

# Building the New U.S. Communist Party



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This is the third in a series on building the new U.S. Communist Party—Ed.

The "Communist League" (CL) is a main representative of the dogmatist and sectarian trend which exists within the U.S. communist movement today. CL has, since its inception in 1968, held a consistent and consolidated line that party-building must be separated from building the mass movement.

And even though CL was formed at a time marked by the revolutionary storm of the Black liberation movement, CL remained isolated from this movement, too, not only because of CL's sect-building line, but because the actual character of the Black people's struggle does not conform to CL's notion that the essence of the "Negro National Colonial Question" lies in the fight of the white and Black members of the "Negro Nation" of the deep South for independence.

Similarly, CL's line that the heart of the industrial proletariat is a social base for fascism in this country has not led it to sink deep roots in the workers' movement. So, too, CL's general sectarianism and specifically its repudiation of the united front against imperialism as the strategy for proletarian revolution in this country has led it to stand arrogantly aside from the movement of students and other important allies of the proletariat.

Wherever CL has involved itself in any mass struggle it has been for only one purpose—to try to build itself at the expense of that struggle, to rip people out of it, take them away from the struggle and put them in a corner to concoct its "Party." Recently, CL has placed increasing emphasis on building a united front against fascism, but besides being an incorrect, defensive strategy under our concrete conditions, and besides therefore revealing CL's rightist essence, this also represents a gimmick on the part of CL to give itself the appearance of more "mass appeal" and sucker people into its swamp.

In the past the RU has not carried out direct polemics with CL. This was for several reasons. One has to do with the development of the communist movement itself over the past period. Most of the communist forces that have developed during this period have actively plunged into the mass movements of the workers, oppressed nationalities, students and others. But they did not do so completely without a plan. Each of these groups first came together on the basis of consolidating its beginning understanding of how Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought applies to the U.S., and then went out to put this into practice, placing the task of party-building in this framework.

During that period, when it was widely recognized that the main task was to be-

gin linking communism with the mass movement, groups like CL which insisted on "building the Party" in isolation from the masses were also generally isolated and discredited within the communist movement. But at this point, when for the brief period ahead the task is to sum up that past experience in order to develop a Marxist-Leninist programme that can unite all who can be united to form the Party, and when different lines have emerged on how to sum it up, sects such as CL are able to exert more influence and create more confusion.

They try to give people a defeatist summation of the past period, preaching that the process of plunging into the mass movement was "opportunist" and only a diversion from the task of studying theory divorced from practice as the road to the Party. They are trying to drag people back and obstruct the process of building a true vanguard Party that can lead the masses in revolution because it links theory with practice and is formed on the basis of learning from the advances that have been made and the experience that has been accumulated in the past period. They are playing on the fact that the central task has now become party-building to try to put over their sect-building line as the genuine party-building line. And in this way they are attempting to draw people into a "Party" whose line can only be thoroughly opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

We in the RU recognize that we should all along have devoted more attention to exposing CL's bourgeois line, even though it has not generally represented as much of a danger within the communist movement as it does now.

We are devoting considerable attention now to dealing with CL's line, not only for the reasons cited above, but because, within the past two months, CL has come out with a direct (though very thinly disguised) attack on the Chinese Communist Party and its line on the international situation. This makes it even more clear that CL stands foursquare in the camp of the enemy, and that all forces who honestly want to build a revolutionary Communist Party and revolutionary workers movement must draw a clear line of demarcation and carry out ruthless struggle to identify and isolate CL as the agent of counter-revolution.

One of the two articles in this special section on CL deals with its line on the international situation and its attack on the Chinese Communist Party, as can be clearly seen in its "International Report" appearing in the *May People's Tribune*, CL's newspaper. The other article, starting below, analyzes the general line of CL, especially on the questions of party building, the national question, the workers movement and the united front, as well as the history and development of CL and the ideological and philosophical roots of CL's counter-revolutionary stand. ■

## The Reactionary Line of The "Communist League"

Recently, the "Communist League" (CL) announced that May Day this year was to be "the last May Day we will celebrate as a Communist League." (*People's Tribune*—PT—May 1974, p. 1) Unfortunately for the masses of people and the revolutionary movement, this was not a declaration by CL of its intention to disband. Instead, it was a proclamation that CL, with whomever it can draw into its orbit, will declare itself a Party soon. So the crucial question is—what kind of Party is CL about to create?

A big part of the answer to this question can be determined by the way CL has, for the past six years, gone about building its "Party." According to CL, until its "Party" is formed, all mass struggle is useless, is only "bowing to spontaneity." CL has even declared, as far back as three years ago, that "In the United States we are at the end of the period where spontaneous acts are going to contribute to the revolution." (PT, March 1971, p. 11; emphasis added)

So much for learning from the masses! So much for Lenin, who emphasized that "The Party's task is not to concoct some fashionable means of helping the workers, but to join up with the workers' movement, to bring light into it, to assist the workers in the struggle they themselves have already begun to wage." ("Draft and Explanation of a Programme for the Social-Democratic Party," *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 112, emphasis added) From CL you would never know, for example, that the Soviets, the eventual form of proletarian state power in Russia, were created "spontaneously" by the workers there, and then summed up, popularized and eventually led by the Bolsheviks.

While CL pays lip service to the fact that "The role of conscious leaders has to be earned in the spontaneous struggle," (PT, March 1971, p. 10), CL in fact treats the Party as the possessor of perfect knowledge and reduces the process of leading the masses to elevating them to this "body of political knowledge"

(PT, May 1974, p. 13). This subjective approach negates one of the most basic principles of Marxism: "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to achieve even the most rudimentary knowledge...Be a pupil before you become a teacher." (Mao Tsetung)

CL's one-sided outlook leads it to go even further, preaching that until it has got its "Party" together, mass struggle is not only useless but dangerous, because it provokes the bourgeoisie to step up fascist assaults on the leaderless—and therefore completely helpless—masses.

### Obvious Conclusion?

Since there is no Party in the U.S. yet, "It is obvious," according to CL, "that the state will welcome another Watts or Detroit under the existing conditions, because it will provide them with all the excuse necessary to expand or even complete the drive for fascism." (PT, March 1971, p. 12) This same line led CL to the position of "abstaining" from a mass demonstration in the Bay Area recently against "Operation Zebra." Instead of joining with and leading the masses in hitting back at fascist repression, CL stood on the sidelines wagging its finger and whining that nothing can be done until there is a "united front against fascism... led by a working class party." (From leaflet by CL "Rank and File Caucus," Laborers Local 261—see *Revolution*, June 1974, and *Red Papers 6*)

With this kind of approach, the "Party" CL is about to create cannot possibly be a real vanguard, and its line cannot possibly reflect the reality of class struggle or serve to advance that struggle toward the revolutionary goal.

According to CL, the Party must be built "on the basis of the fact that the Negro question, a national colonial question is the key to the Socialist revolu-

tion in the U.S.N.A." [United States of North America—Ed.] ("*Negro National Colonial Question*," the Communist League, p. 106) This statement of CL's line, along with the fact that the national question is a central question for proletarian revolution in the U.S., makes it especially important to take up CL's line on this.

In *Red Papers 6*, we have dealt at length with the positions of BWC, PRRWO and others which are fundamentally the same as CL's line on this question. Here, we will go into those aspects of CL's position that distinguish it as an even more thoroughly anti-Marxist line.

### CL on National Question

CL's position is laid out fully in its document, "*Negro National Colonial Question*." At the beginning, CL warns that this document "cannot be read as most of the inaccurate, immature and shallow movement documents. This statement is meant to be studied...It is a reaffirmation of the position of the Communist International and the position of V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin, the greatest of all thinkers on the question of oppressed peoples and nations." (p. I-II, emphasis added—note that Mao Tsetung is not included!)

