

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

supplement

ATM: SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FROM THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT COMPETES WITH OL TO BE THE VANGUARD OF THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

Out of the spontaneous movements of the 1960's, the salvos of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and the nine polemics against the modern revisionists, there arose a tremendously powerful movement for the building of the genuine communist party of the proletariat in this country.

But out of many groups, from all backgrounds and histories of struggle, not many made it - not many continue to uphold proletarian revolution and Marxism-Leninism. For those like the WVO, the only circle capable of forming the party of the U.S. proletariat, forging the genuine Communist Party of a new type is of tremendous importance and a great responsibility.

In the past years, we have sorted out the right opportunist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), the October League (OL), as well as the "left" opportunist Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) and the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). Today, because the petty bourgeois ideologists in the August 29th Movement (ATM) refuse to change and instead engage in the worst type of dishonesty, open lying, distortions and other anti-communist activities, they too are being sorted out and discarded by the proletariat.

While some groups like the League for Proletarian Revolution (LPR - Resistencia) and I Wor Kuen (IWK) were never really in the communist movement, and their development in the last year or so is clear evidence of that, some others such as ATM struggled for a time to build the party of the proletariat, the way we did.

Lenin once remarked that some bourgeois intellectuals, (like the ATM leadership and membership and most of the communist movement in the late '60's and early '70's) "began to study in earnest, to study Marxism and to learn persistent proletarian work - they will always remain Social Democrats and Marxists..." (Lenin, "The Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God Builders," Lenin's Collected Works (LCW), Vol. 16, p. 59-61).

But because the ATM leadership has now resorted to engaging in lying and other anti-communist activities, even to the extent of uniting with a backward worker in denouncing communism in the molders' strike, they cannot but be abandoned by the proletariat.

What does some of this dishonesty consist of? What are their stubborn petty bourgeois aspirations, which are hopelessly consolidating into revisionism? They have lied to the entire communist movement in the revolutionary trend concerning the existence of the agreement to build the party based on the revolutionary theory trend. The ATM leadership itself, along with the "old PRRWO" (sic) leadership (as distinct from

the "new PRRWO", as the leadership of ATM would have their membership believe), drafted the principles of unity and proposal for the Party Building Commission, which consisted of PRRWO, ATM, and WVO during the Thanksgiving weekend of Nov. 1975. They have publicly lied about the non-existence of the objective trend based on the 7 points of unity, which resulted from the study of Marxism and criticism of opportunism and revisionism in the U.S. communist movement.

They are drifting hopelessly into the international centrist trend by refusing to believe in the danger of Soviet Social-Imperialism, and refusing to take up the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. They refused to remould their petty bourgeois outlook in the course of class struggle and are now drifting hopelessly into becoming the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie of the Chicano oppressed nationality. They are looking for a piece of land, instead of leading the multinational U.S. proletariat to make proletarian revolution, and in that context, fighting for the demand and right of secession of the oppressed nations and nationalities.

But 'it is too late,' as Stalin remarked to the same kind of petty bourgeois nationalists disguised as "communists." The international and national class struggle has forced them back to what they consider the "safe enclave" of petty bourgeois nationalism, abandoning the real content of the struggles of the oppressed nationalities. Class capitulation will inevitably lead to national capitulation. There is no other course for the ATM.

In the past the comrades in the WVO have greatly respected and learned from ATM comrades. We have tried to struggle with them, though far from consistently and vigorously. The ATM leadership knows our intentions but has ignored the desire for unity-struggle-unity. What has taken place instead is incredible sophistry and desperate maneuverings. We have tried to give the ATM leadership another chance to save themselves. In our last West Coast forum we asked over and over to meet with ATM comrades to try to save them from the marshy road they were travelling. But they essentially refused thru lies and distortions (e.g. raising OL's favorite PL spectre, quoting from alleged "minutes" of our joint meetings, accusing our chapters of being autonomous, motivating the state to attack WVO), and what's more, are now in a hopeless and rapid drift into political right opportunism all along the line -- for example: busing, ERA, reformism, and the national question. Today, it's crystal clear to all communists, and even comrades and friends who are just taking up the science of MLMTTT and doing persistent work in the working class, that ATM, in fact, in words

and in deeds, is to the right of the thoroughly right opportunist October League. The ATM is the same right, social-democratic trend: social-democrats from the national movement.

TODAY, IT'S CRYSTAL CLEAR TO ALL COMMUNISTS, AND EVEN EVEN COMRADES AND FRIENDS WHO ARE JUST TAKING UP THE SCIENCE OF MARXISM-Leninism-MAO Tse-TUNG THOUGHT AND DOING PERSISTENT WORK IN THE WORKING CLASS, THAT ATM, IN FACT, IN WORDS AND IN DEEDS, IS TO THE RIGHT OF THE THOROUGHLY RIGHT OPPORTUNIST OCTOBER LEAGUE. THE ATM IS THE SAME RIGHT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC TRND: SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS FROM THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

It's no wonder that all genuine communist collectives, one after another, in disdain and contempt, are abandoning ATM and following the leadership of the WVO! (For example, see the statement of the Harriet-Tubman/Nat Turner Collective, as well as others in the future issues of the WVO newspaper.)

The ATM leadership is lying about WVO's being "imperialist-economist," it is known to all that WVO has led mass movements of tens of thousands among different oppressed nationalities. ATM leadership charged that WVO liquidates the national question, while it is they themselves historically that have not worked or at least worked sporadically and inconsistently in the Chicano national movement or in other national movements. The ATM leadership "quoted" from the alleged minutes "that we think it is narrow to concentrate among the industrial proletariat," while the real content was precisely to combat the imperialist-economism of ATM, which a year and a half to two years ago held "factory nuclei is key" to party building and when ATM did no work in the Chicano national movement -- not a single soul working and no attempt to give leadership to the Chicano movement -- and had to get the line on attacks on undocumented immigrant workers from the WVO, who then had no work among the Chicano national movement

The real struggle was over the importance of the task of Marxist-Leninists unite, to unite genuine M-L forces from all "four corners of the country" from all struggles, all nationalities and all backgrounds, which the ATM leadership consistently belittles. That was one of the main contents of our struggle with the ATM leadership. It was the struggle over their petty bourgeois narrow mindedness, which lacks the proletarian "largeness of mind" that Chairman Mao refers to. It is not by accident. It's from the same basis that the ATM leadership is adopting the RU's self-

cultivational line on "go to the masses" now, three years after the line was abandoned by genuine Marxist-Leninists, and it is the same basis which is leading the ATM leadership to "confuse" the long term task of party building and the key question on the agenda today - the formation of the Communist Party of the U.S. proletariat.

The ATM stood up and flew a clear banner on the Busing question by laying out an equivocal position, verbally feinting "left" and right and engaging in double talk on this question. Can some "communist" organization who is so "concerned" about the "democratic tasks" and is so "concerned" about the national question, have no position on the busing question, which is splitting up the workers of different nationalities right now?? What does ATM know about the Afro-American national question, Chicano national question, and other national questions except Comintern resolutions and bourgeois history? What do they know about the concrete conditions today!!

The WVO, as all communist organizations, initiated our work among the industrial proletariat as soon as we were formed. Three years ago, even when we were still in the days of the Asian Study Group, we allocated the overwhelming majority of our forces to do work among the proletariat, and secondarily in the national movement itself, but nevertheless doing good work in it - taking a vanguard role in some national movement struggles. We would not stoop so low as to pat ourselves on the back, the way ATM does, by claiming how deeply entrenched they are in the industrial proletariat and even help the state by identifying the places and unions comrades belong to.

WVO, like other communist organizations, had a good start. WVO, however, has not flip-flopped in the manner of ATM, which first had no work in the Chicano national movement at all a year and a half ago, while now everything is the national movement and "white skin privilege."

This "flip" is nothing but ATM's retreating from the multinational working class struggle; ATM is now increasingly becoming a nest for "white skin privilege" creatures and narrow nationalists. In the past period, as is known to all around the country, organizations based on "white skin privilege" fell apart. But nationally specific revisionist ideological winds still continue to blow. This trend has resurrected itself in the body of ATM. And ATM is increasingly becoming a nest, the comfortable co-existence of narrow nationalists and "skin privilege" white-guilt types.

ATM's like the scared petty bourgeoisie, who can't cope with the complex and intense class struggle internationally and nationally and is now looking for a "safe" enclave to hide in the national movement. This is essentially the content of ATM's line drift, i.e. that party building is a "protracted" process, white skin privilege, narrow nationalism, etc.

Comrades, this is the state of the ATM today, despite their "industrial proletariat" and "national movement" talk. Comrades, industrial proletarian organization plus work in national movements is not in itself Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, or the party of the proletariat. It can be and is a very convenient cover, a hide-out, for petty bourgeois elements who have been chased out of the most intense class struggle today, the formation of the genuine vanguard party of the U.S. proletariat, in the course of line and actual struggle against the bourgeoisie.

After this over-view of the ATM, comrades, we will in the following go into ATM's slime, aspect by aspect, line by line, to dissect these thoroughly narrow-minded petty bourgeois ideologists.

I. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The proletarian struggle in the U.S. is part of the worldwide peoples' battle against the superpowers and all reaction, for new democracy and socialism. It is a fundamental principle of proletarian internationalism that the communist strategy and tactics in each country must follow from and be subordinate to the larger international situation. A correct line on the international situation will help us make the greatest contribution to the overthrow of world imperialism while an incorrect line will direct our struggle away from the international class struggle, in its interwoven powerful form of movements for "countries want independence, nations want liberation and peoples want revolution", opposing and hindering the overall battle. From beginning to end ATM stands on a fundamentally incorrect conception of the nature of imperialism, the sinister and most dangerous character of Soviet social-imperialism, the class content of the worldwide peoples' struggles, the motion of basic contradictions and dialectics between world war and revolution in the world today. This has already led them to centrism and social democracy, and will inevitably take them down the road of revisionism.

The General Line Of The International Communist Movement, Peking edition, p.6)

When talking about the "political essence of imperialism", what reason can there be for singling out only one of these contradictions and forgetting all the rest? Imperialism represents reaction in all of them, or "reaction all along the line". For genuine Marxist, this is the only way to look at it. Couldn't this slip on the "essence" of imperialism be the fertile basis for opportunism?

THE THIRD WORLD IS THE MAIN FORCE OPPOSING IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, AND HEGEMONISM

The ATM's view that the "political essence of imperialism" is the oppression of nations surfaces everywhere, and first of all in their view that the Third World is "the main force of world revolution today." They ask how the world's peoples have stood up to the two superpowers, and answer:

"First of all by the armed resistance of the Third World liberation struggles...It is mostly this armed struggle which makes the Third World the main force of world revolution today." (RC, May 1976, p. 10)

We want to ask: which world revolution is the ATM talking about? In this era of imperialism, world revolution is rich and full of vigor. It is composed of proletarian struggle in socialist countries to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one or a few countries, the proletariat in advanced capitalist countries, the struggle against imperialism by oppressed nations, the struggle of the people of the oppressed nations for New Democracy and then socialism, and all struggles against hegemonism, and struggles against all reactionaries in the Third World (e.g. the Shah of Iran), etc. This is the broad and rich content of world revolution today. The main force is the international proletariat.

"The main forces of the revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries." (Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism, 1924, FLP, p. 85)

The Third World is a "great motive force in advancing world history" and it is "the main force in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, particularly the two superpowers," (Peking Review, #44, Nov. 1, 1974, p. 6) but it is not "the main force of world revolution today," as the ATM claims. What is the difference?

The liberations struggles of the colonies and oppressed nations of the Third World, which the ATM lays special stress on, are a direct reserve of the international proletariat:

"Main reserves: the semi-proletarian and small-peasant masses in the developed countries, the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries." (Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism)

The oppressed nations go through two-stage revolutions, first for independence and liberation, and then, when they are under the proletariat's leadership, on to the second stage of socialist revolution. These independence and liberation struggles are not socialist. But because they are a tremendous force weakening imperialism and are a part of the world proletarian

FROM BEGINNING TO END, ATM STANDS ON A FUNDAMENTALLY INCORRECT CONCEPTION OF THE NATURE OF IMPERIALISM, THE SINISTER AND MOST DANGEROUS CHARACTER OF SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM, THE CLASS CONTENT OF THE WORLDWIDE PEOPLES' STRUGGLES, THE MOTION OF BASIC CONTRADICTIONS AND DIALECTICS BETWEEN WORLD WAR AND REVOLUTION IN THE WORLD TODAY.

Essence of Imperialism

"POLITICAL ESSENCE OF IMPERIALISM"

"...the political essence of imperialism is the oppression of nations by oppressor nations." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1/76, p.1)

Against this, Lenin always held that "...the specific political features of imperialism are reaction all along the line and increased national oppression..." and "politically, imperialism is, in general, a striving towards violence and reaction." (Imperialism, The Highest Stage Of Capitalism, Peking edition, pgs. 133, 108).

What is the difference? "Reaction all along the line" and "a striving towards violence and reaction" include imperialism's oppression of nations. They also include imperialism's aggression and subversion against socialist countries, reactionary inter-imperialist conflicts and wars, and the monopoly capitalists' oppression of the proletariat. Aren't all these also part of the "political essence of imperialism"? The ATM leaves out all the reactionary features of imperialism but its oppression of nations.

This is the opportunist theoretical basis for the ATM's entire centrist and petty bourgeois nationalist line on the international situation.

The ATM essentially denies that there are not one but four fundamental contradictions in the world. They are:

- "the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp;
- "the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries;
- "the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and
- "the contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups." (A Proposal Concerning

revolution, they are what Chairman Mao called the New Democratic Revolution.

That's why the CPC correctly holds that the Third World is "the main force in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, particularly the two superpowers," that is, the main force opposing and weakening imperialism and the superpowers, but has never said it is "the main force of world revolution."

The ATM's viewpoint surfaces even more when they say that "it is mostly this armed struggle" (of the national liberation movements) "which makes the Third World the main force..." Wrong again, the Third World itself is not homogeneous, but is composed of two fundamentally different types of countries. It includes both the oppressed nations under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and socialist countries under the proletarian dictatorship. The Third World is the alliance and further convergence of the two great currents of national liberation and socialism, under the leadership of the genuine socialist countries and their Communist Parties, particularly the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the CPC. It is the socialist countries, particularly the PRC, that have led and rallied the oppressed nations on every front, from the United Nations and the conferences on natural resources to the battlefields of the armed struggles. No genuine Marxist could ever deny the leading role of the socialist countries in their relation to the oppressed nations, but the ATM has not even included them as part of the Third World.

Besides the armed liberation struggles, the ATM names:

"the development for economic and political unity by the Third World against imperialism."

"The Second World has also moved to strengthen its position against the two superpowers."

