieved for: 1. Black National Question, 2. Chicano National Question, 3. TU work, The Crisis.

c) We see the major theoretical tasks for the second half of 1976 to be: 1. Complete substantial draft class analysis. 2. Complete historical investigation from 1945-1975. 3. Intensive work on Draft Party Program.

d) In the second half of the year, or sooner if possible, a thorough summation of the state of the movement must be made, in every area of the country, summing up trends, etc. We feel the most important areas are the South, the Mid-west, the Southwest.

e) The MLOC evaluation of the situation is that very substantial gains can be made in consolidating the break ideologically and politically by the middle of 1976, and that much more aggressive organizational steps might then be appropriate, depending of course upon what has actually been achieved. Here we are talking about a national mobilization by the revolutionary trend, not the actual formation of the party.

(4) Guard Against Subjectivism-Think In Terms of the Whole

In COMMUNIST LINE, the MLOC pointed out that in terms of the movement as a whole,

the right danger of unprincipled unity was the main danger. But that in terms of the revolutionary trend, the danger was that of sectarianism, of requiring overbaked unity in order to unite. Our view is that in this period, it is very important for comrades to think in terms of the interest of the entire movement in order to unite the revolutionary trend. This means that organizations must struggle (1) to place the needs of the movement ahead of the interests of one's own organization, to always consider the situation as a whole in determining strategy and tactics, particularly in regard to uniting Marxist-Leninists. At the same time, (2) it is important that each organization rely upon their own practice in evaluating a question, that each organization build a solid base amongst the masses and maintain its own independence and initiative.

But this later point cannot be interpreted as an excuse to place on a back burner proposals to unite, to hesitate to answer correspondence of other organizations, to adopt sloppy methods of work in organizational relations.

Comrades must develop the ability to become Marxist-Leninist statesmen, capable of uniting not only with those with whom there is agreement, but with those with whom there is disagreement, and even with those who opposed us in the past, as Comrade Mao Tsetung has pointed out.

In boldly seeking unity on the basis of principled and correct ideological and political line, comrades must be prepared to compromise on the basis of principle, in order to unite against the common enemies of opportunism and imperialism. "Compromise," wrote Lenin, means "the surrender of certain of one's demands, the renunciation of part of one's demands by agreement with another party." In struggling to unite Marxist-Leninists, it is obligatory for communists to seek and to find compromise with the program of other genuine Marxist-Leninists, when this does not violate one's principles. What is taken as a principle must be judged in terms of the interests of the whole, not the part. This means taking the long, rather than the short range point of view.

In uniting Marxist-Leninists, we must first develop fraternal relations among organizations in order to unite the revolutionary trend. Unity in the revolutionary trend is the decisive factor that will allow us to launch a national mobilization of Marxist-Leninists around a correct ideological, political and organizational line, and advance toward the party in close step.

(5) On Mobilization

In order to concentrate a superior force against opportunism, we must make a concerted and patient effort to mobilize our soldiers for battle, theoretically and politically. Our immediate task is to mobilize the revolutionary trend, in order to mobilize all genuine and honest Marxist-Leninist forces in the movement into a vanguard party. The mobilization of the masses against Imperialism depends upon the general staff we are creating now.

Our outline plan and policy to unite Marxist-Leninists must be considered as a question of political mobilization. This requires four questions be taken up: a) Identify clearly the aim of the campaign - to unite Marxist-Leninists into a vanguard communist party, and the various steps along the way. b) Identify a plan for implementation - the sketch offered in this document and the previous organizational outline in CONCENTRATE.... c) Identify the various forms of struggle. d) Link the campaign to the concrete conditions at the time.

The MLOC believes that it has taken some very first steps in this regard, with these documents and other proposals to Marxist-Leninists, but this is far from constituting a national campaign in swing. Such a campaign will be effective only if it unites the revolutionary trend, a campaign, based upon unity and struggle, which many organizations place on the top of their agenda. We look forward to developing this campaign and mobilization in line with concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy one by one,

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class and national movements, where the bourgeoisie needs it most and finds it most difficult to subject the masses morally. These misleaders must be exposed and thrown out of the leadership of our trade unions and mass organizations and the masses must be shown that these are but puppets of monopoly capitalism, helping to disarm and divert us from proletarian revolution and actively aid the bourgeoisie in attacking the working class and national movements.

CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY: INCREASED COLLUSION AND CONTENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND AGGRESSION AGAINST THE THIRD WORLD AND NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

With the contention between Soviet Social-imperialism and US imperialism growing daily, the danger of world war is racing fiercely with the trend of revolution worldwide. Either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war. Under present objective conditions and the state of the subjective factor in the two superpowers, the former path is more likely. As communists, we oppose imperialist war, but in the event of war, the working class, oppressed nationalities and national minorities in the US, under the leadership of the genuine Communist Party, must turn the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of US monopoly capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Daily the US bourgeoisie is stepping up its contention with the Soviet social-imperialists, with the main focus of contention being Europe. Just recently the US Air Force sent a new unit of fighter Aircraft to England to build up its military forces, which both the Soviet and US imperialists are doing to prepare for war.

While we can't at this time be certain, Carter seems to represent the pro-detente forces in the bourgeoisie,

the same as Kennedy and Mondale (whom the revisionist "Communist" Party, USA Praised for his "pro-detente" stand) and will be actively feeding and encouraging the Soviet Union's aggressive nature through this policy of appeasement. For all of his hard bargaining with the Soviet campaign rhetoric, in fact Carter has indicated that he would actively collude with the Soviet social-imperialists (all imperialists of different countries collude as well as contend for domination of the world, with collusion being relative and temporary and contention for hegemony being absolute and the constant aim of imperialism). He has indicated this on the Middle East question, for instance, saying that the US should cooperate with the Soviet Union to smash the Palestinian and Arab peoples' and countries' struggle for national liberation and independence.

Another indication of Carter's outlook on detente with the Soviet Union is his statement on Yugoslavia in the last televised debate with Ford. Carter pretty much gave the signal to the Soviet social-imperialists to take over Yugoslavia by saying that he would never send troops into the Soviet Union's "sphere of influence", essentially reaffirming the "Sonnenfeldt Doctrine" of openly carving Europe up between the two superpowers, at least on paper. Of course, this is just a scrap of paper to the superpowers, who will try to take the other's "piece" as soon as possible.

All the monopoly capitalists will pursue some form of collusion and contention with the Soviet Social-imperialists, using "peace" as a cover for preparations for war. But the particular angle that they come from depends on whichever gives them an edge in their fierce struggle with other groups. In order to survive the capitalist crisis, for example, the Morgan group pushes for more trade with the Soviet social-imperialists to strengthen its attacks on other financial groups. In reality, however, detente is nothing but a cover-up by the Soviet and US monopoly capitalists for their crazed

shark-like struggle for the domination of the world. Both superpowers use detente to lull the workers of the world to sleep, into believing that the imperialists want peace when in fact they are preparing for war.

Carter is crystal clear in his aggressive, bullying attitude toward the Third World and national liberation struggles. In his campaign statements, he has consistently taken a rabid out and out militarist and aggressive stance to the Third World. Coming out for "economic war" and "total embargoes" against the Arab OPEC countries if they use their effective oil weapon against the superpowers and Israeli Zionism, he threatens all Third World countries and peoples who dare to defy the US imperialists. He said that he would never give up control of the Panama Canal to the Panamanian government, thereby reaffirming his intention to continue US imperialism's illegal occupation of Panama's sovereign territory. He said that he would "preserve the independence and freedom of the people of Taiwan" thereby flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of the socialist Peoples Republic of China and openly attempting to prevent the liberation of Taiwan province and the reunification of China.

Moreover, Carter wants to preserve the nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail over the Third World by the two superpowers. He says that the "non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" (read superpower monopoly of nuclear weapons) is a "number one priority" for his administration.

For all of his ranting and raving, however, Carter like all other imperialists are "bugbears" and a "colossus with feet of clay" who under the irresistible blows of countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and people wanting revolution, are whistling in a dark room isolated and alone, with proletarian revolution led by the genuine communist party guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought knocking loudly at the door. ●