Let's take the main arguments of this document point by point and see how they represent an attack on the Communist International (CI), a deviation from the Marxist-Leninist method, and an opportunist distortion of present day reality.

The first is on the nature of slavery in the U.S. CL quotes Marx on the fact that this slavery was "commercial exploitation," that the products of this southern slave system were "drawn into the whirlpool of an international market dominated by the capitalist mode of production." (see p. 7, CL docu-

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Demonstration on April 22 against Operation Zebra—police harassment of Black community in San Francisco. CL not only stands aloof from struggles like this, but even issued a leaflet denouncing the demonstration.

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ment) Further, in the old slave South, slaves were hired out to work on railroads, etc. Therefore, says CL, slavery itself was really capitalism and in this understanding lies "the secret of the genesis of the Negro National question." (p. 8)

Well, this is a secret that was kept from Marx (and from Lenin, too). In Marx's writings on slavery in the U.S., you can find references to the "capitalist outlook" of the slaveowners (and Engels refers to their "bourgeois nature"). Still, as CL itself cites—then distorts (p. 11)—Marx clearly characterized the Civil War as a "struggle between two social systems, between the system of slavery and the system of free labor. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent." (from *The Civil War in the United States*, letters and articles by Marx and Engels, p. 81)

CL's "analysis" of slavery in the U.S. leads it to directly oppose Marxist political economy and class analysis. CL writes, "Capitalism is the commodity producing society where human labor itself appears on the market as a commodity. Simply because this labor is sold all at once does not change the character of the exploitation of that labor." (p. 8) CL follows this with a quote from Marx, which is apparently supposed to show that where production is characterized by commodity production and the creation of surplus value, this makes it capitalist production.

CL is wrong here from start to finish. First, "By capitalism is meant that stage of the development of commodity production at which not only the products of human labor, but human labor power itself becomes a commodity." (Lenin, "On the So-Called Market Question," *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 93, emphasis added)

But for capitalist economic relations to exist, the worker "must be the untrammelled owner of his capacity for labour, i.e., of his person... The continuance of this relation demands that the owner of the labour-power should sell it only for a definite period, for if he were to sell it rump and stump, once for all, he would be selling himself and converting himself from a free man into a slave, from the owner of a commodity into a commodity." (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 168, Int'l Publishers Ed., emphasis added)

Marx said of slavery in the U.S., "The slave-owner buys his labourer as he buys his horse. If he loses his slave, he loses capital." (Cited in CL Document, p. 9, emphasis added here) CL quotes this, but they don't understand it—or they deliberately misrepresent it. Does CL think that when a slaveowner works his horse and feeds it hay, that is the same thing as capitalism!

#### Analysis of Slavery

But Marx's analysis went far deeper, for the slave is different than the horse. The slave is a thinking human being, and slave labor, including human intelligence, must be applied to make the horse work. It is out of the slave's labor, and not the horse's, that surplus value is extracted (just as it is the factory worker's labor applied to running a machine and not the machine itself that produces surplus value.)

But that still doesn't make slavery capitalism. In capitalist production the worker confronts the capitalist as a "free" laborer, and exchanges his commodity, labor power, for a definite time, with the capitalist, for a wage. The capitalist farmer has to pay an initial cost for his land, but not to buy the worker once and for all. The capitalist pays to the workers (as wages) part of the value they produce (the workers generally get enough to keep working and to reproduce). The capitalist can lay off the worker one week after hiring him without losing capital (money), but in order not to take a loss on his investment, the slaveowner must

sell the slave if he wants to get rid of him (or at least work him for enough months or years to get back his investment). That is what Marx meant with the comparison between the slave and the horse.

The fact that the slave owner must first lay out cash to buy the slave and then continuously use part of the value he produces to keep the slave working and reproducing (as long as he stays alive)—this acts as a drag on development. This is a major reason why, from the standpoint of development of the productive forces, capitalism is more progressive than slavery, and why in capitalist agriculture more improvements in productive methods, in fertility of the soil, etc. can be made with the surplus value, whereas in slave production almost all the surplus that is re-invested has to go to buy new land and more slaves.

This was certainly true of slavery in the U.S., as was the fact that farm implements had to be very heavy and therefore unwieldy so they couldn't be broken by the slave, and that the overall primitiveness of slave production quickly exhausted the soil. Slavery in the South conflicted with and retarded the development of industry and markets there characteristic of capitalism.

The creation of surplus value can be found in pre-capitalist society, where commodities are produced. This was the case in the ancient Greek and Roman slave empires, for example, and it was also a common practice there to hire out slaves for use in mining, etc. CL continually confuses these things with capitalist production, just as they confuse the character of circulation of commodities (the market) with the character of the relations of producing them in the first place.

#### Slave Production for Capitalist Market

Marx, while noting the tendency of capitalism to remake the world in its image, explained that once commodities are put on the world market and enter into the capitalist production process, "their origin is obliterated. They exist henceforth only as forms of existence of industrial capital, are embodied in it. However, it still remains true that to replace them they must be reproduced, and to this extent the capitalist mode of production is conditional on modes of production lying outside of its own stage of development." (*Capital*, Vol. 2, p. 110, emphasis added)

In other words, the fact that the cotton of the slave states entered into capitalist production in England after it had been sold on the world market did not make the method of producing the cotton capitalist in itself. It was slave production—for the (capitalist-dominated) world market. This marked it as different from the earliest forms of slavery—and meant the exploitation of the slaves was even more ruthless—but it did not mark it as capitalism.

Since it should seem obvious that slavery is slavery and not capitalism, what does CL hope to accomplish with this attempt at denying reality? Their objective is to refute the analysis that after the Civil War and Reconstruction, the exploitation (the economic relation) Black people were forced into was pre-capitalist—feudal survivals—and not capitalist relations. This is the only way CL can make the development of the "Negro Question" in the U.S. fit its dogmatic and Trotskyite analysis that everywhere in the world, the national question has been the same since the world era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, when, according to CL, "the colonial question is transformed into the national-colonial question with the proletarian revolution the next step on the historical agenda." (PT, May 1974, p. 10—see other article for more on this)

To put this over, CL pretends that it was only revisionists who held that "the struggle for democracy in the South is based on the destruction of lingering FEUDAL RELATIONS, not feudal social, but feudal

economic relations." (p. 21, CL document) In RP 6 we show how the struggle of Black people, in the South as well as the North, is no longer essentially a struggle against feudal survivals, but there is no doubt that this was a central part of that struggle until after WW2.

And CL knows that it was the CL, whose position CL claims to "reaffirm," which stated in 1930 that Black people were then mainly "peasants and agricultural laborers in a state of semi-serfdom," suffering "pre-capitalist forms of exploitation of the Negro peasantry" mainly in the "feudal system of 'share cropping.'" (CL Resolution of 1930, which CL reprints in its documents—the quotes above are found on pp. 109, 113, 114. of the CL document)

#### The Opposite of the Truth

Further, CL knows or should know that Lenin wrote in 1915 that it was the "very opposite of the truth" to say that the U.S. had never known feudal relations and was free from feudal survivals. "The economic survivals of slavery are not in any way distinguishable from those of feudalism," Lenin wrote, "and in the former slave-owning South of the U.S.A. these survivals are still very powerful." ("New Data on Capitalism in Agriculture," Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 22, p. 24, emphasis Lenin's)

And Lenin was very clear that Black tenant farmers in the South were "not even tenants in the European, civilized, modern-capitalist sense of the word. They are chiefly semi-feudal or—which is the same thing in economic terms—semi-slave share-croppers." (Same article, p. 25, emphasis Lenin's)

The next main point is CL's statement that "Since the end of the Civil War, the South as a region has had a semi-colonial status and the oppression of the Black Belt has been that of direct colonial oppression." (p. 81, CL document) The South as a whole, since the Civil War, and even down to today, has been a more backward region than the rest of the country and has been used as a low-wage preserve by the monopoly capitalists centered in the Northeast especially.