They go into detail on the struggle of the national bourgeoisies of the Third World to prohibit nuclear weapons and form the Caribbean Common Market, as well as the Second World imperialists' efforts to protect the values of their currencies and step up defense measures against the two superpowers, and several other points. These are all important steps that strengthen the world revolution and weaken the two superpowers, and all communists support them. But in all this talk about the Third World, the ATM ignores the leading role, and even the existence, of the PRC and other socialist countries!

Carrying out their view of the "political essence of imperialism," the ATM liquidates the proletarian class content of the world revolution in this era and liquidates the socialist countries' leading role in the Third World!

THE ATM'S UNITED FRONT

Under a heading, "The masses make history!", the ATM lists the forces they see opposing the two superpowers:

"1) The national and class struggles within each superpower, as well as the struggle of the intellectuals for freedom and the masses of women for democracy.

"2) The armed national liberation struggles in the Third World.

"3) The growing political and economic unity of the Third World, as well as the continuing atmosphere of dialogue between the Third World and Second World countries.

"4) The growing economic, political, and military unity of Europe.

"5) The growth and development of the socialist countries led by China and Albania....

"6) The growing contradiction within COMECON -- particularly with the Soviet Union.

"7) The USSR is seeing its 'sister' revisionist parties in Western Europe break loose from its orbit....

"8) The growth and development of Marxist-Leninist parties....

"9) In the United States, Marxist-Leninist organizations are struggling

to unite all revolutionary Marxist and advanced workers into one vanguard party.

"10) In the Soviet Union, revolutionary Marxist underground organizations have developed...."

"All of these things taken together form a worldwide united front against the two superpowers, and show why revolution is the main world trend." (ibid.)

We will deal later on with their final conclusion that revolution is the main trend as a disguise to belittling the danger of Soviet social-imperialism and world war. The thing right now is the incredible muddle that runs through their entire analysis.

This is supposed to be a comprehensive list of all the forces in the world opposing the two superpowers, and yet nowhere does ATM ever mention the world proletariat! Another slip due to their "essence of imperialism"! The closest they ever come to talking about the working class is when they note "the national and class struggles within each superpower", which does not bring out the leading role of the U.S. and Soviet working classes in relation to the national movements, which explicitly leaves out the working classes of the Second and Third Worlds, from Europe, Japan and Canada to Asia, Africa and Latin America!

Besides that, what is "the struggle of the intellectuals for freedom and the masses of women for democracy"? We know of the struggle of revolutionary intellectuals and working women for democratic rights and socialism, but this is a long shot from the purely revisionist demand for "freedom" and "democracy" in the abstract. This is the Social Democracy of ATM jumping out!

THE ATM LISTS THE FORCES THEY SEE OPPOSING THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, YET NOWHERE DOES ATM EVER MENTION THE WORLD PROLETARIAT. ANOTHER SLIP DUE TO THEIR "ESSENCE OF IMPERIALISM" LINE.

Secondly, the ATM mixes indirect reserves (contradictions among the enemy) such as the breakaway of various revisionist "Communist" Parties from their Soviet masters, into their analysis of the revolutionary forces opposing the two superpowers, as if those revisionist "C"Ps that break away are among the revolutionary forces. Finally, they note other indirect reserves as "the growing economic, political and military unity of Europe," meaning the unity of the European imperialist ruling classes against the two superpowers. This is something all communists support, for it objectively weakens the superpowers and world imperialism and lessens the danger of world war. But here again, the ATM forgot to even mention the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed masses in Europe! Aren't they part of the "worldwide united front against the two superpowers"?

The ATM does not talk about class forces. They have no understanding of the four fundamental contradictions in the world. Their "analysis" is an eclectic mix of various concepts, so that their united front takes in everything from genuine forces such as the socialist countries, Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties, and national liberation struggles, to indirect reserves like the breakup of the revisionist "C"Ps, as well as revisionist slogans like "intellectuals for freedom," while completely, consistently omitting the international working class.

Three Worlds

THE THREE WORLDS AND FOUR FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS

In using Chairman Mao's strategic concept of the three worlds without speaking of the four fundamental contradictions in the world today, the ATM again sneaks in their view that the "political essence of imperialism is the oppression of nations." They do

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not understand the strategic thinking of the concept that the three worlds are the objective alignment of the four fundamental contradictions, a concept which promotes struggle to weaken the two superpowers - the main enemy of the people of the world.

The four fundamental contradictions align and periodically realign themselves in concrete interconnected forms, and this is what shapes and reshapes the world situation. At any one time, only one of them is the principal contradiction in the world which influences and determines the existence and development of all the rest.

THE FOUR FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS ALIGN AND PERIODICALLY REALIGN THEMSELVES IN CONCRETE INTERRELATED FORMS, AND THIS IS WHAT SHAPES AND RESHAPES THE WORLD SITUATION

Intermediate Zone

HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF THREE WORLDS CONTINUATION OF INTERMEDIATE ZONE CONCEPT AND CAMPS

In the years following World War II, the socialist camp and unprecedented upsurge of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America were the great gains of the world's people. The oppressed nations were rising as they never had before, while the growth of the socialist camp of 13 countries headed by the Soviet Union tipped the balance of world forces for the first time in favor of the people of the world against imperialism.

On the other side, the U.S. imperialists extended their criminal rule and domination over all the other imperialists of Western Europe and Japan, as well as their colonies and spheres of influence. The U.S. took the place of the German, Italian, and Japanese fascists as the Number One enemy of the people of the world.

From the late '40's to the early '60's, the U.S. imperialists carried on their "cold war" propaganda and preparations for a war against the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp. The imperialist and socialist camps headed by the U.S. and Soviet Union faced each other, with a vast intermediate zone of oppressed nations and lesser capitalist countries lying in between.

Already in 1946, Chairman Mao demonstrated that the immediate target of U.S. imperialist aggression was the countries and peoples in the intermediate zone between the two camps, particularly the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, for without first subduing these countries, a war against the Soviet Union was out of the question for the U.S. Facing the fiercest oppression, the oppressed nations returned the fiercest resistance. Following World War II, the battle of these countries against imperialism became the focus of world contradictions, the principal contradiction in the world. From Korea and Algeria to the Dominican Republic, Palestine and Vietnam, these great revolutionary movements changed the face of the earth. It was in summing up this period that the CPC wrote:

"The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm centers of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism.

"The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time.

"The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution.

"The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia,

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Africa, and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defence of world peace.

"In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

"Therefore, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is definitely not merely a matter of regional significance, but one of overall importance for the whole cause of proletarian world revolution." (The General Line, p. 13)

In the face of these unprecedented victories of the oppressed nations and the socialist camp, the "American Century" that the U.S. imperialists had dreamt of was already closing by the early '60's. The imperialist camp was seriously divided as the U.S. imperialists faced stiffer and stiffer contention from its junior partners in Western Europe and Japan.

However, in the late '50's and early '60's, a capitalist restoration occurred in the Soviet Union. The first socialist country degenerated into a social-imperialist country, a superpower. The degeneration of this bastion of world socialism took most of the countries of the socialist camp down with it, turning most of the camp into a Soviet Social Imperialist bloc.

This change caused a great realignment throughout the world, the biggest realignment since the end of World War II, which has given rise to the three worlds of the present situation. Having become a social-imperialist superpower, the Soviet Union began contending and colluding for world hegemony since the early '60's, and has been doing so ever since. The two superpowers constitute the First World. The socialist countries headed by China and Albania have aligned closer than ever with the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Between the First and Third Worlds are the developed countries of the Second World, which include Europe, Japan, and Canada.

The emergence of Soviet Social-Imperialism and the entire realignment of the world's contradictions force us to reassess the whole international situation, particularly the problems of the principal contradiction and the main trend in the world today. Failure to grasp these changes correctly will certainly lead to centrism and revisionism.

Today, we hear a hue and cry attacking Chairman Mao's strategic thinking on the Three Worlds. Some of it coming from the "left" Trotskyite angle, some of it coming from the thoroughly right centrist, revisionist angle. At present, many centrist forces such as the Revolutionary "Communist" Party (R"CP), Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC), and the League for Proletarian Revolution (LPR) attack Chairman Mao's line, fronting with "left" arguments. The ATM's attacks on the Three Worlds line come from the right, a vulgar "Third Worldism" line, though at this point it's not the main form of attack in the U.S. communist movement against the Three Worlds line - it is also a centrist and a revisionist line. (All of them are united around distortions of Chairman Mao's May 20th Statement, belittling the great danger of world war and the need therefore to prepare to turn world war into a civil war here.)

THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN THE WORLD

ATM has said:

"...the main contradiction in the world today is the national question. It is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world in struggle

against U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism which is moving forward the entire struggle against worldwide reaction.

"...the principal contradiction in the world today." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, No. 2, Jan. 1976, p. 3)

The struggle of the oppressed nations against imperialism was clearly the principal contradiction in the world from the end of World War II through the early '70's, but we can no longer say this. The present situation is marked by "great disorder under heaven," which means the sharpening of all the fundamental contradictions in the world (particularly two of them: the contradiction between imperialist powers, especially between the two superpowers, and the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism.) The CPC no longer says which basic contradiction is the principal one, because of the great disorder and realignment at present

Since the end of World War II, the oppressed nations have steadily expanded their battle, right up to the present moment. But unlike the '60's, in the last few years we have also seen the rapid rise of the contention between the two superpowers, which changes the international situation immensely.

In the 1960's, the struggle of the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian people against the one main enemy, U.S. imperialism, was the front line of the struggle of all oppressed nations and peoples. Other battle fronts against this same main enemy were typical. The Puerto Rican people fought directly against U.S. colonial rule; the people of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola fought the Portuguese colonialists who were held up by the same U.S. imperialists, as did oppressed nations and peoples around the world.

But what do we see in the last few years?

October 1973: the Palestinian and other Arab people broke through the "no war - no peace" situation rigged up by the superpowers. They dealt death blows to the Israeli Zionists who were backed by both superpowers, and fought to the end against the superpowers' plan for a "quick settlement" and the "mini-state". The Arab people confirmed in battle that they must fight two enemies, the two superpowers, and that the Soviet Union is the more dangerous of the two.

July 1974: the two superpowers instigated a coup in Cyprus, each trying to increase its influence in the Mediterranean, in southern Europe, and the Middle East. The Soviet Union "fished in troubled waters," first supporting one side and then quickly switching its support to the other, and later tried to get its forces into the U.N. military force sent to the area. This was an attempt to break up NATO, since both Greece and Turkey are in NATO; the Soviets planned to weaken and break up NATO through this conflict.

1975: In January, the three liberation organizations (the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA) negotiated Angola's formal independence from Portugal's colonial rule and jointly formed a transitional government. The two superpowers started stepping up their contention immediately. The Soviet Union stirred up a civil war by July and shipped in thousands of Cuban mercenary troops between September and October, while the U.S.-backed South African racist troops invaded Angola in October.

The hotspots of the Third World have shifted from Indochina, Puerto Rico and Guinea-Bissau, where U.S. imperialism was clearly the main enemy in the '60's, to Palestine, Angola, and Azania, where the Soviet Union is the more dangerous of the two superpowers. Today, there are situations like Vietnam, Korea, Thailand, Angola, Palestine, and Azania, where the people must guard against "letting the tiger in through the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate."

This shift of the Third World hotspots reflects the larger change in the international situation. Today, the two superpowers are battling madly from one end of the globe to the other. The strategic area of their contention is in Europe. On the world scale today, the two superpowers are the main enemies of the world's peoples, and the Soviet Union is the more dangerous enemy, and the main source of world war.

THE FACTORS FOR BOTH WAR AND REVOLUTION ARE ON THE RISE

The situation in the 1960's, when the oppressed nations' struggle against imperialism was undeniably the principal contradiction in the world, determined that the danger of world war still existed but was small, and revolution was the main trend. That is what Chairman Mao summed up in his famous statement in 1970:

"A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since World War II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today." (Mao, "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!" May 20, 1970)

TODAY, WE HEAR A HUE AND CRY ATTACKING CHAIRMAN MAO'S STRATEGIC THINKING ON THE THREE WORLDS. AT PRESENT, MANY CENTRIST FORCES, SUCH AS THE RCP, MLOC, LPR ATTACK CHAIRMAN MAO'S LINE, FRONTING WITH "LEFT" ARGUMENTS. THE ATM'S ATTACKS ON THE THREE WORLDS LINE COMES FROM THE RIGHT, A VULGAR "THIRD WORLDISM" LINE... A CENTRIST, REVISIONIST LINE.

Today's situation, where all the fundamental contradictions in the world are sharpening, particularly those between the two superpowers and between the oppressed nations and the superpowers, creates a situation where the factors for both war and revolution are on the rise. Either war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent the war. These are the two possible paths to revolution. The more likely situation is that world war will give rise to revolution, though we cannot predict the exact course history will take.

The ATM, of course, ignoring all facts and the rapid change in the world situation in the last few years, continues to keep their heads buried in the 1960's. They summed up 1975:

"The trend of the international situation in 1975 confirmed that Revolution indeed is the main trend in the world today." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, No. 2, Jan. 1976)

In taking this position, the ATM is actually saying, in the context of struggle around the dialectics between world war and revolution, that revolution will prevent world war.

SOPHISTRY AND ECLECTICISM

The catch here that the ATM demagogues use is the word "revolution", used in the most general, vague sense:

"Revolution is the main trend in the world today and will continue to be so long as we are in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution... people are moving history forward toward revolution and...revolution is indeed the main trend in the world, in spite of the imperialists' attempts to reverse this irresistible historical trend." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, No. 8, p. 4)

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It is clear as daylight that the ATM is playing on the difference between the general motion of history under imperialism and throughout all historical periods and a concrete analysis of a concrete situation, the concrete dialectics at any given moment.

In discussing which of the two paths towards revolution is most likely and which will give a correct view as to how best to prepare for the immediate period ahead, ATM's sophistry is borrowed from MLOC and PRRWO (the "old" PRRWO, if ATM prefers).

For that matter, if the ATM wants to equate the statement that "revolution is the main trend today" with the historical truth that "the people are moving history forward toward revolution" throughout the whole era of imperialism, why stop there? Haven't the people been "moving history forward toward revolution" throughout all of history, from primitive communalism to slavery from slavery to feudalism and from feudalism to capitalism?

Misused in this way, by butchering up Chairman Mao's May 20th statement, particularly the part on the essence of inter-imperialist rivalry, then the slogan "revolution is the main trend today" reduces itself to fundamental historical materialist laws, that "the masses are the makers of history" and history develops towards progress, which are laws that are universally valid at all times.

In 1975-6, the CPC has advanced another concrete analysis of the two trends of war and revolution, saying that "The factors for both revolution and war are increasing." (Documents of the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, Jan. 1976, p. 59).

Everybody knows of this slogan of the CPC's. Everybody knows that the CPC has not referred to Chairman Mao's May 1970 statement since late 1974 and early 1975. And so don't those who quote these statements actually have real disagreements with the line of the CPC on the international situation or have real ulterior motives?