This has been rooted in the history of oppression of the Black nation in the "Black Belt." But the "Black Belt" has not developed as a "colony" of the U.S.

The aim of the Confederacy in the Civil War was not to permanently secede, but to bring the entire country under its control. This is why Marx wrote in 1861 that "The South is neither a territory strictly detached from the North geographically, nor a moral unity. It is not a country at all, but a battle slogan." ("Marx and Engels on the Civil War," p. 72)

The defeat of the Confederacy did not represent the seizing of a colony, an annexation against the will of the masses there, but the carrying forward of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The Black people of the South and a number of poor whites fought to keep the South "annexed" to the Union, as the concrete form of struggling to overthrow the slave system.

With the consolidation of the rule of Northern capital over the South, and the development of capitalism toward monopoly capitalism in the U.S., Reconstruction was reversed, Black people were robbed of land and political rights, forced back onto the plantations in semi-serf (or semi-slave) conditions and subjected to the Black Codes. It was this that welded Black people, at that time overwhelmingly concentrated in the "Black Belt," into a modern nation.

As Lenin put it in 1917, the Black people "should be classed as an oppressed nation, for the equality won in the Civil War of 1861-1865 and guaranteed by the Constitution of the republic was in many respects increasingly curtailed in the chief Negro areas (the South) in connection with the transition from the progressive pre-monopoly capitalism of 1860-70 to

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the reactionary, monopoly-capitalism (imperialism) of the new era." ("Statistics and Sociology," Lenin, Works, Vol. 23, pp. 275-76)

In analyzing this situation in 1930, the Comintern noted "semi-colonial features" of the oppression of the "Black Belt," and stressed that it would be wrong to make a fundamental distinction between the oppression of colonies and that of other oppressed nations. But the Comintern also stated that "It is not correct to consider the Negro zone of the South as a colony of the United States...the Black Belt is not in itself, either economically or politically such a united whole as to warrant its being called a special colony of the United States." (Reprinted in CL's document, pp. 113-114)

CL is forced to note that there are "obvious and sharp differences" between its position and that of the Comintern. CL tries to pass this off by saying that the "truths of yesterday are not entirely applicable today." (see p. 104)

Nobody can accuse CL of dogmatically clinging to yesterday's analysis! But the problem is that CL says that capitalist relations have all along dominated in the "Black Belt," and that it has been a colony since right after the Civil War. Both of these positions were directly refuted by the Comintern Resolutions. So the differences are not due to the fact that conditions have changed sharply—which they have—but that CL's line is wrong on the whole history and development of the question.

Changes in the South

Further, the changes that have occurred since 1930 are all in the direction of making the "Black Belt" more integrated with the rest of the U.S., making it even less like a "colony." In 1930 the Comintern noted that while the "Black Belt" was not a colony, "this zone is not, either economically or politically, such an integral part of the whole United States as any other part of the country." (See CL Document, p. 113)

While there are still regional differences—the South is still relatively more backward, more rural, and poorer—it is no longer essentially the case that it is less integrated into the whole United States than other parts of the country. We don't have space here to analyze all the dramatic changes in the South since WW2, but the following pattern is clear.

Agriculture has been mechanized and converted into modern capitalist farming, and at the same time has been diversified away from overwhelming dependence on "cash" crops like cotton, tobacco, peanuts, etc. (livestock and dairy products now predominate in many Southern states).

Industry, too, has been diversified with the growth of transportation and electrical equipment industries, even though "traditional" Southern industries like textiles still occupy a major place. Further, incomes relative to the rest of the country, while still lagging significantly behind, have risen sharply above the level of the 1930s, and in some metropolitan areas (Atlanta, Richmond, Houston, Greensboro/Winston-Salem and others) per capita income now exceeds the national average.

This, of course, does not change the fact that in the South as a whole, wages are still only about 4/5 the national average and unionization is very low. In areas with a high rural population—such as the Carolinas and the Mississippi-Arkansas area—there are large numbers of rural "underemployed," more than in the rest of the country—and a number of companies have seized on this to locate plants in the rural areas of these states and in other rural areas of the South.

On the other hand, there is a tendency toward the development of more capital-intensive industry in the South, with a higher proportion of skilled workers and higher wages. This is not replacing but growing up alongside the low-wage industries like textiles.

What is happening is that, increasingly, Blacks have moved heavily into these low-wage categories (along with many whites, of course), while the more skilled categories are overwhelmingly white, just as in the whole country. This trend, including increased automation (even in industries like textiles) is leading to the situation where wages will rise for a section of more skilled workers, unemployment (which in the urban areas is lower in the South than in the North at present) will grow, especially among the unskilled, and the pattern in the South will become even more clearly like the rest of the country. Already, in 1970, median family income of whites in the South (about 90% that of whites in the North) was higher than that for Blacks in the North.

Changes in the Black Belt

The caste-like oppression of Black people in the industrial working class—their concentration in the lowest-paying dirtiest jobs and their double rate of unemployment—and not the share-cropping system,

or even the general backwardness of the rural South—is what today marks the *main economic basis* of oppression of Black people, in the South as well as the North.

The point is that the "Black Belt" as it existed in the past—as an area characterized by the concentration of Black people in rural areas in *pre-capitalist* forms of exploitation and political domination (Black Codes, etc)—no longer really exists as such today, despite remaining concentrations of rural poor Blacks and the general pattern of discrimination in areas like the Mississippi Delta and South Carolina, especially. The "Black Belt" area is even less a "united whole" than in 1930.

Richmond, Virginia, for example, is actually becoming an extension, economically, of the area running from Boston down into the Baltimore-Washington, D.C. area. In the deep South, there are two major centers of trade and transportation—Atlanta and Dallas—and they are more interconnected with areas outside the South than with each other. All Southern states are linked by rail and modern highways to Northern areas (this was not nearly so true, especially in the case of highway trucking, before WW2), and many of them trade as much or more with states outside the South as with other Southern states (except their immediate neighbors).

Further, there has been some change in the pattern of trade, away from the traditional picture of Southern states as exporters of raw materials (from mining and agriculture) and importers of finished industrial goods. This pattern has not been changed altogether, and as we said, parts of the South still serve as low-wage, backward "runaway" preserves for capital centered in the north. But today, much more than in 1930, it is certainly not the case that the South is a "semi-colony" and the "Black Belt" a "colony" of the U.S.

These changes are also reflected in the population of the "Black Belt" area. CL claims that in the "general territory which makes up the Negro Nation, a majority of the population is made up of Negro men and women" (i.e., Black people), and "In the terri-

torial core of the Negro Nation—that is, the Black Belt, there is a continuous stretch of overwhelming Negro majority." (p. 99, CL Document)

Facts Are Stubborn Things

As the CL is fond of quoting Engels, however, "Facts, gentlemen are stubborn things." And the facts show that in the general area that the CL defines as the "Negro Nation," the majority of the population is clearly white, and in the area of the "Black Belt" there is no continuous area of Black majority, but there is a clear white majority.

In 1900, four million Black people in the South lived in counties of Black majority, and there were 286 such counties. By 1950, the number of these counties was down to 158, with a Black population of two million. In 1970, there were only 102 counties of Black majority (all in and around the "Black Belt"), and the number of Black people living in these counties was just over one million (1/2 the 1950 total).

Further, taking even the Southern states with the highest concentration of Black population (and in which the "Black Belt" is centered), there are about 310 counties with a Black population of 30% or more (including those with a Black majority). In just these counties alone, the Black population is only 41.5% (about 4.2 million as against a total of 10.1 million—these states are Virginia, South and North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana; if you extend the area to include parts of Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee and Florida, and again take only the counties 30% or more Black, the percentage is approximately the same, clearly a minority).