ATM not only evades the concrete questions, but actually is underhandedly pushing a centrist line on the role of the Soviet Social-Imperialists. Why? Because ATM does not understand the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and does not believe that the Soviet Union is the most dangerous source of world war. In fact, they don't even believe in Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought, thinking MLMTTT is only applicable to Chinese conditions, for the Chinese revolution. In negating the contribution of Chairman Mao on the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, through his summing up of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and class struggle in China, it's no wonder ATM cannot understand Soviet Social-Imperialism and thus the danger of world war today. It is no wonder they have an opportunist line on the international situation.

Lenin said that imperialism is the eve of socialist revolution. It is moribund, decaying, and parasitic capitalism, pregnant with socialist and national revolutions. The people inevitably rise up and make revolution, and nothing can reverse this irresistible historical trend. To equate these Leninist truths on the character of imperialism and the inevitability of revolution with the slogan "revolution is the main trend in the world today," to belittle inter-imperialist rivalry which is an essential aspect of the teachings of Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-Tung on imperialism, is pure sophistry! Chairman Mao was making a concrete analysis of the concrete situation in 1970, an analysis of the relative danger of war and the strength of revolution. He said in May 20, 1970:

"The danger of war still exists... But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

Can we say only that, "The danger of war still exists today," when it has clearly visibly grown? Definitely not.

Take the years 1912 and 1935, which were just before the outbreak of World Wars I and II. They both fell in the epoch of imperialism, the eve of socialist revolution. The world's people were certainly moving history forward toward revolution. But could anyone say that in 1912 and 1935 the danger of war existed but was relatively small, and revolution was the main trend? We certainly aren't comparing today's situation to those of 1912 or 1935. But this certainly exposes the absurdity of ATM's generalities and sophistry.

Either revolution is the main trend, and the danger of world war is relatively small, or the factors for both are rising, and the danger of war is increasing rapidly. Two different assessments of two different situations! You cannot have it both ways! But the ATM cuts both slogans in half and pastes the two incompatible halves together, using this eclecticism to hide their severing of the dialectics of war and revolution.

This is the very same sophistry and eclecticism as that of the RWL and PRRWO, who say that "revolution is the main trend" and "the factors for both war and revolution are on the rise." It is exactly the same eclecticism as the MLOC's and the RCL'S, who both say that "the factors for war and revolution are on the rise," but then insist that there is a "profound" difference between "factors" and "trends", and conclude that "revolution is the main trend." And it is the same trick as the RWC's (Revolutionary Workers Congress), who holds that there are two contending trends today, but that revolution is the main trend because any other position supposedly overestimates the strength of reaction and underestimates the strength of revolution!

This eclecticism is the most dangerous sophistry of all, designed to fool those who do not catch the substitution of universal historical truths for concrete analyses of specific situations, those who do not grasp the dialectics of war and revolution or the immense difference between the world situation in 1970 and 1976. Lenin warned:

"In falsifying Marxism in opportunist fashion, the substitution of eclecticism for dialectics is the easiest way of deceiving the masses." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution," FLP)

ATM's centrism

ATM - INTERNATIONAL CENTRISM:
PALESTINE, NATIONAL LIBERATION, AND
SUPERPOWER CONTENTION

The Palestinian revolution has thoroughly exposed the ATM's centrism, and their disbelief in the dangers of Soviet Social-Imperialism and World War. Palestine is a focal point of the two rapidly rising contradictions and the trends of revolution and world war.

The Palestinian liberation movement has been tempered in momentous struggles and wars, in resistance to the formation of Zionist Israel in 1948, in resistance to Israeli aggression in 1956 and the 1967 June war, and in the victorious October war in 1973. On the other side, the Middle East is a hotbed of superpower contention, where both superpowers have supported Israel, the U.S. supplying arms and the Soviet Union providing Zionist manpower and undermining the Arab national liberation struggle. Both superpowers proposed U.N. Resolution 242 in 1967 and the "mini-state" plan in 1973, which the Palestinian movement condemned because they guaranteed Israel's existence while sabotaging Palestine's real liberation by treating it as a "refugee problem" or by offering a fake "independent state."

Yet the ATM has written an article on Palestine that never once mentions Soviet Social-Imperialism! They speak of Zionist Israel as "...an outpost for the same common enemy of the world's peoples -- the U.S. capitalist class." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, No. 6, May 1976, p. 5)

They raise the demand for the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people" (ibid) a demand which only the revisionist "C"Ps have raised because the call for "national rights" does not demand the total destruction of the Israeli state. And naturally, they say nothing about the superpower "mini-state" plan. And yet this article was written in May, 1976, when the two superpowers had instigated the Syrian bourgeois invasion and civil war in Lebanon to crush the Palestinian revolution!

It's no accident, then, that the ATM explicitly compares the situation in Palestine to that of Vietnam:

"But this common enemy [U.S. imperialism] is meeting defeat in the Middle East just like it was defeated in Vietnam." (ibid)

Yes, the Palestinian people will certainly wipe out U.S. imperialism completely and thoroughly, as the Vietnamese did. And they will also wipe out Soviet Social-Imperialism just as resolutely, for the

THE PROBLEM IS NOT THE WVO'S
PESSIMISM IN RAISING THE DANGER OF WORLD WAR. WE LOOK THE DANGERS STRAIGHT IN THE FACE, DANGERS WHICH ACTUALLY EXIST AND ARE RISING RAPIDLY AND INDEPENDENTLY OF OUR WILL, BUT ALSO DANGERS WHICH PROVIDE US WITH AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

Soviet superpower today is a greater danger to their liberation. This is a task that the Vietnamese fighters did not face in the same form, and it is a task which you, ATM, have completely liquidated!

What is this but a most thorough white-washing of the danger of Soviet Social-Imperialism, and superpower war preparations, in one of the current hotspots of the two contending trends? What is this but a thick shield for Soviet Social-Imperialism? This is nothing but out-and-out centrism on the international situation.

WHO IS REALLY PESSIMISTIC? THE DIALECTICS OF WAR AND REVOLUTION

The ATM says that the view that there are two contending trends in the world today (where either war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent war) says that:

"...the workers and oppressed peoples of the world are on the defensive and not in a position to take up the attack on imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism... [This view] calls for retreat when the peoples of the world are advancing. The consequence of this pessimistic line is the call for the United Front Against Fascism." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, No. 8, p. 4)

Who's really pessimistic? This gets to very heart of the problem, because it will reveal whether or not we have a genuine proletarian outlook towards imperialist war.

We say that the dialectics of war and revolution today are such that either war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent war. All communists stand for peace and are against imperialist war. We would infinitely prefer to carry out the U.S. proletarian revolution before another war; and to prevent another war, we will strain every nerve and muscle towards that end, for world war will mean inestimable suffering for workers and oppressed peoples around the world.

But if the imperialists dare to launch another war, we are not afraid. In that case we will work to "turn the imperialist war into a civil war" to overthrow the U.S. ruling class and hasten the death of world imperialism, and we are fully confident that we will achieve

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this. In either case, without a doubt, the outcome will be revolutions around the world.

In all situations, then, we must "despise the enemy strategically, take him seriously tactically." To "take the enemy seriously tactically" means to prepare now for world war and fascism, by pushing revolution ahead, by preparing now for civil war. Communists must always prepare actively for civil war, for the one and the same preparations we make today will create the strongest basis to overthrow the monopoly capitalists before they launch another war, or if we cannot do that, to turn their imperialist war into a civil war.

In the conditions of two contending trends, we must all the more fervently make immediate and universal preparations for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the noble cause of communism. Immediate preparations, beginning not after we have formed the genuine communist party, not after we have won the masses, but beginning today. Universal preparations, not only on particular problems of the revolution, but in every sphere!

The problem is not the WVO's "pessimism" in raising the danger of world war. We look the dangers straight in the face, dangers which actually exist and are rising rapidly and independently of our will, but also dangers which provide us with an opportunity for proletarian revolution. The imperialists unleash world war not because they are strong, but because they are weak; that is why it is also their crisis and our opportunity.

The real problem is the ATM's petty bourgeois opportunist, centrist, revisionist fear of looking the dangers in the face. Nor can they see an opportunity for the proletariat in a bad thing, to see how we can turn it around to serve the working class. So they consider it "pessimistic" to speak of two contending trends, either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war? What does that show but their own craven fear of the war danger? What is that but their own true-blood petty bourgeois pessimism?

The ATM is mortally afraid of looking straight at the danger of world war, and they are not at all confident that, if we cannot prevent another war, we can turn the bad thing into a good thing. For example, when they raise the prospect of war and the slogan "turn the imperialist war into civil war," they conclude:

"Comrades, our slogan does not mean we expect the masses to immediately rise up in arms if a war breaks out. We know that we still lack a Marxist-Leninist Party at all -- let alone one with a history of work and widespread connections among the masses. Nevertheless, we cannot use this as an excuse, even in wartime, to fail to do systematic agitation among the masses -- to tell them the TRUTH about the war and to lead the struggle against it." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, No. 6, May 1976, p. 11)

And that is all! Not one word on the dialectics of turning a bad thing into a good thing, not one word on the prospect that war will give rise to such revolutionary mass struggles that we may be able to accelerate the bourgeoisie's overthrow! Not one word on the fact that if imperialist war arrives, it will only seal the imperialists' doom! The experience of the Albanian communists fully proves that this can be done. They formed their party under the most difficult conditions, when the Italian fascists had occupied their country and they were waging armed struggle against them.

All the ATM can think of is: God save us from war, because we don't have a party at all, let alone a big one with a history of work. And they go on, apparently thinking they are being resolute: Nevertheless (!), we cannot use this as an excuse (!), even in wartime (!!) not to fight the war! Their petty bourgeois pessimistic message is crystal clear: We will still have to oppose the war, even though things will be so miser-

able for us. Even the lack of a party won't be a good enough excuse for us to back out altogether. The ATM has given up before the fight has started!

"You shoot first, Messrs. the bourgeoisie!" Engels wrote, straight-forwardly challenging the ruling classes of the whole world. You shoot first, and then we will return the fire! Where is there the faintest trace of this proletarian stand, this unshakeable daring and optimism, in the line of ATM?

LENINISM WILL NOT SERVE PETTY BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

Beginning from their view that "the political essence of imperialism is the domination and exploitation of nations and peoples," we have seen the ATM spin an entire web of incorrect lines on the international situation. They speak of this feature of imperialism to deny the other three fundamental contradictions in the world; they call the Third World "the main force of the world revolution" without mentioning the world proletarian socialist struggle; they talk about the armed national liberation struggles without mentioning the socialist countries in the Third World; they use the Three Worlds concept apart from the fundamental world contradictions that underlie it; they unequivocally state that the oppressed nations' struggle against imperialism is the principal contradiction in the world today, which downgrades the rising superpower contention; they claim that revolution is the main trend and the danger of war is rising, which similarly downgrades the danger of world war; and they expose their craven fear of world war and their petty bourgeois pessimistic stand.

* We must take one last look at the incorrect theoretical basis for their centrist and petty bourgeois nationalist line, which is their view that the essence of imperialism is national oppression, that national oppression is the "most fundamental" feature of imperialism. When they tell us this, they undoubtedly have in mind this passage from Lenin:

"That is why the focal point in the Social-Democratic (communist) programme must be that division of nations into oppressor and oppressed, which forms the essence of imperialism, and is deceitfully evaded by the social-chauvinists and Kautsky." (Lenin, "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," 1915, LCW, Vol. 21, p. 409, emphasis in original)

Here Lenin was fighting the revisionists of his time, who counterposed the proletarian socialist revolution and the national liberation struggles, the socialist and democratic struggles. They denied the right of self-determination to the colonies and oppressed nations, but used the same slogan to justify their own defense of "their own" imperialist "fatherlands," in World War I. Lenin was also fighting Kautsky, who held that imperialism and national oppression are simply policies of modern capitalism, policies that "reasonable" capitalists could "reform away."

Against them, Lenin showed that the proletariat must uphold both the socialist and the democratic struggles, because imperialism is modern-day capitalism, and the division of nations into oppressor and oppressed is not some external, superficial feature of imperialism, but an integral part of it, the essence of imperialism. Lenin showed that the oppression of nations is the essence of imperialism, but he never said that national oppression is "more fundamental" than, say, the contradiction among the imperialists, imperialism's aggression against socialist countries, or the monopoly capitalists' oppression of the proletariat. But, as we have seen, this is exactly how the ATM took it.

Based on our different world outlooks, we interpret facts in different ways. Based on their fundamentally petty bourgeois nationalist outlook, the ATM has taken Lenin's statement to mean that the oppression of nations is the "most

fundamental" feature of imperialism, the sole essence of imperialism. But Leninism will never serve petty bourgeois nationalism.

ATM: THE GHOST OF KAUTSKY

The ATM singles out the national question in their definition of imperialism, to distract the proletariat from the inter-imperialist contradiction and the rising danger of world war, and tries to pass this off as Leninism. However, it was not Lenin, but the revisionist Kautsky, who tried to pull off this same dirty subterfuge during World War I. Lenin quoted Kautsky's definition of imperialism, and then criticized it:

"Imperialism is a product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the striving of every industrial capitalist nation to bring under its control or to annex larger and larger areas of agrarian (Kautsky's emphasis) territory, irrespective of what nations inhabit those regions."

"This definition is utterly worthless because it one-sidedly, i.e. arbitrarily, singles out only the national question (although the latter is extremely important in itself as well as in its relation to imperialism) it arbitrarily and inaccurately connects this question only with industrial capital in the countries which annex other nations, and in an equally arbitrary and inaccurate manner pushes into the forefront the annexation of agrarian regions.

"Imperialism is a striving for annexations -- this is what the political part of Kautsky's definition amounts to. It is correct, but very incomplete, for politically, imperialism is, in general, a striving towards violence and reaction... The characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex not only agrarian territories, but even most highly industrialized regions... because (1) the fact that the world is already divided up obliges those contemplating a redivision to reach out for every kind of territory, and (2) an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony, i.e. for the conquest of territory, not so much directly for themselves as to weaken the adversary and undermine his hegemony." (Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," FLP, p. 108-9, emphasis in original)

During the first world imperialist war, when each imperialist was battling madly to eat the others' colonies and the other imperialists, Kautsky singled out the national question and the imperialists' annexation of agrarian territories in his definition of imperialism. He did that for the sole purpose of blurring the proletariat's consciousness of the reactionary character of the inter-imperialist war, to send the working classes of the imperialist countries into battle against each other to die in the interests of "their own" bourgeoisies under the reactionary slogan, "Defend the Fatherland."

Today, when the superpowers are preparing madly to redivide the oppressed nations, when the strategic area of their contention is industrialized Europe, and when the Soviet Union has come forward as the younger, leaner, hungrier superpower and the main source of world war, the ATM singles out the national question and the imperialists' aggression against the "agrarian territories" of the Third World.

The political results of the ATM's opportunism are exactly the same as Kautsky's. The ATM only focus the working class from the superpower contention in the Third World; they especially blind the working class to the superpower contention in Europe, and through all this they wholeheartedly defend Soviet Social-Imperialism. The ATM performs this invaluable service for the bourgeoisie, particularly the Soviet ruling class. The manifestations and ideological roots of the ATM's and Kautsky's opportunism differ somewhat in form, but the results are exactly the same.

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The ghost of Kautsky has rearisen in the pages of the Revolutionary Cause.

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF CENTRISM

All opportunists and revisionists in the U.S. are preaching centrism and an open or veiled defense of Soviet Social-Imperialism. The stand of the revisionist "Communist" Party U.S.A. is obvious. The revisionist Guardian newspaper openly declares that the Soviet Union is not a capitalist country and openly defends this superpower as a friend of the Third World, from Vietnam to Palestine and Angola. The right opportunist Revolutionary Communist Party states that U.S. imperialism is still the main enemy of the people of the world and that the Soviet Union is the main enemy only to China. On the other hand, the "left" otzovist clique of PRRWO/RWL, as well as the ATM,

Revolutionary Workers Congress (RWC), and even political flotsam like the MLOC carry on the very same centrism.

The fact that this centrism on the international situation and this veiled or open defense of Soviet Social-Imperialism has arisen in every opportunist corner of the U.S. communist movement shows that this is not an accident. Its historical roots are dug in the features of the world situation and the U.S. revolutionary movements of the 1960's.

Through the 1960's and the whole post-World War II period, the independence and liberation movements of the oppressed nations flowed in waves unprecedented in the world's history, inspiring and supporting workers and oppressed people around the world. In the U.S., the revolutionary movements that swept the country, led by the national and student movements, brought forward thousands of advanced fighters who dared to deny the U.S. monopoly capitalists and fought for their overthrow, and who gave up blood and lives in support of the national liberation struggles abroad.

Both in theory and practice, these advanced fighters in the U.S. despised and fought the revisionist "C"PSU and "C"PSU and their theories of "peaceful transition," "peaceful co-existence," and "peaceful competition." These revisionists called for "peaceful co-existence" between oppressed and oppressor classes and nations, completely liquidating the line between oppressed and oppressor, to smother the revolutionary class and national struggles.

They opposed every revolutionary liberation war on the grounds that they might provoke the imperialists to start a nuclear war which would supposedly destroy mankind, and accused the CPC of "warmongering" for their international support for these revolutionary wars. These revisionists even accused the CPC of "petty bourgeois nationalism" and of counterposing the oppressed nations' struggles against the proletarian struggle in the capitalist countries, while they themselves counterposed the two to liquidate both, and first of all the national liberation movements. But following the lead of the CPC, the advanced elements in the U.S. fought and died for the Third World movements, drawing an indelible line between oppressed and oppressor nations and supporting the national liberation struggles like their own.

For many of these advanced fighters in the U.S., this baptism in struggle against the U.S. monopoly capitalists and against revisionism was the first step towards Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. In the late '60's and early '70's, these fighters went forward from the revolutionary nationalist and other eclectic theories to accept the leading role of the working class in the socialist revolution, and to begin accepting the stand, viewpoint, and method of the only consistently revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

Others claimed in words to accept this theory, and got over for a while, but never fundamentally changed their petty bourgeois world outlooks. They assimilated certain aspects and slogans of Marxism, but not the entire stand, method, and viewpoint of MLMTTT.

But who really assimilated the stand, viewpoint, and method of MLMTTT and who did not is not revealed all at once, but only step by step, as the objective class struggle and the two-line struggles advance and change form, and disclose one deviation after another. In regards to the international situation, one of the most important objective changes is the rise of Soviet Social-Imperialism and the danger of world war, which is reflected in the line struggle between "two contending trends" and "revolution is the main trend."

The revisionist Guardian newspaper is the model of this petty bourgeois refuse that got washed in on the revolutionary wave of the '60's, on the struggles to support the Cuban and Vietnamese people and oppose U.S. imperialism. Even back then, when they claimed to oppose Soviet Social-Imperialism and support the CPC, they cranked out a whole system of vulgar petty bourgeois theories and tactics. They upheld the view that the "Third World is the vanguard of the world revolution," as well as the counter-revolutionary liberal guilt-whipped "white skin privilege" theory which holds that white workers in the U.S. are bribed and bought off by the ruling class and that only oppressed nationality workers are really revolutionary. This was the time when they raised the United Front Against Imperialism to a strategy for revolution, and even tried to turn "anti-imperialism" into a third ideology, independent of the proletariat and bourgeoisie, and supported anything that came along as fulfilling their vulgar idea of a "progressive," "anti-imperialist," "people's" movement.

The Guardian started hoisting their separate flag of revisionism and centrism with varied differences with the line of the CPC on the international situation, continued by supporting the superpowers' Palestinian "mini-state" plan in late 1973, went on to support the revisionist "Communist" Party of Portugal as a supposedly revolutionary party in 1974-5, and ended up openly supporting Soviet Social-Imperialism and the Cuban mercenary troops as "internationalist aid" in Angola in 1976, while upholding the MPLA and condemning the other Angolan liberation organizations.

Through this long slide, the Guardian proved themselves to be a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists, a circle of petty bourgeois democrats who picked up only one or two aspects of Marxism, totally vulgarized even them and ended up rejecting the Marxist outlook altogether. The brief period when they claimed to uphold Mao Tse-Tung Thought turned out to be only a short-lived interruption in their petty bourgeois careers as an "independent radical newsweekly," truly independent from the proletariat.

Lenin analyzed this petty bourgeois democratic opposition to imperialism and exposed it as a reformist, "pious wish":

"Since the specific political features of imperialism are reaction all along the line and increased national oppression resulting from the oppression of the financial oligarchy and the elimination of free competition, a petty-bourgeois-democratic opposition to imperialism arose in the beginning of the twentieth century in nearly all imperialist countries.

"In the United States, the imperialist war waged against Spain in 1898 stirred up the opposition of the 'anti-imperialists,' the last of the Mohicans of bourgeois democracy, who declared this war to be 'criminal,' regarded the annexation of foreign territories as a violation of the Constitution...But while all this criticism shrank from recognizing the inseparable bond between imperialism and the trusts, and, therefore, between imperialism and the foundations of capitalism, while it shrank from joining the forces engendered by large-scale capitalism and its development -- it remained a 'pious wish.'" (Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," FLP, p. 133-4)

But these "anti-imperialists," these last ditch reformist defenders of bourgeois democracy who view imperialism as a violation of the Constitution and shrink from joining the forces of the proletariat, exist not only in the Guardian and Call staff, but also in the national movements, in the shape of petty bourgeois nationalism. And this petty bourgeois democracy in the national movements is the class trend that has generated the ATM, and similar deviations in other national movements.

FROM THEIR VIEW THAT THE "ESSENCE OF IMPERIALISM" IS THE OPPRESSION OF NATIONS, TO THEIR LINE THAT "REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY," AND THEIR MORBID FEAR OF LOOKING AT THE DANGER OF WORLD WAR, THE ATM ADDS UP TO ONE THING ONLY. THEY ARE THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS FROM THE NATIONAL MOVEMENTS.

In the 1960's, the CPC fought the revisionist "C"PSU's liquidation of the national liberation movements and the national question without falling into either Kautskyism or petty bourgeois nationalism. The charges of "peasant nationalism" hurled by the "C"PSU against the CPC were a bundle of slanders to cover their own counter-revolutionary opposition to the national movements. But among those in the U.S. national movements who fought the revisionists' chauvinism and supported the CPC, there undoubtedly were and still are opportunists who only understand the "cruder" aspects of revisionism - the "three peacefuls" - blinded by their petty bourgeois stand of indignation and desire for revolution - not understanding the class content of revisionism, who fought the revisionists



from a petty bourgeois nationalist basis, and who still have not broken in the least with their petty bourgeois democratic ideology.

For the Guardian and the "white skin privilege" reformers, the ideological roots of the centrism on the international situation, their vulgar "Third World-ism" and their blindness to the danger of social-imperialism and world war, are their petty bourgeois fear of the war danger and their liberal guilt-whipped tailing after the national liberation movements. For trends coming out of the national movements like the ATM the ideological roots of their centrism is the same petty bourgeois fear of world war and their petty bourgeois nationalism. The ATM, the Guardian and "white skin privilegers" are all part of that single social-democratic current that ran in all the movements in the 1960's.

From their view that the "essence of imperialism" is the oppression of nations, to their line that "revolution is the main trend in the world today," and their morbid fear of looking at the danger of world war, the ATM adds up to one thing only. They are social-democrats from the national movements.

II. PARTY BUILDING

One year ago, in the late fall and winter of 1975, several communist organizations, including the WVO, RWL, PRRWO, and the ATM, proclaimed the existence of the revolutionary wing of the communist movement, as a concrete manifestation of sorting out between genuine and opportunist Marxist-Leninists. The developing unity between these organizations was to be the basis and core of the future genuine communist party. Then in February and March, 1976, this wing openly broke up as the PRRWO/RWL made their rapid slide into consolidated "left" opportunism.

The formation and break-up of the revolutionary wing is undoubtedly a sharp, complicated, and historic turn in the history of the U.S. anti-revisionist communist movement and the struggle to build the genuine communist party. This sharp turn has caused a number of comrades to lose their bearings temporarily; it has caused a great many opportunists to expose themselves more thoroughly than ever, but it has also consolidated the correct line of the WVO more than ever before.

How should we sum up the revolutionary wing? From our different world outlooks, representatives of different classes and strata will sum it up in diametrically opposed ways.

The PRRWO/RWL, as we stated in July-August, having become a politically dead clique with no ties to the proletarian, national, or any other mass movements, maintains that the revolutionary wing still exists and that they, the "true Bolsheviks," naturally are it.

The right opportunist OL, who never dared to struggle against the revolutionary wing when it existed nor against PRRWO/RWL's "left" opportunism when they were not yet defeated and exposed, has now come forward to try to pick up some of the pieces, declaring that the revolutionary wing was never anything but an unprincipled "anti-OL" bloc, and that they, the OL, led the struggle against PRRWO/RWL.

To the WVO, the break-up of the revolutionary wing was certainly a bad thing, but by correctly summing it up and successfully waging the fight on two fronts, against right and "left" opportunism, the WVO has definitely emerged as the leading circle in the U.S. The WVO turned the bad thing into a good thing, and the break-up of the revolutionary wing and the ensuing struggle has bought the formation of the genuine communist party nearer than ever before!

And what does the ATM say? As we will see, they have summed up that the revolutionary wing never existed, it was all a big mistake, and there never was any real basis of unity! And this all-round philistine backsliding is washing them straight into the arms of the OL and all the other right opportunists and revisionists, who have summed it up in exactly the same way!

Revolutionary Wing

The ATM says,

"ATM and PRRWO struggled out an analysis of the development of the communist movement since the betrayal of the CPUSA. Our analysis was correct and sharpened our views on a number of questions including the question of 'political line is the key link!' But, after making this analysis, we draw (sic) some incorrect conclusions, specifically, that two wings existed in the anti-revisionist communist movement. This position, a 'left' sectarian, subjective and idealist view, lead (sic) to a number of errors. By overestimating the development of the subjective factor, the clarity and unity within the commun-

ist movement on the basis of line, we concluded that two clearly defined wings had crystallized -- one an opportunist wing, the other, the revolutionary wing. Having arrived at this conclusion, what naturally followed was to determine who was in the 'revolutionary wing' and who was not. This then lead (sic) to sectarian errors on our part. The fact that each organization in the 'revolutionary wing' had different 'criteria' for defining who was in the 'wing' and that the 'wing' seemed to have a revolving door with organizations going in and out, all attest to the idealist conclusions we drew.

To begin with their methodology, the ATM does not even know how to approach the question of the revolutionary wing's existence. To answer this, we have to begin with a concrete analysis of the U.S. communist movement in 1975, to determine the key link in the movement at that time and see what correct or opportunist trends were developing around that key link and around other questions.. The ATM does not at all begin with a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, which is the soul of Marxism. They do not even try to analyze the state of the communist movement in 1975, the struggle against right opportunism, the struggle for the principal task of party building and for the importance of Marxist theory, and see whether these gave rise to a revolutionary wing. As they describe it, they first "concluded that two clearly defined wings had crystallized," and then, "having arrived at this conclusion, what naturally followed was to determine who was in the 'revolutionary wing' and who was not." First, they declared the existence of their two abstract categories or wings, and then they started looking around in reality to see who would fit into them. That is pure metaphysics, the exact opposite of Marxism. Now they want just as easily to forget about the two wings and deny that they ever existed. The ATM's consistent method which ignores the concrete time, place, and conditions, whether they happen to be declaring or denying the revolutionary wing's existence, is the channel for their denial of the rich struggles and the victories we won in the battles of the time.

The revolutionary wing did not come out of nowhere. It was a concrete product of the struggles in the communist movement between 1972-5. As we've explained a number of times before, the years 1972-5 were the second period in the communist movement. Party building was the principal task and a correct grasp of the role of Marxist theory was the key link to building the party and moving the whole proletarian struggle forward. It was the struggle over this key link that gave rise first to the revolutionary theory trend in 1974 and then to the revolutionary wing in the next year.

1974: THE REVOLUTIONARY THEORY TREND

Why did the role of theory come to the front as the key question in those three years? It was not by chance, or by anybody's whim, or because we preferred to read Marxist books, as the right opportunists always claimed. It was not by accident or because of anybody's subjective desires, but because of the totality of the objective conditions of the time, which forced to the forefront questions and tasks that demanded answers - the need for revolutionary theory.

The period of the 1960's, up until 1972, which was the first period in the U.S. communist movement, was a time of tremendous and heroic spontaneous mass struggle and a time of tremendous theoretical confusion and eclecticism. The Communist Party, USA had degenerated into total revisionism in the late 1950's. Without a genuine communist party to lead those movements and bring

Marxism to them, all kinds of revolutionary and seemingly revolutionary theories flourished, from revolutionary nationalism and the theories of Nkrumah, Fanon, and Guevara, to "student vanguard" and "lumpen vanguard" theories and Trotskyism and revisionism. All these contended at the time, and the rising trend of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought had to fight fiercely for its right to exist.

Led by the Revolutionary Union, the advanced elements from these movements, mainly the national and student movements, broke with revisionism and the various petty bourgeois eclectic theories and began adopting some of the fundamentals of Marxism, including the need for armed struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of socialist China and Albania, and the contributions of Stalin. Above all, the young communist movement grasped the key link of that period, which was to uphold the leading role of the proletariat in the U.S. socialist revolution.