And these counties are in no way contiguous (continuously connected). They are surrounded by and interspersed with counties of overwhelming white majority (70% or more). In the general area that would be contiguous and include the counties of 30% and more Black population in these seven states, Black people make up about 1/3 of the total population (approximately six million Black as against 18.5 million total). In other words, there are twice as many whites as Blacks in the area that includes the heaviest Black concentration, in and around the "Black Belt." (If you extend the area to include parts of Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee, and Florida, and parts of Virginia and Maryland connecting up with Delaware and the Baltimore-Washington, D.C. area, the Black percent is even lower; all these figures based on 1970 census).

CL tries to hedge itself against the facts with the ridiculous notion that the white and Black people in the "Black Belt" form a "single nationality" (the whites who form a great numerical majority in fact are a "national minority" of the "Negro Nation" in CL's fanciful world). Since CL insists on the strictest adherence to Stalin's definition of a nation, and since this means an historically constituted stable community of people with a common language, common territory, common economic life and a common psychological make-up manifested in a common culture, CL tries this mind-bender as the basis for "common background": "both Negro and Anglo-American were slaves (Anglo-Americans were generally indentured rather than chattel slaves—CL) in the earliest days of the plantation system." (CL Document, p. 101)

This makes a mockery of history and of Marxism-Leninism! Indentured slaves, or servants, were employed in both the North and the South, but this was fundamentally different than chattel slavery (indentured slavery was for a set time) and it was done away with long before the Civil War. Further, after the Civil War and Reconstruction, when the Afro-American nation was welded together, masses of Blacks were held on the plantation, while whites were not (in 1910, 2/3 of the sharecroppers were Black), and whites were not subjected to the infamous Black Codes.

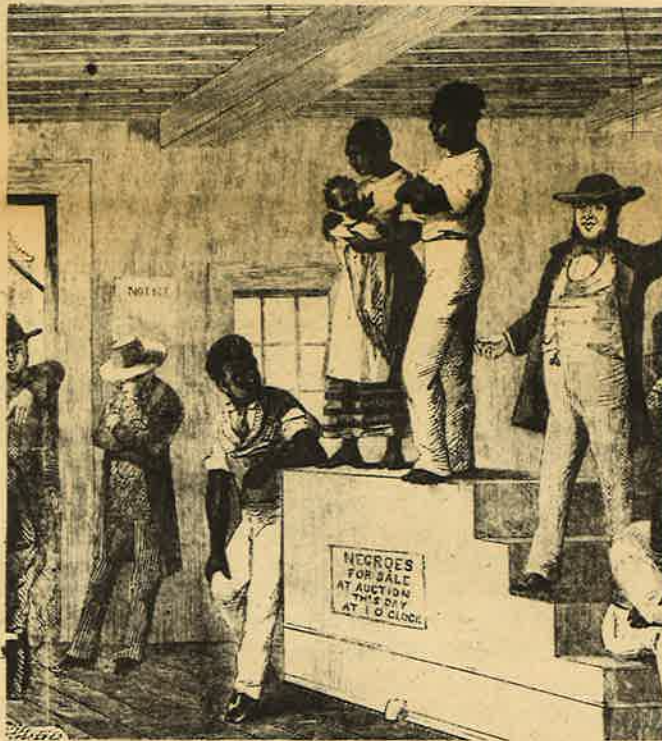
This is certainly not to deny that there is a strong material basis of unity between white and Black working people in the South—as throughout the country. But this is a question of the *class unity* of workers of different nations—also having some common regional bonds—and not the unity of a common nation in its struggle for independence, as CL fantasizes.

Gutting the Heart Out of Black Liberation

CL's ridiculous contortions come down to gutting the heart out of the Black liberation struggle, while at the same time divorcing it from the overall class struggle in the country, by demanding separation—independence—for the "Negro Nation" (white and Black)

CL is not satisfied with merely demanding the right of self-determination for this "Negro Nation." CL attacks the "old slogan of Self-Determination" as just "typical liberal democracy." (See CL publication, "Dialectics of the Development of the Communist League," p. 12) In fact, as CL knows, this slogan

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**PUBLIC SALE!**

AS TRUSTEE FOR JAMES VANMETER, I WILL SELL ALL OF THE property of James Vanmeter at his residence, known as the Wright place, on the Harnback Mill Road, on Friday the 11th day of September 1968.

CONSISTING OF

**THREE SLAVES**

Charles, Mary and her child, the man is about 34 years old, a good farm hand, the woman is an excellent cook and washer.

**HORSES, MULES, CATTLE, SHEEP, HOGS**

AND OROP. CORN IN THE FIELDS.

**OATS, WHEAT, TOBACCO**

Johnson Furniture, Inc., Farm Implements of every kind. Terms of sale, a credit of 4 months will be given on all sums of \$10, and over carrying interest from day of sale. The purchaser to execute Notes with good security.

Winchester August 24th 1968. JAS. H. C. BUSH, Trustee.

Handbill (reduced size) of sale of livestock and other property

The Communist League distorts the history of Black people in the U.S., saying that slavery was the same as capitalist wage-slavery. They do this to justify their dogmatic line which ignores the real nature of the Black liberation struggle today. Above, slave auction.

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was not any "old" slogan, but represented the line of the Comintern, which said that because of the "peculiar situation in the Black Belt"—the fact that Black people were concentrated there as a majority in large areas, forced into virtual slavery on the plantation system and subjected to a form of rule marked by "semi-colonial features"—therefore the main slogan must be "the right of self-determination of the Negroes (the Comintern meant the Black people—RU) in the 'Black Belt.'" (See CL's Document, p. 114)

The historical development of Black people in the U.S. is as a national question and not just a "racial" question. Today, because of this, and because Black people have not and cannot win equality as a people under capitalism, it is still essential to uphold their struggle as a national struggle, and to uphold as a *right* the question of self-determination. This is why the RU holds that Black people still form a nation. But at the same time, it is a nation "of a new type", whose people are dispersed (in the South and the North) among whites, overwhelmingly workers, and members of the single multi-national working class of the U.S.

This gives rise to a Black liberation struggle, different than the Black people's struggle in past periods (including at the time of the Comintern Resolutions). It is capable of striking even more powerful blows at the ruling class, and of linking up even more closely with the overall class struggle for socialism. The spearhead of this struggle is directed against the concrete forms of national oppression Black people suffer today throughout the country—discrimination, violent police repression, suppression of their culture and history as a people—and is not in its main thrust directed toward the aim of self-determination (right of political secession) in the "Black Belt."

Under these concrete conditions, to push for independence (of the "white and Black Negroes" of the "Black Belt"), even more than making the right of self-determination the main slogan, and to distort history, present day reality and Marxism-Leninism to justify this, is the worst kind of opportunism and real liquidation of the Black liberation struggle and its powerful links with the class struggle. It is nothing but an appeal to bourgeois nationalist separatism—and white chauvinism in the form of petty bourgeois moralism and patronizing "white guilt" covered in empty phrases about class unity, wrapped in pseudo-scientific ritual, and glorified as a holy crusade against white chauvinism. As with everything else, CL's line on the national question is counter-revolution in disguise.

## Reactionary CL Position on Workers Movement

CL's reactionary line on the national question carries over into its position on the workers' movement. CL divides the U.S. workers into two different working classes—the proletariat of the Anglo-American nation (whites and "Negro national minority") and the proletariat of the "Negro Nation" ("Negroes" and the "white national minority"). But much more decisive in CL's attempt to split and attack the working class movement is its analysis that the "Anglo-American" workers (they mean mainly white, but also some Black workers), and especially those organized in unions, are the bribed tools of reaction.