By 1972, this break with the cruder aspects of revisionism and acceptance of some of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought had been in the main consolidated. At the same time, the great mass movements of the previous years dropped to a low. It was these objective conditions that brought the importance of Marxist theory to the forefront.

The task at this point, in the second period, was to use the temporary lull of the mass movements, to take advantage of the "respite", to sum up the rich lessons raised in practice by the past movements and prepare for the even bigger future mass struggles. The communist movement faced scores of burning questions, including the Marxist class analysis of the U.S., the strategy and tactics for proletarian revolution, the Marxist view of the national question, the women's question, the international situation, the principal task of party building, the importance of Marxist theory, and so on.

The problem was to sum up all these questions correctly, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, and on no other basis. But our communist movement, which had come out of the mass struggles, was relatively rich in practical experience but had little or no training in Marxist theory. This is why we had to raise the importance of Marxist theory as the basis to sum up and solve all the other questions we faced. In this sense, training in the fundamentals of that theory in the process of applying it to the concrete conditions of the U.S. was the pre-condition and foundation for solving all the other burning questions, whether class analysis, party building, the international situation, or any other problem.

The issue of the role of theory did arise in connection with all these problems, and most of all in relation to the principal task of party building. And beginning in late 1973 and continuing through 1974, a broad struggle broke out over this question between Marxism and American pragmatism, and the revolutionary theory trend emerged in struggle against the right opportunists and pragmatists.

The RU, which had played a vanguard role in ending the first period, here came forward as the ringleader of all the right opportunists. The war-cry of these action-freaks against the principal task of party building was their notorious slogan: "Build the struggle, consciousness, and revolutionary unity of the working class and its leadership in the anti-imperialist united front." The RU glorified the narrow direct experience of the U.S. communist movement, going so far as to deny that the Party Program would not come out of applying Marxist theory and the experience of the international working class to the concrete conditions of the U.S., but would be "fleshed out of the experience that has been accumulated in the last period." Blinded by their pragmatism, the RU slandered anyone who upheld the importance of Marxist theory and the principal task of party building as "dogmatists" and "sectarians" and countered it with their line of building the mass movement and "practice, practice, practice."

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In 1974, the Black Workers Congress (BWC), the PRRWO, WVO, and the ATM all fought the RU's right opportunism, their disdain of theory and blind worship of practice. In that year, these organizations, and some other collectives and comrades around the country who also fought out this line struggle, emerged as the revolutionary trend in opposition to the right opportunist, pragmatist trend headed by the RU. This revolutionary theory trend was no invention, and it did not exist only in peoples' imaginations. It was a potent material force that saved a good-sized section of the U.S. communist movement from marching into the right opportunist marsh, with the RU, and with their junior partners, the OL, the Guardian, and I Wor Kuen, and all the rest.

1975: THE REVOLUTIONARY WING EMERGES

As the revolutionary theory trend continued and deepened the struggle against right opportunism, the unity of the trend also deepened. The struggle broadened far beyond the central question of the principal task of party building, and in 1975 the two trends had become two wings, the revolutionary and opportunist wings. The revolutionary wing had drawn a correct and absolute line of demarcation against the opportunist wing.

It was the ATM and PRRWO who, in November 1975, proposed to the WVO (!!) the formation of a joint Party Building Commission (PBC) in the concrete form of a draft proposal. The basis of unity of this proposed commission was to have been seven points, which reflected the wing's absolute line of demarcation against right opportunism:

- (1) Party Building is the central task of communists.
- (2) Political line is the key link.
- (3) Right opportunism is the main danger in the workers and communist movements.
- (4) Marxist-Leninists unite.
- (5) Win the advanced to communism.
- (6) Factory nuclei are the basic form of organization
- (7) The right of self-determination for the Afro-American nation.

In addition, the PBC was to carry out joint theoretical work around party building, the domestic situation, the national question, trade union work, the international situation, the history of the communist and workers' movements in the U.S., and on the program of the party. The PBC was also to organize joint political education for the organizations and joint leadership training conferences. In fact, there was additional unity not mentioned in the seven points, such as propaganda as chief form of activity, the role of theory, nationally specific forms of revisionism, etc. (see PRRWO's "Party Building in the Heat of Class Struggle.")

Yet today, trying to exploit people's ignorance of these facts, the ATM is backsliding miserably, claiming that the revolutionary wing never existed, straight lying, stating it never had a principled basis of unity, that the attempts to unite the WVO, PRRWO, ATM, and later RWL never got anywhere.

They are trying to deny their role in proposing the PBC, and later siding with the PRRWO/RWL clique in "kicking" the WVO out of the PBC, when the WVO had already declared its desire to pull out of the PBC after the PRRWO/RWL Menshevik organizational line jumped out.

In 1973, the RU initiated the National Liaison Committee, which also included the BWC, PRRWO and the IWK. While they were publicly telling the communist movement to build the mass movement and the united front, the two-faced RU was trying to knock together their party in the style of capitalist politicians, in the "smoke-filled rooms" behind closed doors. This double dealing and private scheming was the concentrated expression on the organizational front of their right opportunism.

But the PBC proposal was at first a principled party building motion,

first of all, because all the organizations involved openly and seriously upheld party building as the principal task, and that is exactly what we were trying to do. We meant what we said. Secondly, it was a principled effort because all the organizations continued to struggle openly over the differences that existed between us.

Most important of all, the unity of the revolutionary wing and the PBC, like the unity of the revolutionary theory trend before them, was principled unity because it was based on the correct struggle between Marxism and pragmatism of the second period, the struggle which drew an absolute line of demarcation between the two definite trends and its organizational representatives (wings), the struggle which reflected the objective conditions and the objective needs of the U.S. proletarian revolution in 1972-5. The revolutionary trend and wing were the representatives of the most advanced and correct direction and line in those years. They were the cream and the concentrated expression of the proletarian struggle that emerged from the second period of the U.S. communist movement.

Deviations, differences, and open struggle never stopped, either in the revolutionary theory trend in 1974 or the wing in 1975. This was one of their great strengths, not their weakness. The line of the revolutionary wing was a product of the class struggle, based on the objective demands of the revolutionary movement and only political swindlers would have tried to promise that struggle would stop.

In the summer of 1975, one of the most dangerous "left" swings occurred. After suffocating under the RU's "practice, practice, practice" line, the BWC, PRRWO, ATM and others entered the Trotskyite "Communist" League's party building motion, their National Continuations Committee. The WVO struggled fiercely and openly with the BWC and PRRWO against this deviation, helping them make the break from it.

Later that fall, the PRRWO refused to enter the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Rally of 17,000 people in support of Puerto Rican Independence, on October 27, 1974. They made this "left" deviation this refusal to go and do communist work, wherever the masses are to be found, on the grounds that the rally was dominated by the revisionist "C" PUSA and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The WVO struggled against PRRWO's "left" deviation of boycotting the rally. The WVO, throughout the course of building the rally, repeatedly struggled with PSP's international centrism and revisionism, and also spoke at the rally, condemning both U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism and revisionism.

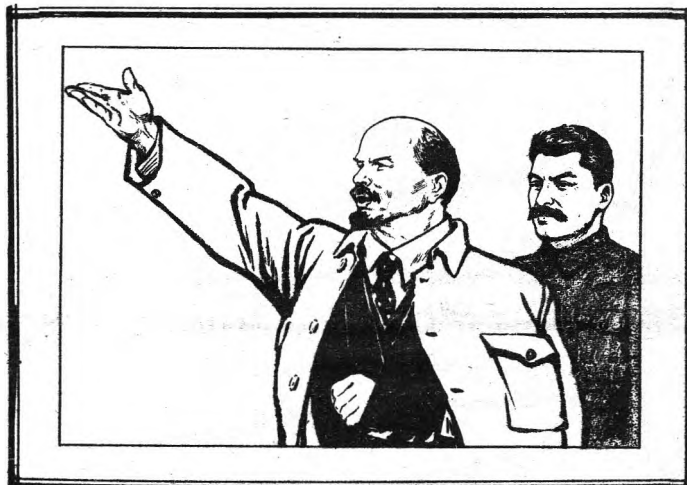
Again in the spring of 1975, in the course of the New York City budget cuts struggle, the WVO polemicized against the PRRWO's "left" deviations, the "left" line on advanced worker, their separation of party building from the spontaneous mass struggles, their isolation of factory nuclei and fractions from the trade unions and mass work, and their substitution of "left" phrase-mongering for patient, consistent, and concrete exposures of reformist misleaders (see WVO Journal #3, May 1975, p. 36, 44-5). At the same time, in struggling against "left" deviations, we ourselves committed some right deviations and criticized ourselves for them.

These are only a few examples of the constant, open struggle that went on within the revolutionary theory trend and the revolutionary wing during 1974-1975, a struggle that went on in numerous forums, tours, demonstrations and in daily open class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary theory trend and the revolutionary wing had a principled, correct, and objective basis of unity, and the open struggle we waged within was principled struggle based on that principled unity. That is the whole point. That is the whole difference

between the unity of the revolutionary trend and wing and the sham unity of the RU, OL, and all other opportunists. Yet today, after the wing has broken up, all these opportunists, including the ATM, are trying to deny the principled basis of the revolutionary wing, taking cheap pot-shots at it and trying to wipe it out of history.

The spineless liberal OL never dared even once to struggle against the revolutionary wing in the winter of 1975 and in early 1976, although the wing waged constant polemics against it. The OL never dared to raise their heads. It was not until the wing was openly breaking up in spring 1976 that the OL sensed the new direction of the wind and started coming out. Only in the summer of 1976, after the WVO had thoroughly routed the PRRWO/RWL's "left" opportunism, did the OL finally issue their Class Struggle #4-5. And what do they claim? That the revolutionary wing was a "left sectarian", "unprincipled bloc," based on "opposition to the OL." They posed themselves as having led the struggle against PRRWO/RWL's "left" opportunism, when PRRWO/RWL were already an exposed, isolated clique by the time the OL came out. All this is the OL's opportunist attempt to pick up whatever pieces they can find after the battle is over and the smoke has cleared. They are correct about only one thing, which is that the revolutionary wing was certainly based on "opposition" to the OL's revisionism.



The ATM now follows in the OL's tracks with the very same arguments. They call the entire revolutionary wing only a "left sectarian, subjective and idealist" mistake, which "overestimated ... the clarity and unity within the communist movement on the basis of line." So we had not drawn an absolute line of demarcation against right opportunism? They negate the struggle led by WVO against the ultra-leftism of PRRWO/RWL and also cover up their own opportunist siding with the "left" opportunists, in the face of the correct line of WVO. And now what does it mean when the ATM says that, "we should have recognized that the revolutionary trend was still young and developing and that while it was our duty to draw lines of demarcation with the leading exponents of opportunism, it was just as much our duty to dedicate ourselves to the theoretical, political, and organizational development of the revolutionary trend. The struggle against opportunism must take place in the process of answering the questions raised by the communist, workers, and national movements and by giving revolutionary leadership to those struggle."? The ATM means that the revolutionary wing existed only in "opposition" to the opportunists, but had no positive basis of unity. They mean that the wing only waged polemics and fought the opportunists but did not answer the questions raised in the mass movements.

In fact, what kept the revolutionary wing from slaughtering itself into the greater whole -- the genuine Communist Party -- was mainly our struggle to "answer the questions raised by the communist, workers, and national movements," our principled ideological struggle over political line in the concrete! Why did we raise the questions over united front from above and below, and its relation to building factory nuclei? Precisely to answer the ques-

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tions which arose from the workers and national movements -- that is, in what instances would we unite to hang the trade union misleaders to serve the factory nuclei in the base, should we unite to support the PSDC and "hang" (expose PSP) to win leadership in the Puerto Rican national movement. Why did the questions of forced busing plans and the ERA come up? Again because these were questions to be answered in order to lead the national and working women's movements in a communist way and not into the dead-end of the bourgeoisie's subterfuges. Advanced workers, fusion, the character of the party, etc. -- all were questions which the genuine Marxist-Leninists (i.e. the revolutionary wing, at that time) were faced with, and to which we applied MLMTTT to build the genuine Communist Party and push the fusion of MLMTTT with all the spontaneous movements. ATM's distorted, warped implication that the revolutionary wing didn't "answer the questions raised by the communist, workers, and national movements" is the same OL slander hurled at the revolutionary wing (when it existed), that it was all theory and no practice. This is a fundamental unity of the right opportunist ATM and the OL, their total lack of understanding of the necessity to have Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought (as opposed to petty bourgeois nationalism, bourgeois democratic illusions, etc.) always guide our thinking and practice on every question. Where is there one shred of difference between ATM's claim and the OL's claim that the revolutionary wing was an "unprincipled anti-OL bloc"?

After the defeat of the 1905 revolution in Russia, the revisionist liquidationist trend arose in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, a trend of petty bourgeois demoralization that tried to replace the Party's revolutionary program with reformism, and liquidate the Party organizationally. Criticizing this revisionism, Lenin showed that following the revolutionary period of 1905-7, which brought questions of political strategy and tactics to the front, the objective conditions of the period of bourgeois counter-revolution of 1908-10 inevitably brought the defense of the fundamentals of Marxist theory to the front, the defense of these fundamentals against the liquidationists who were trying to throw it overboard. He showed that these conditions created an objective basis of unity between the Bolsheviks and those Mensheviks, called the pro-Party Mensheviks, who defended Marxism and the Party against the liquidators.

As Lenin stated:

"The theory of Marxism, 'the fundamental principles' of our entire world outlook and of our entire Party programme and tactics, is now in the forefront of all Party life not by mere chance, but because it is inevitable. It was no mere chance that since the failure of the revolution, all classes of society, the widest sections of the popular masses, have displayed a fresh interest in the very fundamentals of the world outlook, including the questions of religion and philosophy, and the principles of our Marxist doctrine as a whole; that was inevitable. It is no mere chance that the masses, whom the revolution drew into the sharp struggle over questions of tactics, have subsequently, in the period characterized by the absence of open struggle, shown a desire for general theoretical knowledge; that was inevitable. We must again explain the fundamentals of Marxism to these masses; the defence of Marxist theory is again on the order of the day. When Trotsky declares that the rapprochement between the pro-Party Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks is 'devoid of political content' and 'unstable,' he is thereby merely revealing the depths of his own ignorance, he is thereby demonstrating his own complete emptiness... It was precisely this rapprochement on the question of the fundamental principles of Marxism that consti-

tuted the real basis for really harmonious work between the pro-Party Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks during the whole year following the Plenary Meeting. This is a fact -- not words, nor promises, nor 'well-meaning resolutions.' And no matter what differences divided the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks in the past, and will divide them in the future (only adventurers are capable of attracting the crowd with promises that the differences would be set aside, or that they would be 'liquidated' by this or that resolution) -- this fact cannot be expunged from history. Only the internal development of the principal factions themselves, only their own ideological evolution, can provide the guarantee that the factions will really be abolished as a result of their drawing closer together, as a result of their being tested in joint work." (Lenin, "The State of Affairs in the Party," 1910, LCW, vol. 17, p. 34-5, emphasis in original.)