Out of one side of its mouth CL denies that it regards these workers as reactionary. It even attacks the approach of adopting "a moralistic, quasi-religious, self-righteous tone of 'repudiation' of privileges, as certain other people have done." (CL's journal, "Proletariat," Vol. 3, No. 1, 1973, p. 36) But later in this same article, we are told that people in the colonies are "looking with extreme interest to see whether we really want revolution", and that to make revolution here will require "a smashing of privileges." (p. 55) CL holds the same line as the "certain others" it belittles.

CL and the others all developed out of a thing called the "Provisional Organizing Committee" (POC), which broke off from the CP in the late 50s in order to "reconstitute" a Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S. POC was a cesspool of sectarianism, which in its disintegration threw off one bit of slime after another. One of its basic principles was that the "Anglo-American" (white) workers are basically reactionary, and every break-off from it has carried the stink of this line with it.

Let's examine a few examples to make this absolutely clear, starting with the conversion of a CL member to the "true religion", as described by him in "Proletariat" (Spring 1973). "At a [CL] party school my whole opportunist line on bribery was exposed. At the end of an hours-long struggle with one of the leading comrades, I exclaimed in despair, 'But we can't say that the working class of the Anglo-American nation lives off the backs of the colonial peoples!' (That would be too rude!) He answered, 'Comrade, I don't see how we can avoid saying it.'" (emphasis, words

in parentheses CL's). You cannot avoid it if you are CL and are out to push a counter-revolutionary line!

In March 1972, CL comments on the recently signed contract between shippers and the west coast longshoremen's union (ILWU): "The increased benefits, higher wages, guaranteed annual income, represent an attempt by the capitalists to buy off the longshore workers...the major aspect of the strike settlement is reactionary in that is a decisive step in the formation of a fascist labor front...it is essential that revolutionaries fight to turn major strikes like the longshore strike from primarily reactionary to primarily revolutionary. This can only be done by supporting the national liberation struggles against imperialism and by building a revolutionary communist party to overthrow the capitalists. We urge all honest and progressive elements of the longshore union to wage a resolute struggle against the fascist labor leaders, lest they be unwittingly, tools of the ruling classes drive for fascism." (PT, March, 1972, p. 9)

### Factual Distortions

This whole article is full of factual distortions. The contract set back the longshoremen. The guaranteed annual income, for example, was a shuck. The fight over container jurisdiction that CL also refers to was not, as CL makes out, a question of the ILWU vs. non-union workers, but between the ILWU and the Teamsters. The fact that the ILWU gave in on this did not mean that the dock workers "agreed to allow the containers to be unpacked by non-union labor." (PT, *ibid*) Finally, CL neglects to mention that the federal government forced the longshoremen back to work during the strike and Congress threatened anti-strike legislation against all transportation workers during this strike.

Instead of seeing strikes like this as important battles in the class struggle, which can be built on and linked with broader revolutionary struggle, and instead of showing how the treacherous role of men like Harry Bridges (head of the ILWU) actually sells out the longshoremen as well as the whole class, CL pictures the settlement Bridges forced on the longshoremen as a *gain* for the dock workers at the expense of the whole U.S. and international proletariat. And CL poses workers' strikes and struggles for day to day needs *against* support of national liberation struggles, and the task of building a Party.

In September 1971, after contracts were signed in steel and railroad, under the conditions of the newly-imposed wage-price freeze, CL attacked the "steel workers who are currently being organized to demonstrate against 'foreign steel' and are pushing the capitalist line of 'Buy American.'" CL calls these contracts the "wanton buying of a social base among the working class. A social base for a social movement. The social movement of fascism." (PT, Sept. 1971, p. 1, emphasis added)

Notice, again, that CL draws no distinction between the workers and the reactionary trade union officials. And CL is so anxious to make fascists out of the workers that they invent higher wages for steelworkers to "prove" that they are bought off—"For the skilled-organized workers such as railroad, steel, carpenters, etc. wages have been frozen at \$6-8 an hour or more (not bad!) but for the majority wages have been fro-

zen at \$1.65 or maybe \$2.50 an hour." (PT, Sept, 1971, p. 2, emphasis added, parenthesis CL's)

CL completely fails again to analyze the real conditions. It was this 1971 steel contract that created the joint management-union official productivity councils to enforce speedup. Since then there have been more lay-offs in steel, and the accident rate has gone way up. This 1971 contract was a betrayal of the whole working class alright, but not in the way CL means it, not because the steelworkers won "too much," but because they were sold out and agreements were shoved down their throats that have been used as "pace-setters" by the capitalists and their "labor lieutenants" against other sections of the class (the bourgeoisie is currently using the no-strike agreement in steel in the same way).

But don't get the idea CL is attacking the workers. "We are not attacking the rank and file," they claim, "but we insist that they realize that they are being bought off—bought off to defend the capitalists. We are saying that their wage struggles are not the major issue. The major issue is fascism or revolution. The major issue is not national pay scales but proletarian internationalism." (PT, Sept. 1971, p. 1)

### Demand Lower Wages?

Once again, CL sets the struggles of workers for day to day needs in opposition to proletarian internationalism and proletarian revolution in the U.S. And CL is consistent in this, for they insist that "To say, 'We have a right to organize and fight for a better standard of living and working conditions' in the imperialist USNA without exposing that the standard of living which now exists in this country is based upon the imperialist plunder and rape of the colonies and semi-colonies is blatant white chauvinism, is reinforcing and heightening the divisions in the working class, not healing them." ("Proletariat," Spring 1974, p. 41.) CL later "corrects" some of the statements in the "Open Letter to the Denver Left," where the above is found, but this particular statement is *not* one they "correct."

Of course we must expose the fact that the miserable standard of living of people in the colonies is due to imperialist oppression and we must win the workers of this country to unity with them in struggle against imperialism, but the standard of living of workers in this country is not "too high"! The logic of CL's line leads to saying that workers in the U.S., especially white unionized workers, should actually demand lower wages and worse conditions so they will be less bribed, less inclined toward fascism and more open to revolution. This is indeed revolutionary dialectics!

CL bases itself on the unscientific analysis, which Marxists have long rejected, that the most oppressed equals the most revolutionary, that "the most advanced" are the "most exploited and oppressed. They have the least bribe, the most class consciousness." (PT, Oct. 1971, p. 11) To try to put over this anti-Marxist line, CL often repeats a statement by Lenin, where he says that communists must "go down lower and deeper, to the real masses." ("Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," Lenin, Works, Vol. 23, p.

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Striking longshore workers on West Coast in 1971. They were forced by the government to go back to work during the strike and were sold out by the ILWU bureaucrats. CL, however, attacks workers like these, complaining that their wages are too high!



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120, emphasis Lenin's)

But Lenin meant to dig down beneath the corrupt trade union officials and the rest of the labor aristocracy to the masses of basic proletarians, who are the social base for revolution. CL means to dig down beneath the "opportunist" and "chauvinist" industrial proletariat, which CL regards as a social base for fascism!

#### Lenin Saw It Differently!

The same volume of Lenin's where the article cited above is found also contains his "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution," where he pointed out that the metalworkers in Russia were "the best paid, the most class conscious and best educated proletarians." The textile workers, who in 1905 were two and a half times more numerous than the metalworkers, "are the most backward and the worst paid."

Lenin's point, of course, was not that the best paid equals the most revolutionary, either, but that in their struggles, economic as well as political struggles, and through the work of communists linked with these struggles, the metal workers developed a high degree of class consciousness. Lenin summed it up this way, "Only struggle educates the exploited class. Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will." (Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 23, p. 241)

Combined with struggle, of course, must be the conscious leadership of communists, pointing to the general and long-term interests of the class. And this is why Lenin follows the statements above with the emphasis that "it was necessary for the vanguard of the workers not to regard the class struggle as a struggle in the interests of a thin upper stratum—a conception the reformists all too often try to instill—but for the proletariat to come forward as the real vanguard of the majority of the exploited and draw that majority into the struggle." (Lenin, same article, p. 242) (In Vol. 23, there is an editor's note saying that "in the manuscript" some of these statements were crossed out, but the editors put them back in. And, in addition, Lenin makes the same point throughout the article.)