There was an objective basis for the unity of the revolutionary theory trend and the revolutionary wing, which were the inevitable products of the line struggle of the second period between Marxism and American pragmatism. The wing has since broken up; the internal development of the PRRWO/RWL has turned them into an isolated "left" opportunist clique, while the internal development of the ATM has carried them to right opportunism and social democracy.

NO MATTER WHAT DIFFERENCES EXISTED BETWEEN THE WVO, PRRWO, RWL, AND ATM BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WING FORMED, DURING ITS EXISTENCE, OR SINCE, THE PRINCIPLED, CORRECT, OBJECTIVE BASIS OF UNITY THAT EXISTED IN 1974-5 CANNOT BE WIPE OUT OR DENIED, EITHER BY THE OL'S REVISIONISM OR BY THE REPEATED, SPINELESS OPPORTUNIST BACKSLIDING OF THE ATM.

And certainly one crucial basis for the revolutionary wing's disintegration was ATM's own opportunism in first lining up with PRRWO's otzovist clique's "left" line in opposing WVO's correct line, and then thru appeasing that opportunist line getting purged themselves, and then denying the entire basis of unity and flipping to the right (to the right of even OL's revisionism on most questions now). This is consistent with ATM's opportunist leadership's joint Central Committee contract with the notorious salesman, MLOC, in Sept.-Oct. 1975. On that question, WVO and PRRWO struggled with ATM. Later, the ATM leadership made a "self-criticism" for their marriage to MLOC, which they described as another "impetuous move." Is the ATM leadership consistently "impetuous"? With one party building plan after another, first "C" L, then MLOC, then the wing, and now a so-called "protracted" party building plan? Honest cadre in the ATM must answer this question!

But no matter what differences existed between the WVO, PRRWO, RWL, and ATM before the revolutionary wing formed, during its existence, or since, the principled, correct, objective basis of unity that existed in 1974-5 cannot be wiped out or denied, either by the OL's revisionism or by the repeated, spineless, opportunist backsliding of the ATM.

REVERSING THE CORRECT VERDICTS OF THE SECOND PERIOD

The OL's and LPR's attacks on the revolutionary wing and their attempts to discredit it come as no surprise at all, and is nothing new for them, because both of them were always in the opportunist wing. But for the ATM, who was in the revolutionary wing, their attacks and attempts to discredit the wing take the form of attempts to reverse the correct verdicts of the second period.

Beginning in 1975, in China, the capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-ping whipped up the Right Deviationist Wind. His attempts to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship in China took the form of reversing the correct verdicts, the correct lines, that were developed and consolidated during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960's.

The ATM plays the same opportunist backsliding role today. Their denial of the revolutionary wing is the denial of the representatives of the correct line in the second period of 1972-5, and the entire struggle against RU, OL, and other right opportunists. This is just the beginning, which leads them to deny all the correct verdicts of the second period, to deny the absolute line of demarcation against right opportunism, and to backslide straight into the pragmatist arms of the RU and the OL. This is inevitable. Today, the ATM has swallowed hook, line and sinker, the pragmatist line of these opportunists, and is in fact now sinking to a level lower than RU and OL ever attained. The ATM is indeed a "better defender of the RU and OL's line than the RU and OL themselves!!"

ATM PICKING UP THE ABANDONED GARBAGE OF THE RU AND OL: SOME LESSONS OF THE SECOND PERIOD

The key link in the second period was the correct grasp of the importance of Marxist theory. The struggle against pragmatism went to the very root of the Marxist theory of knowledge, of Marxist philosophy, to the question of the relationship of theory and practice, of being and consciousness.

Today we can sum up the whole pragmatist philosophy pushed by the opportunist trend in the second period as the rejection and vulgarization of the following statement:

"The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: it emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice." (Mao, "On Practice," Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 297)

First, Marxism has a definite class nature, serving the proletariat and no other class. In class society, every philosophy, world outlook, idea, emotion, etc. serves and is stamped with the brand of a definite class. In modern society, every ideology in the last analysis serves either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Or as Marx first put it, man's social being determines man's consciousness. This is the cardinal rule of Marxist materialism.

All opportunists and revisionists must evade this cardinal rule, for a clear analysis of the class nature of their line, outlook and actions would expose their bourgeois character. Revisionists around the world push "above-class" ideology and politics, such as "art for art's sake," "above-class love," "pure science," "non-class, neutral government," and similar trash. These are only a few examples of revisionism's cruder forms. In a far more sophisticated way, revisionists in every country appeal to those bourgeois trends of thought, theories, slogans, tendencies, insinuations, and rumors that are the most deeply rooted historically. These deep-seated bourgeois ideological trends are the hardest for the masses to recognize and struggle against because they are "second nature" and their connection to property relations, class interests and class struggle is most obscured.

In China, all revisionists use Confucianism. This slave-owning ideology has been passed down and "enriched" by every reactionary ruling class in China, and today the revisionists propagate this deeply rooted ideology, with its ideas that women should serve men, manual labor is inferior to mental labor, the rulers are born to rule, and the oppressed should be benevolent to their oppressors, etc., in order to weaken and overthrow the proletarian

dictatorship. No other ideology in socialist China serves this sinister purpose so well.

In the U.S., the RU built themselves up on American pragmatism, and their slogans of vulgar "practice," "experience," and "sum ups". Faced with Marxist criticism, they immediately invented whole fake theoretical systems and even fake periods in the communist movement to justify their right opportunism, their downgrading of the importance of theory and party building. Here is one of their sinister inventions, to justify their quick flip in 1974 from building the mass movement to building the party for the "brief period ahead."

"Several years ago and right up to this historical point, building the new Party was not the main task because the young communist movement in this country had not accumulated enough practical experience in mass struggle, and also didn't have enough experience in applying Marxist-Leninist theory to summing up this experience in order to advance the mass movement. Now there is enough experience. Now we can apply Marxism-Leninism systematically to that experience in order to sum it up, draw the correct lessons from it through principled ideological struggle, and in that way unite around the correct line for making revolution in the U.S. and create a concrete programme that can serve as the basis of the Party's work. (Red Papers #6)

Without the slightest analysis of the progress and content of the line struggles in the communist movement, or of the ebb and flow of the mass movements, and resting entirely on their blanket claim that before we "had not accumulated enough experience" whereas "now there is enough experience," the RU invented two periods in the communist movement to justify their maneuvering. The RU gave us their slogans of "experience," "sum ups," and "practice," along with "historical points" and "periods" for that needed "theoretical" touch, all rolled up into one to cover up their rampant bourgeois pragmatism.

As we will see, in their analysis of the periods in the communist movement, the ATM shows the same total inability to grasp the actual content of the movement's line struggles and the actual key link, and to reveal their connection to changes in the mass movements. The ATM is absolutely unable to show why the periods in the communist movement inevitably advance on the basis of the changing objective conditions. The ATM uses the same philistine method when they speak of the "old PRRWO" and the "new PRRWO", while being totally unable to show the class and national trends that PRRWO represented and which caused PRRWO's degeneration.

Chairman Mao's second point was the practicality of Marxist philosophy, its emphasis of the dependence of theory on practice. In the Marxist theory of knowledge, practice is the sole criterion of truth.

True to their mechanical materialism, the RU vulgarized Marxism's practicality and absolutized the dependence of theory on practice, claiming that theory could never play the principal role in the contradiction between theory and practice. They were completely blind to the feature of dialectical materialism that distinguishes it from mechanical materialism:

"True, the productive forces, practice and the economic base generally play the principal and decisive role; whoever denies this is not a materialist. But it must also be admitted that in certain conditions, such aspects as the relations of production, theory and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role... The creation and advocacy of revolutionary theory plays the principal and decisive role in those times of which Lenin said, 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.'..." (Mao, "On Contradiction," Selected Works, p. 336)

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The RU came up with gems like this:

"Lenin stressed that 'there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory.' But he also emphasized that there could be no revolutionary movement without the 'real moving force of history, the revolutionary struggle of classes.'"

Arguments like "Lenin stressed... But he also emphasized..." which seem innocent enough at first glance, are actually pure eclecticism aimed at pitting the importance of theory and party building against the importance of practice, denying the former, and leading to bowing to spontaneity and blind practice.

As we will see, the ATM has now picked up the RU's old banner. From PRRWO/RWL's degeneration into "left" opportunism, the ATM has concluded that they only had "paper unity," "unity in words" with PRRWO/RWL, and that from now on "unity must be based on line and practice." Like the RU's eclectic trick, the ATM statement actually pits practice as the sole criterion of truth against Chairman Mao's thesis that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything," with the sole aim of undermining the latter.

THE ATM'S PERFECT TRIADS

Speaking of the party building task, the ATM wrote:

"This task can be broken down into three component parts -- ideological, political, and organizational.

"ATM views this period as one in which Marxist-Leninists, with the party-building movement, have in the main, made an ideological break with revisionism. We have reaffirmed the principles of Marxism-Leninism and arrived at unity and clarity on the question of the state, armed struggle, the nature of imperialism, etc... the primary task facing us now is the application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions facing the proletariat in the USNA -- the further development of political line. ATM sees that at this stage -- Political Line is key!

"We therefore view the line that 'Ideology is Key', as a right deviation..."

"The line that holds 'Organization is Key,' is a left deviation..." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, No. 1, Nov. 1975, p. 1,4)

And so, for the ATM, the entire struggle to build the genuine communist party falls into this perfect triad, the flawless sequence from ideology to politics to organization. Today, we have in the main made an ideological break with revisionism, and "therefore", to say that ideology is key, is a right deviation and to say that organization is key is a "left" deviation.

Beyond the article's opening sentence which mentions the betrayal of the "C" PUSA, there is not one word on the real world, on the actual development of the communist and mass movement. There is not one word on the actual content of the line struggles on party building, on the importance of theory for a nascent communist movement, on the national question, or any other, nor on the ebbs and flows of the mass movements, which are the real basis for determining the key link. The key link to party building is the principal contradiction in the process, which sums up the actual development of the struggle and which, when grasped tightly will advance the whole process. Apart from an analysis of these objective causes, all talk about the key link remains phrase-mongering and playing with words.

The ATM rejects Lenin's view that objective causes, independent of

peoples' will, give rise to ideological and organizational bases for unity, as well as to changes in the working class and communist movements, to the tasks of the communist movement and to inevitable deviations from those tasks, and that the recognition and struggle against the danger of those deviations paves the way to real, principled unity:

"...long ago, a number of profound objective causes, independently of the particular composition of the 'given persons, groups and institutions'... began to bring about and are steadily continuing to bring about in the two old and principal Russian factions of Social-Democracy changes that create -- sometimes undesired and even unperceived by some of the 'given persons, groups and institutions' -- ideological and organizational bases for unity... These objective conditions simultaneously give rise to inseparably interconnected changes in the character of the working class movement, in the composition, type, and features of the Social-Democratic vanguard, as well as changes in the ideological and political tasks of the Social-Democratic movement. Hence, the bourgeois influence over the proletariat that gives rise to liquidationism... and otzovism... is not an accident, nor evil design, stupidity or error on the part of some individual, but the inevitable result of the action of these objective causes, and the superstructure of the entire labour movement in present-day Russia, which is inseparable from the 'basis'. The realisation of the danger, of the non-Social-Democratic nature and harmfulness to the labour movement of both these deviations brings about a rapprochement between the elements of various factions and paves the way to Party unity 'despite all obstacles.' (Lenin, "Notes of a Publicist," 1910. Against Liquidationism, p. 79. Also LCW, Vol. 16)

The Russian communist movement, which the ATM is trying to mimic, did not follow their perfect triad at all. From 1884-94, the struggle against Narodism centered on the development of capitalism in Russia, on questions of political economy. From 1894-98, and 1898-1902, the struggle against Legal Marxism and Economism focused on the relations of spontaneity and consciousness, on the importance of theory, on questions of philosophy. From 1902-04, the struggle against Menshevism turned on opportunism on the Party rules, on organizational questions. From 1904-07, the struggle shifted to political strategy and tactics of the 1905 revolution. And after the revolution's defeat, attention returned to questions of theory and philosophy.

"OLD" AND "NEW" PRRWO??

The ATM shows the same total ignorance of the objective class and national bases for political trends and deviations when they claim that the former and present PRRWO are two different organizations, due to the purging of the honest cadres:

"...the PRRWO we will be polemicalizing with and the 'old' PRRWO we had 'growing unity' with are two distinct organizations..."

"When PRRWO purged them / the honest cadres in PRRWO / they purged their revolutionary history, their revolutionary practice and their ties to the masses. And this is precisely why we speak of the 'new' PRRWO, for it has nothing in common with the PRRWO of recent history, that history of struggle has been purged." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, No. 7, July 1976, p. 1, 8, emphasis in original)

What "two distinct organization"! Our task is to explain the process of degeneration of PRRWO from good to bad,

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the growth of PRRWO's former incorrect tendencies into dominant trends that turned it into its opposite.

The germs of all of the PRRWO's "left" opportunist lines of 1976 were manifested as "left" deviations of one form or another by PRRWO in 1974, during the struggle against right opportunism. Their "left" swing into the Trotskyite "C" motion, their "left" deviations on the definition of advanced worker, on the relationship of party building and factory nuclei to mass work and of theory to practice, on the task of exposing the misleaders, and so on, all matured in 1976 into a consolidated "left" opportunist trend. The ideological basis for this growth of opportunism from childhood to adulthood was the PRRWO's petty bourgeois nationalism and dogmatism. Instead of constantly criticizing and repudiating these bourgeois trends, the PRRWO built on them in their hustler style and degenerated into a "left" opportunist clique. (See WV Journal #4). The "two distinct organizations" do not exist! There is only the growth of opportunism in one and the same organization that finally turned it into its opposite. The ATM scratches at the surface, the external appearance, and completely evades the internal development of the trends PRRWO represented.

"Purges," too, do not explain a damn thing about PRRWO's degeneration. Here the ATM again stops short at the appearance, because the purges and PRRWO's "left" anarchist method of struggle were only some of the results and manifestations of the PRRWO's degeneration. The whole question is, why did PRRWO degenerate in the first place? What internal basis and external conditions existed for this to happen?

The ATM tells a story of how "Trotskyite elements assumed complete control of PRRWO" (RC, Vol. 1, No. 9, Oct. 1976, p. 3) then "purged" all the good elements and destroyed the organization. First of all, who are those "Trotskyite" elements who assumed control?? PRRWO has had the same chairwoman, their main "ideological" leadership, as before! But without criticizing the

ideological and class and national trends that caused PRRWO's degeneration, it remains a false, catchy story. This is nothing but catering to some ex-PRRWO cadre who themselves are unable to use Marxism to explain the degeneration of PRRWO, who themselves carried out the PRRWO's lines but who still sum up the degeneration of PRRWO as the evil work and design of certain individuals. No. ATM still can't explain it. This is all from some ex-PRRWO cadre.

In the one place where they try to deal with this, the ATM says:

"Throughout its history, even at its highest level of Marxist-Leninist development, the PRRWO had only weak connections with the industrial proletariat. Moreover, the social basis of their organization, as they once explained to us, was of people from families new to the working class -- in it for only a generation or two... This, combined with their coming out of a movement of an oppressed nationality, provide the fertile social base for 'leftism'." (RC, Vol. 1, No. 9, October 1976, p. 8)

Why "leftism"? Why not right opportunism and revisionism? Why didn't PRRWO degenerate, say, in the direction of the revisionist PSP or the OL? In their petty bourgeois nationalist and mechanical materialist manner, the ATM has always held that a basis in the oppressed nationalities is a solid proletarian basis.

"...the leading communist organizations are primarily made up of oppressed nationalities coming from the national movements in this country." (RC, Vol. 1, No. 12 Jan. 1976, p. 8)

Isn't this the same gem that the PRRWO clique themselves claimed is the basis of their "100% Bolshevism"?

What this "old PRRWO, new PRRWO", the fake analyses of PRRWO's social basis and the ATM's denial of the revolutionary wing all confirm is that the ATM cannot explain whether their former "growing unity" and their present break with PRRWO are on a principled basis. This "old PRRWO, new PRRWO" is an evasion of a real settling of accounts with PRRWO, which exposes the ATM's analysis of their former unity and present split with PRRWO for what they are: opportunist maneuvering and infighting.

ALL INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE IS TWO-LINE STRUGGLE

A last example of the ATM's above-class view of struggle is their view of inner-party struggle:

"...not all struggles which occur in the course of our work is 'two-line struggle'." (RC, Vol. 1, No. 9, Oct. 1976, p. 3)

This is not opportunism, but barefaced revisionism. In class society, every idea is stamped with the brand of a class, and every difference and struggle between ideas is two-line struggle, reflecting the class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in society. There are no exceptions.

"Every difference in men's concepts should be regarded as reflecting an objective contradiction.

"Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society." (Mao, "On Contradiction," 1937, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 317)

This example alone shows that when the ATM criticized PRRWO's absurd "left" opportunist method of struggle through purges (which views all differences which objectively reflect different class views, between old and new, and view all these contradictions among comrades as antagonistic and thus resolve them through purges) the ATM, however, in a flip, was coming from their own revisionist viewpoint, their consistent denial of the class nature of ideology and line struggle.

Decisiveness of Line

The main lesson the ATM has drawn from PRRWO's "left" opportunism is that unity must be tested in practice:

"How can unity of Marxist-Leninists, on the basis of line, be hammered out in the absence of practice -- in the absence of matching words with deeds? We hold it cannot." (RC, Vol. 1, No. 7, July 1976, p. 12)

"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." (RC, Vol. 1, No. 8, p. 7)

"A party can be forged only through the principled ideological and political struggle and the forging of unity on the political line -- WHICH UNITY IS TESTED IN PRACTICE OVER A PROTRACTED PERIOD OF TIME!" (RC, Vol. 1, No. 9, Oct. 1976, emphasis in original)

We hold that in the building of the genuine communist party, the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything, which

in no way contradicts the primacy of practice but follows from it. But the statements of ATM, which seem to reaffirm the Marxist view that practice is the sole criterion of truth, are actually aimed at undermining the decisiveness of the correct line and theory. Chairman Mao explained the whole relationship between the correctness of the line and the test of practice:

"Marxists hold that man's social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world. What actually happens is that man's knowledge is verified only when he achieves the anticipated results in the process of social practice (material production, class struggle or scientific experiment). If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice. After he fails, he draws his lessons, corrects his ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world, and can thus turn failure into success..." (Mao, "On Practice," 1937, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 297)

Precisely because practice is the only test of truth, our success in our work depends entirely on the correctness of our line, the correspondence of our ideas to the laws of the objective world. The truths that "practice is the sole criterion of truth" and "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything," which the ATM eclectically counterposes, are two sides of the single, integral Marxist theory of knowledge. But the way ATM understands it, the view that the "...line decides everything" must be an idealist statement!

Since the break-up of the revolutionary wing, the ATM has been singing "the test of practice" in every tone. For them to be doing this today is to divert us from developing programmatic elements, the lines of the party program, and return us to the narrow empiricism of the old RU. It essentially blocks the unity of genuine communists based on agreement on political line and correct orientation. It reduces to the same old opportunist maneuvering of the OL and IWK, who see "joint practice" as the basis of unity in their desperate attempt to straightjacket genuine communists' struggles for correct orientation and correct tactics to guide our work as well as to sum up our work to move steadily forward, step by step. The ATM, further confuses the fact that correct link up of theory and practice struggles against the two-pole deviation of empiricism and dogmatism; organizational amateurishness is itself part of the question of the correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line. By viewing "practice" as something separate from the line itself, this is no doubt another new height of right opportunism for the ATM, right after their Menshevik line of "not all struggle is line struggle".

THE PARTY PROGRAM AND THE ATM'S "TEST OF PRACTICE"

Take any of the political issues of the party program we must develop, lines that guide the future course of our revolution, such as the class analysis of U.S. society, the strategy and tactics for revolution, which includes the main force of the revolution, the national movements and other direct reserves, the use of indirect reserves, the direction of the main blow, etc. The unity of Marxists around such lines is a burning practical issue in building the genuine Communist Party. What will the ATM's "test of practice over a protracted period of time" amount to here?

It will mean putting off the formation of the genuine Communist Party until after the revolution, because such programmatic lines will be fully confirmed in practice only by the success of the revolution itself. For example, as early as 1905, on the eve of the first Russian revolution, Lenin formulated the strategic line for

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the two stages of the Russian revolution, saying that the proletariat would accomplish the bourgeois democratic revolution by allying itself to the mass of the peasantry to overthrow tsarism and feudalism, and then would accomplish the socialist revolution by allying itself to the poor peasants and semi-proletarians to overthrow capitalism. When can we say that the correctness of this line was fully confirmed in practice? In the 1905 revolution, which was unsuccessful? No. During World War I? No. It was not until 1918, after the success of both stages of the revolution, that the correctness of the line was fully proven in practice and Lenin wrote:

"Things turned out just as we said they would. The course taken by the revolution confirmed the correctness of our reasoning. First, with the 'whole' of the peasantry against the monarchy... Then, with the poor peasants, with the semi-proletarians, with all the exploited, against capitalism..." (Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," 1918, FLP)

In 1905, on the basis of Lenin's theory, the Bolsheviks split with the Mensheviks, united their own ranks around this strategic line and strove to direct the revolution in that direction. But the ATM would have to say that in 1905 the Bolsheviks had no basis to unite or do any of this because Lenin's theory had not been "tested in practice over a protracted period of time!"

In our revolution, take the concept of the direction of the main blow, which holds that in advanced capitalist countries, the trade union and other militant misleaders of the masses, the representatives of labor aristocrats and militant petty bourgeois misleaders, are the most dangerous social props of the monopoly capitalists, and that to achieve the revolution communists must direct our main exposures not only against the ruling class, but against these misleaders and show their connection. In the U.S. communist movement, the WVO has fought the revisionist line of the OL, who has held that the liberal and militant union misleaders are "direct reserves" of the proletariat and not dangerous agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers' ranks. We particularly struggled in 1974-5 against the OL's total trust in Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers, who is now thoroughly exposed to the mass of mineworkers as a militant company agent for his opposition to the wave of miners' wildcats over the last year and a half.

The results of the struggle over Arnold Miller is certainly some proof of the correctness of our line. But first of all, the idea of the direction of the main blow will not be fully confirmed for the U.S. until the U.S. proletariat achieves the dictatorship of the proletariat by following this strategic line. Second, and more important, the task for the communist vanguard is to fight the revisionism of the "C" PUSA and others like the OL and RU before everything is clear to everybody from practice, for that is the whole role of a real vanguard (to wrest the mass influence and advanced workers away from them, that is, if the misleaders have any).

On the basis of the theory of Marxism, with or without the experience of Arnold Miller or any other individual misleader, we know that the strategic concept of the direction of the main blow is absolutely correct, and we unite our ranks and guide our work along this line, in full confidence that our practice will confirm this line's correctness. That is the only correct approach to developing these programmatic lines, which bring the correctness of the line and the universal truth of Marxism to the front.

The extreme tailism and empiricism of the ATM's approach is crystal clear. It is extreme tailism because it essentially says that the party program cannot be written and the party cannot be formed until after the revolution. It

is extreme empiricism because it narrows the scope of the program to the scope of that which can be directly "tested in practice," a line which the RU is even trying now to abandon in their latest flip to "theory in its own right."

No wonder, then, that while the WVO is focussing on developing the strategy and tactics for our revolution and beginning to test them in our practice, the ATM sums up lessons from their practice like "the training of party cadre is a long and protracted process" (RC, Vol. 1, No. 8, p. 9). The training of cadres to implement the line is certainly a long-term process, but to be raising such things as the main lessons of their work, while the ATM has an incorrect political line, is to backslide right into the RU's blind practice line, drawing extremely harmful conclusions such as "the program can be fleshed out" of the "immediate experience" of the last few years."

In 1974, the RU claimed that the party program would be "fleshed out of the experience that has been accumulated in the last period." Today, the ATM says the "most important part" of the party building process is "the TESTING of the political line in practice," "which will allow us to develop the solid basis of programmatic unity," and that this must be "a central part" of party building. The identity of their views is too obvious.

FROM ATM'S 'OLD PRRWO', 'NEW PRRWO' TO
ATM'S UNITY WITH 'OLD CL,' 'NEW CL,'
AND 'OLD MLOC,' 'NEW MLOC'

In 1974, the ATM entered the "C" L's National Continuations Committee, which was based on the "C" L's Trotskyite revisionist line. In late 1975, they tried to bring the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC) into the revolutionary wing, but were defeated by the WVO and PRRWO, who opposed them. Between 1974-6, the ATM had very close relations with the PRRWO and nearly merged with them at one time. At various times, the ATM nearly consolidated its unity with all of these opportunist and revisionist forces, and they have since summed up that the problem was that they only had "paper unity," "unity in words but not in deeds." For example, the ATM claims that they and PRRWO drew this line of demarcation with the MLOC:

"That communists who did not match words with deeds were not communists at all, that unity must be based on line and practice, which also included but was by no means restricted to the theoretical and political struggle against opportunism, and it has been precisely on this basis that we [PRRWO and ATM] had united on the fact that MLOC's line was opportunist. MLOC writes and speaks very pretty but one thing they cannot address themselves to is any his tory of struggle nor any current practice -- they have none! Only polemics and 'line s struggle' in coalitions -- so this is the only 'practice' they can speak of, and then act as if that is enough testing of genuine communists." (RC, Vol. 1, No. 7, July 1976, p. 9)

First, in retrospect, in November 1975, the ATM did not at all "unite on the fact that MLOC's line was opportunist," but actually tried to persuade the WVO and PRRWO that the MLOC should be in the revolutionary wing, and it was only the WVO and PRRWO's struggle against this that won them away from the MLOC. This fact alone, and the ATM's attempts to evade it today are enough to expose their opportunist maneuvering and lack of principle.

But more to the point, is it MLOC's problem that they "write and speak very pretty," but have no "history of struggle nor any current practice"? Absolutely not! The WVO thinks the MLOC writes and speaks in the ugly manner of revisionists who are trying to cash in on the correct struggle against right opportunism, as well as having a total lack of roots

in the working class or national movements. In 1975, the MLOC mouthed a few slogans, such as "Theory is decisive" and "Party building is the central task," and tried to sneak into the revolutionary wing. At the same time, they exposed their opportunist nature by raising their cry to "Unite!" above the need for unity based on Marxist principles, and defended everybody, even opportunists, by saying that "everybody stands abreast" in the struggle to build the party. (For this and more, see "MLOC: Intriguing and Conspiring for a Revisionist Clique," WVO newspaper, Nov. 1976).

The problem was never that the MLOC said the right things but had no practice, and that this "paper unity" fooled the ATM. The MLOC said and believes in revisionist things, and that is exactly what they did in action later by trying to unite with every conceivable form of opportunism, the OL, IWK, etc., etc. And the reason the ATM almost united with the MLOC is because they could not distinguish the correct line from incorrect lines, real Marxism from the MLOC's revisionism!

The same goes for the "C" L and PRRWO. The "C" L's line in 1974 showed them to be a bunch of Trotskyite revisionists, and that is exactly what they proved to be. The PRRWO committed "left" deviations, and they degenerated precisely into a "left" opportunist clique. All these opportunists practiced the very opportunist things they said and wrote! The reason the ATM almost united with all of them is not because these opportunist managed to cover their opportunist practice with "pretty words," but because the ATM did not grasp Marxism well enough to see the opportunism of both their words and deeds!

WE HOLD THAT IN THE BUILDING OF THE GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE CORRECTNESS OR INCORRECTNESS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL LINE DECIDES EVERYTHING, WHICH IN NO WAY CONTRADICTS THE PRIMACY OF PRACTICE BUT FOLLOWS FROM IT. BUT THE STATEMENTS OF ATM, WHICH SEEM TO REAFFIRM THE MARXIST VIEW THAT PRACTICE IS THE SOLE CRITERION OF TRUTH, ARE ACTUALLY AIMED AT UNDERMINING THE DECISIVENESS OF THE CORRECT LINE AND THEORY.

The ATM's statement that the MLOC is opportunist only because they have no practice is exactly in the style of the RU, who in 1974 said the "C" L was reactionary not because they were Trotskyite, but because they didn't link theory and practice. At that time, we asked the RU: if the "C" L did link their Trotskyite theory with Trotskyite practice, would they be any less reactionary? The RU was trying so hard to convince everybody that theory was never important and only one's practice was, that they went so far as to judge Trotskyites by their ability to link theory and practice!

A NEW LOW

In the latest issue of their newspaper, the ATM's struggle against the WVO, the leading circle, has forced them to a new low, which fully confirms the depth of their betrayal of the proletariat:

"WVO has said that they are now the 'practical center' of our movement. Let's look at some of their practice.

"In the United Autoworkers Union in Northern California, the WVO has not led a single struggle, although they are members of that union in the area. Rather, they have contented themselves with putting out an 8-page propaganda leaflet..."

The ATM cannot even pretend that this is a theoretical criticism of the WVO's line. Such rumor-mongering about the unions WVO is supposed to be working in or our "autonomous" cadres in California are nothing but police work, pure and simple!

The ATM accuses us of focussing on the communities and schools and not on the factories. From our earliest days, we have always put the bulk of our cadres in the factories and workplaces, for this is an essential aspect of the bolshevization of communist organization. But we have never liquidated our work in the national and student movements, and we continue to lead many struggles. We struggled against the ATM, who in 1975 had completely eliminated all work in the national movements and had all but wiped out work in the student movement.