Here Lenin has laid out the correct and genuinely revolutionary approach to the working class movement, as opposed to the kind of counter-revolutionary line CL is peddling. Preaching that the basic industrial proletariat is a social base for fascism (workers in auto and some other industries make higher wages than steel workers, so they must be included too!) only exposes those responsible for CL's line as fascist dogs themselves.

## CL on Fascism

Finally, let's note how CL re-writes history to put over its line that the proletariat is the social base for fascism. "In Germany," according to CL, "fascism had its base in uniting the German proletariat against the proletariat of other nations." (PT, April 1974, p. 12) From this you would never know that the fascists in Germany received very little support in the elections from the industrial workers, that in fact the German workers fought militantly and heroically against the fascists, and that to consolidate fascist rule the German bourgeoisie had to crush the workers' movement and murder many class conscious workers. Apparently nothing is too low for CL in its determination to slander and attack the international proletariat!

CL has a basic problem, however. It can't maintain credibility as a revolutionary organization if it forever stands aloof from the workers' struggle, and this becomes even more the case now that it is about to create a "Party." People are bound to ask—well, okay, now you're a Party, so what do you do? And while it may push its anti-working class line among a few, CL can't take it out to the masses without getting stomped on for it. CL's way out of this is its call for a "united front against fascism," as a means of justifying "compromise" with the concerns of the "backward masses"—like the concern for a decent life—and a way of opposing the united front against imperialism strategy for proletarian revolution.

We cannot here make a lengthy analysis of the United Front Against Fascism line of the Comintern in 1935 or its application in various countries (we will deal with the question of fascism in a future article in *Revolution*). But it has to be pointed out that this line was developed to try to deal with conditions which found the revolutionary proletariat on the defensive. And this line also attempted to lay the basis, under these conditions, for finding what Lenin called the "forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution." (See "Left-Wing" Communism, *An Infantile Disorder*, Chinese edition, p. 96, emphasis Lenin's) By definition, this united front position called for compromise with the reformist Social Democrats, on the basis that the immediate choice was "between bourgeois democracy and fascism," and that only by dealing with that as the main contradiction could the

CL line says that the industrial proletariat, as well as skilled workers, are "bribed tools of reaction" and a "social base for fascism." But the reality is that, faced with increasing contradictions and growing crisis, skilled workers are conducting militant struggle against their deteriorating wages and working conditions, such as in the 1973 San Francisco carpenters strike against the wage freeze, pictured here.



proletariat then move forward to socialist revolution. (See Dimitroff, "The United Front," Int'l Publishers, p. 110)

#### CL Line Rightist in Essence

To say, as CL does, that this is the situation in the U.S. today, that if the masses even dare to struggle without a Party this will provoke the move to complete fascism—such a line is clearly rightist and aimed at holding back the development of revolutionary struggle. It is interesting that both the "ultra-left" CL and the openly right-leaning October League (OL) come out with the same cries that fascism is right around the corner, and even use the very same phrases—"Nixon gang," "stemming the fascist tide," etc. (See PT, May 1973, p. 13) And CL calls for uniting with such forces as the NAACP, PUSH, etc., to build a united front "composed of both the trade unions and the popular front," though excluding the trade union officials. (PT, March 1974, p. 10)

CL even gets into characterizing different sections of the bourgeoisie (at different times) as the movers toward fascism. Nixon is several times referred to as "the spokesman for the most wealthy, rapacious imperialists" within the U.S., "the most wealthy, fascist imperialists," etc. (See PT, June 73, pp. 9, 11) This led CL to the position of tying to the call for the resignation of Nixon and of the "whole government" the demand that "new elections be held to determine who should run the country" (a position that puts CL in unity with the CP and Trotskyite Spartacist League—see PT, May 1973, emphasis added). Talk about tailing after and promoting bourgeois illusions!

On the other hand, CL sometimes presents the split in the U.S. ruling class as between those who support the "detente" with the USSR, and those who oppose it. Heading up this latter group, according to CL, is the Joint Chiefs of Staff, whose actions were shown by the recent Saigon attack on Chinese islands, which "could only have been possible with the approval of the Joint Chiefs of Staff." (PT, Feb. 1974, p. 13, emphasis added)

The comments of the Chinese Communists to the CPUSA in 1963 sound like they were addressed to CL on this question: "These leaders of the CPUSA often speak of 'two centers in Washington, one in the White House, the other in the Pentagon,' and speak of 'the Pentagon generals and admirals and their coalition partners among the ultra-Rights, the Republican leaders and Wall Street' as forces independent of the White House. We should like to ask: Do the leaders of the CPUSA still accept the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and admit that the U.S. state apparatus is the tool of monopoly capital for class rule? And if so, how can there be a president independent of monopoly capital, how can there be a Pentagon independent of the White House..." (See "Workers of All Countries Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy," Peking 1963, p. 368)

Since 1963, of course, the decline and crisis of U.S. imperialism has grown, and contradictions within the ruling class, as well as repression against the

people, has intensified. But it is absolutely incorrect to act as though the immediate choice is "fascism or revolution," as CL has been screaming.

To label every case of ruling class corruption and every act of repression as the sure sign of impending fascism is not only to spread defeatism, but more than that to cover up the nature of bourgeois class rule, to conceal the fact that bourgeois democracy is a form of *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie* over the proletariat, and is always marked by violent repression against the people.

It is our duty to fight all repression and educate the masses about the nature of fascism and its relation to bourgeois democracy. If we fail to do that we won't be able to mobilize the masses to prevent fascism when it really is imminent. But if we overestimate the development of the crisis and exaggerate the present tendencies towards fascism on the one hand and revolution on the other, we are bound to make errors both "left" and right in form, but always right in essence, always opposed to building the protracted struggle of the millions of oppressed and exploited for revolution and socialism.

As we said before, CL needs to present this as a situation marked by "pre-revolutionary deterioration of working conditions" ("Proletariat," Spring 1973, p. 28) They need to picture it as one where the alternative is fascism or revolution, and therefore the correct strategy is the united front against fascism. They have to do this to find a way to "justify" the need to "participate in the objective struggle of the working class in order to unite it into the class struggle of the proletariat against capitalism...especially at this time, when it is essential that communists throw themselves into the struggle against fascism." (Proletariat, Spring 1974, p. 64) But as we have seen, CL's line for the masses—as opposed to their "left" line for the "advanced"—is extremely and openly rightist.

What all this shows is that CL has no faith in the masses and doesn't really believe that they can be won to a *revolutionary line*, on the basis of linking communism with the spontaneous mass struggle and practicing the mass line, but that they must first be suckered into a rightist line under the cover of building a "united front against fascism," and then somehow they can be made to make a leap from reformism to communism. This shows that at one and the same time, CL puts forth "dogma for a handful, rightism for the masses," and all around acts as an aid to the bourgeoisie and its revisionist agents, by in fact separating communism from the masses.

## CL Separates Theory from Practice

The philosophical roots of CL's bourgeois line lie in separating theory from practice. This is seen in the way CL describes its own development, and, as we said at the beginning, in the way it has gone about "building the Party" in particular.

CL has all along said that party-building is the central task, or "strategy." Why? Because the proletariat

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has no vanguard and must have one. If by this, CL merely meant that building the Party is a strategic task and that all genuine communists must work to bring the new Party into existence at the earliest possible time, and if CL linked this task with building and learning from the mass movement, then our differences with them on this question would be minimal. The difference in formulations of central task in the past would have been just that—different formulations of the same basic objective.

But true to its whole outlook, CL has insisted that party-building must be carried out in isolation from the mass movement. And given that this has generally characterized those groups that put forward the "party-building line" over the past period (including OL, before it flipped from "ultra-leftism" way over to the right), the differences are fundamental between those groups and the RU and others who say that the central task has *only now become* party-building, and that while the creation of the Party as soon as possible has always been a key objective, it was first necessary, in order to create the conditions for establishing the Party, to begin the process of linking communism with the mass movement, especially in the working class.

CL gives away its opportunism on this question with the statement that out of struggles against the RU line, the CL's "line began to emerge. The basic question of building the mass movement *or* building a core of communist cadre was settled." ("Dialectics of Development of the Communist League," p. 13, emphasis added) Apparently it never even occurred to CL that it is not a question of "either/or," but a question of building cadre *in the course of building the mass struggle*. In fact, Marxists know that this is the only way cadre can be developed. CL clearly opposes the Marxist stand and makes a principle out of the separation of theory and practice.

According to the publication "Marxist-Leninists Unite!" which is the basis on which CL and like-minded people are moving toward the formation of the Party, "In this crucial period of party-building, education is our main task." CL tries to justify this with distortions of development of the revolutionary movement in Russia, especially in its earliest stages. While, from the start, Lenin put forward that the class conscious proletariat must build its own Party and refuse to enter into any broad "democratic" party with petty bourgeois utopians and bourgeois democrats, Lenin insisted at the same time (the early 1890s) that the Marxist circles, even before they had formed a Party, must make "the transition to mass agitation among the workers and the union of Marxism with the working-class movement. (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 15)

In one of his first major works, while stressing the importance of theoretical work at that time (1894), Lenin made a point of saying that "In thus emphasizing the necessity, importance and immensity of the theoretical work of the Social-Democrats, I by no means want to say that this work should take precedence over PRACTICAL WORK." (\*footnote—"On the contrary, the practical work of propaganda and agitation must always take precedence, because firstly theoretical work *only supplies* answers to the problems raised by *practical work*"...) "Such a presentation of the task guards Social-Democracy against the defects from which socialist groups so

often suffer, namely, dogmatism and sectarianism." ("What the 'Friends of the People' Are," Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 297-98, emphasis added)

To Lenin, practical work, including propaganda and agitation, meant building the mass struggle and linking communism with it. His whole method is a direct refutation of CL's consistent separation of theory from practice.

CL's whole rotten stand is laid out in all its glory in its analysis of the "Dialectics of the Development of the Communist League." On every level, this document, like all of CL's trash, is a distortion from beginning to end.

First off, it contains at least 15 factual distortions on the history of the development of the U.S. communist movement. The following two are typical and telling. First, in order to picture William Z. Foster as a completely unprincipled opportunist, CL says that after Jay Lovestone (a revisionist) was expelled from the Party, then "Foster turned on his chief henchman, Cannon, (who was a Trotskyite) and expelled him and his followers from the Party." (p. 9, parentheses CL's) But, in fact, Cannon was expelled *before* Lovestone.

Second, and even more revealing, CL claims that its "parent group," POC, split the Party in 1958, after the 17th Convention of the Party which "came out fully for revisionism." (p. 11) This Convention did come out fully for revisionism, but it was held in 1959, *after* present leaders of CL and others had split and formed the POC. CL is trying to cover itself here, but the fact is that, from the beginning, in the very way they split the Party—leaving before the struggle against revisionism had been carried through as far as possible, and turning their backs on honest but confused people within the Party—the leaders of CL and like-types *started out on the basis of sectarianism*.

## Idealist World Outlook

But more than these factual distortions, this whole document is based on the idealism that characterizes CL's world outlook (assertion of the supremacy of ideas over material reality and of theory over practice). The document starts out describing what it says is Marx's "famous statement on dialectics"—"Wherein does the movement of pure reason consist? In posing itself, opposing itself, composing itself; in formulating itself as thesis, anti-thesis, synthesis, or yet again, in affirming itself, negating itself, and negating its negation." (Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*) CL goes on throughout the document to base itself on this method of dialectics. These are dialectics alright, but they are *Hegelian* dialectics, the idealist dialectics of German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Frederick Hegel, not Marxist dialectics.

In fact, in the passage CL quotes from Marx, he is making fun of the "movement of pure reason," the idealists' notion of how history developed. This is clear from the way Marx introduces the section in question, with the statement that "M. Proudhon (whom Marx is directly answering—Ed.) most certainly wanted to frighten the French by flinging quasi-Hegelian phrases at them." (See pp. 104-109, Intl. Publishers Ed., *The Poverty of Philosophy*)

Marx makes this even clearer when he states just after that, "the moment we cease to pursue the historical movement of production relations, of which categories are but the theoretical expression, the moment we want to see in these categories no more than ideas, spontaneous thoughts, independent of real re-

# CL Covers for Por



Mao Tsetung and Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania, of China has encouraged unity and self-reliance on the part of the African continent against the two superpowers. CL, by contrast, says the same as the Soviet social imperialists and covers for soc-

lations, we are forced to attribute the origin of these thoughts to the movement of pure reason." (p. 105)

Marxism certainly learned from Hegel's development of the dialectical method, but not as such, for as Engels said, it was necessary to stand Hegel's dialectics on its feet since it stood things on their head (regarded ideas as the origin of the material world). Or as Engels explained it, "Hegel was not simply put aside. On the contrary one started out from his revolutionary side...from the dialectical method. But *in its Hegelian form this method was unusable*." (Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy," Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 361, emphasis added)

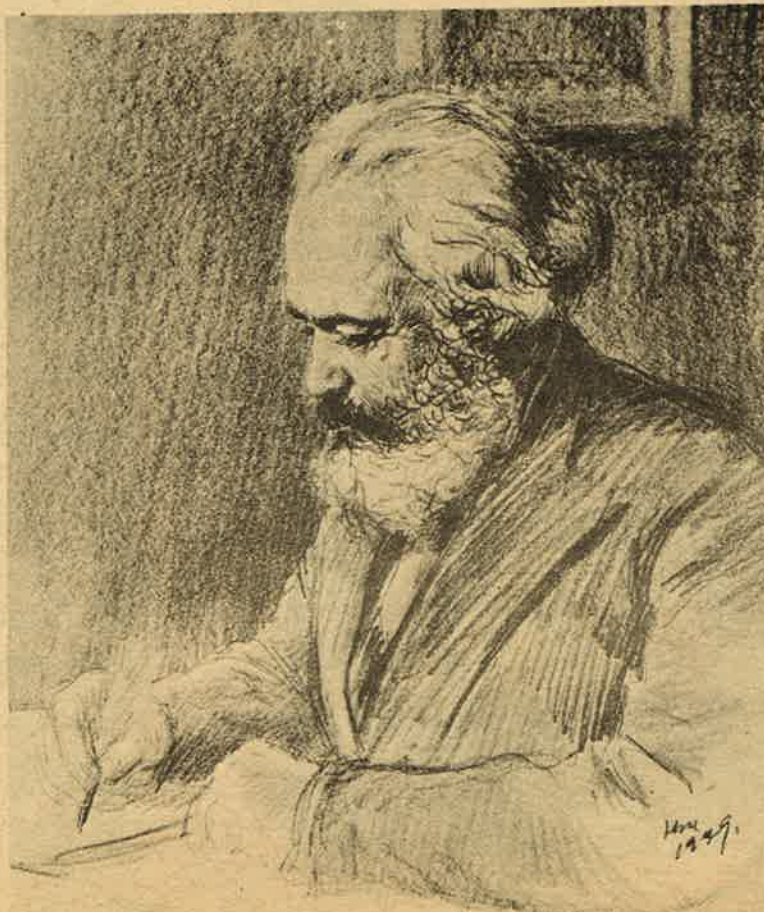
Why was it unusable in its Hegelian form, what was the essence of Hegel's philosophy? To Hegel, the Idea, or the Absolute Concept, existed from eternity, before the material world. Then the Idea negated, "alienated," itself, transformed itself into nature. And finally, after a long process of development, this negation is once again negated, it is transformed into the realization of the Idea in the mind of man, it then works itself out and reaches its highest form in Hegel's system of philosophy.