We have never said that factory work and factory nuclei "narrows the outlook of communist organizers," or any such nonsense. We did struggle against the ATM's worship of "factory nuclei as the key link to party building," which they practiced at the expense of uniting Marxist-Leninists from all parts of the country and from all nationalities. The ATM's downgrading of this task of uniting Marxists nationwide and multinationally definitely was a form of economist narrowness.

The ATM has sunk to these depths because their renegade backsliding on the importance of theory and the decisiveness of line forces them to try to "expose" the WVO for its "lack of practice." "Let's look at some of their practice," disdainful remarks about "eight-page propaganda leaflets," accusations of "windbagging," snide remarks about "insufferably boring newspaper," "not leading the working class or any national movement," "intellectualist academics who take pride in conferring generalships on each other," and so on.

We have heard it all before, from the RU and the OL, vintage 1972-5. For three years they railed against the "dogmatists" who have "no practice," who sit "in closets," read too many books and write "boring long leaflets and newspapers," who talk only in the "abstract." The RU and OL could not say the word "theoretician" without sneering. And every word the ATM utters today reeks of the same right opportunist renegecy!

The style of work of linking theory and practice is one of the three great styles of work summed up by the CPC, which all communists must strive towards, and which also includes the styles of maintaining close ties with the masses and of being bold in making criticism and self-criticism. The WVO holds that mastering these three styles of work is a long-term task of every communist party.

Anyone who upholds the importance of these three styles of work will certainly maintain vigilance against our weaknesses in them and strive to correct all deviations from them.

PARTY BUILDING: "PROTRACTED STRUGGLE" OR NEARER THAN EVER BEFORE?

The inevitable, grand-total conclusion of all the ATM's right opportunist backsliding:

"...party building, like our revolution itself, will be a protracted process in the U.S." (RC, Vol. 1, No. 8, p. 7, emphasis in original)

The ATM can draw no other conclusion, for it is the only conclusion anyone can draw from their backsliding on the existence of the revolutionary wing and the struggle against right opportunism.

Stunned by the sharp turn in the party building struggle, by the formation and break-up of the revolutionary wing, the ATM totally lost their bearings and drifted to the extreme right, to their extreme underestimation of the situation, until now they see the formation of the genuine communist party as a distant end in itself, instead of as a means to the goal of proletarian revolution.

This confirms their extreme petty bourgeois pessimism more tersely and boldly than anything else.

The WVO has drawn another conclusion. We initiated the struggle against the "left" opportunist PRRWO/RWL and defeated them, while we continued the struggle

against the right opportunist RCP and OL, and now against the ATM too. The success of this fight on two fronts has confirmed that the line of the WVO is the correct line in the U.S. communist movement and that the WVO is the leading circle, the only organization that can serve as the base of operations for the formation of the genuine communist party!

The PRRWO/RWL are a politically dead clique. The best elements from the break-up of the revolutionary wing have rallied and are rallying around the WVO and liquidating themselves to join the leading circle and form the communist party. Despite temporary vacillations or loss of bearings, despite all obstacles set up by all the right and "left" opportunists, these honest comrades are rallying more and more tightly around the WVO. Anyone who is

not totally blinded by right opportunism can see that these comrades, some of the best elements from the communist movement, are helping to form the basic core of party cadres, the core of professional revolutionaries we have been striving to unite for so long!

In this way, we are turning the bad thing into a good thing. In this way, the revolutionary wing's break-up and the ensuing struggle have brought the formation of the genuine communist party nearer than ever before!

No force, neither the OL's revisionism nor the ATM's miserable backsliding, could wipe the revolutionary wing out of history. And no force will be able to prevent the consolidation of the WVO and the formation of the genuine party of the U.S. proletariat!

THE FORMATION OF THE GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY IS NEARER THAN EVER BEFORE!

III. REFORMISM

THE CONCRETE VERSUS ABSTRACT APPROACH TO DEMOCRACY

The theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. Whether we advance or oppose the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship is the keynote for distinguishing Marxism from revisionism and bourgeois democracy.

In the imperialist countries, where bourgeois democracy is most highly developed and reformist illusions among the masses are deepest, the most common and skillfully used weapon that the revisionists and the bourgeoisie have to divert the masses from the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship is the bourgeois democratic illusion in abstract equality, in "pure", "above-class" democracy, and in the idea of a "non-class" state. In the 1890's the British Fabians and the revisionist Bernstein pushed the ideas of "permeating liberalism with socialism" and "voting socialism into power." After World War I, the renegade Kautsky picked up from them and opposed the October Revolution with his idea of "pure" democracy, and in the late 1950's Khrushchov denounced Stalin and Chairman Mao with his revisionist theory of "peaceful transition to socialism" and the "state of the whole people."

Like the OL, the ATM has taken the whole of their line and outlook from these revisionists. The crux of our differences with them on the task of the democratic rights struggle, like the crux of our struggle with the OL, turns on the concrete versus abstract approach to democracy, e.g. the issues of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and the forced Busing Plan in Boston. Like their miserable backsliding on party building, the ATM has also come forward with a line on the democratic rights struggle that is more to the right than the OL, and a total betrayal of the proletariat.

THE FORCED BUSING PLAN IN BOSTON

"ATM stands in favor of forced busing in Boston (although we believe the Blacks have the right to choose whether they wish to be bused or not), but its starting point is not simply the question of getting Black children a better education but a question of breaking the historically developed segregation pattern with all of its attendant political, economic, and social ramifications." (RC, Vol. 1, No. 3, Feb. 1976, p. 8)

This is a model of petty bourgeois sophistry and evasiveness. The ATM supports forced busing and also believes the Afro-American students have "the right to choose whether they wish to be bused or not." This is out and out opportunism, because either you support the forced busing plan or you support the right of oppressed nationality students to go to any school of their choice. The WVO supports the latter against the former, but the ATM wants to take both! Second, the ATM supports forced busing from the "starting point" of "breaking the historically developed segregation pattern..."

But does our support for desegregation mean that we should support forced busing?

The busing plan is one of the ruling class' responses to the Afro-American and other national movements in the 1950's and 1960's and to the capitalist economic crisis that started in the early 1970's. The flow of the national movements that culminated in the late 1960's forced one concession after another in education and other areas from the panicking ruling class, including school desegregation, bilingual and bicultural education, open admissions and Black, Latin, Asian and other studies program, etc.

The ruling class quickly answered with its reactionary dual tactics, reform and repression, the carrot and the stick, to try to disintegrate the movement. They sent cops, troops and dogs to suppress the struggle, killing, jailing and exiling the most militant revolutionary leaders of the national movements, and at the same time launched their "civil rights legislation" and "urban pacification programs" to try to lull the movement to sleep and started pumping millions of dollars into the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, "Black capitalism programs," etc.

As early as 1963, Chairman Mao summed up the situation:

"The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of the constant sharpening of class struggle and national struggle in the United States; it has been causing increasingly grave anxiety to the U.S. ruling clique. The Kennedy administration has resorted to cunning two-faced tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in the discrimination against and persecution of Negroes; it even sends troops to repress them. On the other hand, it is parading as an advocate of the 'defense of human rights' and the 'protection of the civil rights of Negroes', is calling upon the Negro people to exercise 'restraint' and is proposing to Congress so-called 'civil rights legislation', in an attempt to numb the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses throughout the country. However, these tactics of the Kennedy Administration are being seen through by more and more of the Negroes." (Mao, "Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle," 1963).

The crux of the matter is that the ATM does support forced busing in Boston. Why is the forced busing plan a ruling class trick and not a democratic right?

All these facts, from the increase of national oppression through the strengthening of the racist, fascist organizations and the police, the heightened splitting of the working class by pitting different working class communities against each other, to the centralized government control over the schools and the continuing deterioration of education -- all increase the danger of fascism and ex-

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pose the lie behind the forced busing plans, show that the forced busing plans achieve the opposite of what the liberals promise. (For detailed exposure of all these, see WV Journal #3, May 1975, p. 2-6, 46-7, and WVO newspaper, Vol. 1, No. 7, Nov. 1976, p. 8-11).

Chairman Mao's stress on the two-faced counter-revolutionary role of liberals like the Kennedys is an extremely important lesson for us. Chairman Mao had no illusions about such liberals; he hated them as the most advanced and cunning representatives of the bourgeoisie, and he fully recognized the danger they posed to the masses.

The forced busing plans were one of those cunning liberal tactics to disintegrate the national movements and split the working class. In 1968, the ruling class which had all along suppressed and undermined the mass desegregation struggles suddenly became "alarmed to the cause of integration," and cranked out their first forced busing plan.

Through lawsuits initiated by the NAACP, the bourgeoisie launched their first test of forced busing in Pontiac, Michigan and San Francisco, California, in 1971. In both cities, the busing plans succeeded in diverting the oppressed nationality communities from their original demands for quality education and the right to learn their own language and culture, to infighting among the people of different communities, while the bad schools continued to deteriorate. In both cases, particularly in Pontiac, the busing plans served to whip up hatred along racial lines and breed the growth of the KKK and other fascist organizations.

Boston repeats the same pattern.

THE ATM'S PURE ILLUSIONS

Of course, there is not one word from the ATM on the trends in ruling class reformism, on the differences between the reforms won in the 1960's and the tricks and attacks we see today, or on how these trends in ruling class tactics are shaped by the ebb and flow of the mass movements and the growth of the capitalist crisis. There isn't one word on any of this because the concrete analysis of concrete conditions and the revolutionary approach to reforms are exactly what the ATM totally lacks.

The ATM approaches the busing plan in exactly the same way the OL does. All they know is that the busing plan "seems" to be for "integration," "democratic rights," "desegregation," for "breaking the historically developed segregation pattern with all of its attendant political, economic, and social ramifications."

But it is pure illusion. In reality, the sole basis for the ATM's belief in these "democratic rights" is the fact that the bourgeoisie and its misleaders call them "democratic rights." Ted Kennedy, the NAACP, the Trotskyite SWP, and the revisionist "C" PUSA all call the busing plan a "democratic rights issue," and the ATM believes them! The ATM just cannot see through these misleaders' demagoguery, they just cannot get the real results of the busing plan into their thick heads!

It is in the very nature of bourgeois democrats to present democracy abstractly and to resort to all kinds of demagogic tricks to fool the masses. The task of communists is to expose this demagoguery by comparing their words and deeds, to reveal the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy to the masses. But the ATM, stuffed full of their own illusions, takes up the misleaders' slogans as their own, thus repeating the habit of the renegade Kautsky:

"Kautsky is pursuing a characteristically petty-bourgeois, philistine policy by pretending (and trying to make the people believe the absurd idea) that putting forward a slogan alters the position. The entire history of bourgeois democracy refutes this illusion; the bourgeois democrats have always advanced all sorts of 'slogans' to deceive the people. The point is to test their sincerity, to compare their words with their deeds, not to be satisfied with idealistic or charlatan phrases, but to get

down to class reality." (Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, 1918, FLP, p. 74)

"Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed masses at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the formal equality proclaimed by the 'democracy' of the capitalists and the thousands of real limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into wage slaves. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the masses to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction that the agitators and propagandists of Socialism are constantly exposing to the masses, in order to prepare them for revolution! And now that the era of revolutions has begun, Kautsky turns his back upon it and begins to extol the charms of moribund bourgeois democracy." (ibid, p. 24-5)

WHO ARE THE REAL ECONOMISTS?

For our opposition and exposure of the ERA, the ATM accuses the WVO of "economism," claiming that we are "capitulating leadership of the women's democratic movement to the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie" (ibid, p.2). They quote Lenin in battle with the economists:

"It is our direct duty to concern ourselves with every liberal question, to determine our Social-Democratic (communist) 'attitude towards it, to help the proletariat to take an active part in its solution and to accomplish the solution in its own proletarian way." (Lenin, What Is To Be Done? 1902, Collected Works, Vol. 5, p. 341)

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. 7 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. 7 and the struggle for socialism that leads them to their dead end" (Revolutionary Cause, p. 12), it is ATM!

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.)

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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 ATM's accusations of "economism" against the WVO is in exactly the same style as the white-skin privilege Proletarian Unity League (PUL), who said the WVO is "economist" because we "only" raise the "economic" demand for "quality education" (which is false to begin with, because the WVO raises a series of political demands in opposition to the busing plan), while the PUL raises the "political" demand for "integration".

The essence of economism was its tailism, its riveting of the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie. In Russia around the turn of the century, this tailism took the particular form of narrowing the proletariat's demands to economic demands and leaving the political struggle to the bourgeoisie, and of worshipping the spontaneous mass struggle. Opportunism takes countless forms in different countries in different periods, but its essence is always the subordination of the proletariat's interests to those of the bourgeoisie.

The question is, how will communists lead the masses to "the conclusion that revolution is necessary and inevitable," how will the masses "learn that only revolutionary struggle can win them any type of meaningful concession" and that "it is not the lack of democracy which underlies their misery - but capitalism?" Is it only "through their own experience" or "through the most consistent struggle for democracy"? No! The communists will prepare the masses for revolution only by exposing the exploiters, by exposing bourgeois democracy, in the course of leading the masses' practical struggles.

In this light, the real meaning of the ATM's stress on the protracted nature of the socialist revolution is clear. The socialist revolution is an entire epoch of class and national struggles, full of ebbs and flows, advances and retreats, partial engagements and civil wars. But the ATM's stress on this side of the problem while they disdain the communist task of preparing the masses for socialist revolution, amounts to putting the revolution off into the far, far distant future and saying that, for now, our task is to fight for democratic rights.

Finally, the ATM is even worse off when they raise the proletariat's historical task of establishing its dictatorship. The "pure" democratic outlook permeates their whole presentation. According to the ATM, the proletariat "will not learn how to do this except through the most consistent struggle for democracy (especially for oppressed nationalities and women) under capitalism."

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the masses, which includes the broadest possible democracy among the workers and the exploited, and the exploited, and the ruthless suppression of the exploiters. But there is nothing of this from the ATM, nothing except "the most consistent struggle for democracy." Democracy for which class? Dictatorship over which class?

"One may argue in a Marxist, a socialist way; in which case one would take as the basis the relation between the exploited and the exploiters. Or one may argue in a liberal, a bourgeois-democratic way; and in that case, one would take as the basis the relation between the majority and the minority.

"You see, the relation between the exploited and the exploiters has vanished in Kautsky's argument. All that remains is majority in general, minority in general, democracy in general, the 'pure democracy' with which we are already familiar." (Lenin, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, 1918, Peking edition, pp.30,31)

The ATM does not talk about majority and minority in general, but instead about the "consistent struggle for democracy" in general. The "pure" democratic outlook is identical to Kautsky's. In their eyes, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the outcome of nothing "except" "the most consistent struggle for democracy"!

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