But by reaching its highest form, the dialectic itself stops, having achieved its Absolute. This is a clear demonstration of the fact that it is not possible to be consistently dialectical without being a thoroughgoing materialist, and this is why Mao says that metaphysics is "part and parcel of the idealist world outlook." ("On Contradiction," Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 312)

The CL document, "Dialectics of the Development..." follows the Hegelian method completely. In tracing the different tendencies that arose in opposition to each other in the history of the U.S. revolutionary movement, it makes almost no mention of the *material conditions* prevailing at any given time, or their influence on the development of different lines (ideas, ideologies) in the movement.

Instead, we get a presentation of one negation after another, all unfolding toward the realization of the Idea—the formation of CL, which "has the advantage of inheriting all that is positive in the history of the Communist movement." (p. 14) And of course, CL itself—like the Idea in the mind of man—is bound to find its highest expression in CL's working out of its system of ideas—its "Party"—which "will be able to supply history with the subjective factors that will allow for the outburst of a real movement in this country." (p. 14) Hegelian idealism to the bone, and to the end!

While Hegel is perhaps the most famous modern exponent of idealism, the "father" of idealism in western civilization is really Plato (who said, for example, that all horses in the real world are only an approximation of the abstract idea of "horseness," existing prior to and independent of horses in the



Karl Marx was a thorough-going materialist and opposed the idealist and reactionary philosophy of Hegel. Today, the Communist League takes quotes out of context from Marx's writings to justify its own idealist and reactionary outlook.

# For the Social Imperialists, Portrays U.S. Imperialism on the Rise



... met in China earlier this year. The People's Republic part of the Third World countries in their struggles there is no Third World. In essence, CL's stand is the social imperialism.

From beginning to end, the recent "International Report" of the "Communist League" (See CL's *People's Tribune*—PT—May 1974) is an attack on the line of the Chinese Communist Party. Of course, like most sects, CL has its own symbols and ritualistic trappings, and further CL has not yet worked up the guts, or does not yet consider it opportune, to attack China openly and publicly, so it is necessary to decipher this report to fully expose its real stand.

The CL report starts out by opposing the Marxist method of class analysis to "such subjective and shallow, historical, populist conceptions as the struggle between the rich and the poor, between the big and the small, between the advanced and the backward, etc." (PT, May 1974, p. 1) This is an attack on the line of the Chinese Communist Party, and of course on Marxism, in several ways.

First, it reduces every contradiction to the class contradiction. Marxism actually holds that all political struggles in class society have their origins in class contradictions and are finally resolved through the resolution of the class contradiction that gave rise to them—in other words, in the final analysis, they are a matter of class struggle. But within that general framework, different contradictions have a life and dialectic of their own and cannot be reduced simply to the class struggle.

For example, the national question is, in the final analysis, a class question, but the national struggle cannot be reduced at any given time to simply the class struggle between the workers and the capitalists—without liquidating the national question itself.

That is why Mao Tsetung, while stating that "In the final analysis national struggle is a matter of class struggle," also writes that "Qualitatively different contradictions can only be resolved by qualitatively different methods. For instance, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is resolved by the method of socialist revolution; the contradiction between the great masses of people and the feudal system is resolved by the method of democratic revolution; the contradiction between the colonies and imperialism is resolved by the method of national revolutionary war..." (On Contradiction, emphasis added).

## Trotskyite Stand

Today, on a world scale, the fundamental contradiction—the contradiction underlying all struggle—is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But in the process of development of any fundamental contradiction, there are also other contradictions which arise and exert an influence on the process, and there are necessarily stages of development of the fundamental contradiction. To ignore the stages of development and the particularity of different contradictions, and instead to treat everything simply as a matter of the fundamental class contradiction—this is the stand of the Trotskyites. And CL's stand is riddled through and through with a Trotskyite



Enver Hoxha, leader of the Albanian people. CL attempts, by quoting Hoxha out of context, to drive a wedge between and separate the Chinese and Albanian parties and people. But these puny efforts only expose CL's own opportunism.

approach.

For example, in the quote above CL is actually attacking the line that a major aspect of the struggle in the world today is between the poor countries of the Third World, and even the small and medium-size capitalist and imperialist countries on the one hand, and the two imperialist superpowers on the other. In other words, CL is directly attacking the line of building a united front against the two superpowers. In doing so, CL not only applies the Trotskyite method, but places itself squarely in the service of the Soviet social imperialists, who try to pose as the "friend" of the oppressed peoples and countries and cover up their imperialist nature.

For example, last year when a conference of non-aligned countries was held in Algeria, the Soviets attacked China for "setting the rich countries against the poor," and "advertising the 'rich and poor countries' conception in the non-aligned movement." The Soviet social imperialists repeated this same attack at the recent meeting of the UN held to consider the demands of the Third World countries for more equal economic relations.

CL parrots this same attack, adding that there is no such thing as the Third World, and that anyone who supports the governments of the Third World countries in their struggle against superpower domination is actually aiding counter-revolution. We think it is clear, and will become even clearer, that it is CL, and definitely not the Chinese Communist Party that is counter-revolutionary!

The fact that CL's Trotskyite stand leads it to act as a cover for the revisionists is not surprising, and in fact conforms with the history and essence of Trotskyism. For most of his "career," Trotsky openly sided with the right-wing Mensheviks against the Bolsheviks. At other times, Trotsky and Trotskyism have assumed an "ultra-left" cover, but whether "left" or right in form their essence has always been rightist, has always been in objective unity with the revisionists against the Marxist-Leninists.

## China and Albania

CL not only tries to set Marx against Mao Tsetung, but also to set the Albanian Party against the Chinese. Their "International Report" quotes at length from a statement by Albanian Party head Enver Hoxha, which exposes the attempts of the revisionist ruler Tito of Yugoslavia to "create a third force, to mislead these people and the newly set-up states, to detach them from their natural allies, to hitch them up to U.S. imperialism." (See PT, May '74, p. 12. emphasis added here) In this way, CL wants to attack the line that there is a Third World.

CL neglects to say that Hoxha's speech was made in 1960, at a world conference of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow. At that time, U.S. imperialism was regarded as the sole main enemy—the single superpower. While Soviet revisionism was consolidating bourgeois rule and carrying out the restoration of capitalism, it had not yet clearly and fully emerged as an imperialist superpower, contending for world hegemony with U.S. imperialism.

The Albanian Party, in reprinting this speech, makes a point of saying that at that time, they were "not yet cognizant of Khrushchev's real intentions" and that "The whole document bears the seal of the time and circumstances under which it came into being."

Just before the passage CL plucked out of context, Hoxha makes the statements that "the great and inexhaustible strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the decisive factor in the triumph of peace in the world...the Soviet Union and the socialist camp have become the center and hope of the peoples of the world." "...It is also natural for the peoples of the world to seek allies in this battle for life which they are waging against the executioners. It is only the Soviet Union and the socialist camp that are their great, powerful and faithful allies."

Since then it has become clear that the Soviet Union is a major executioner of the people of the world—one of the two imperialist superpowers—which has imposed imperialist rule over most of the countries of Eastern Europe and strives for imperialist domination everywhere in the world. It has brought about the desertion of most of the old Communist Parties in the world to the camp of revisionism. Because of this, while certainly there are socialist countries in the world today, the socialist camp that existed for a while after WW2 no longer exists. Does the CL expect people to believe

real world). Plato stands in relation to western civilization in much the same position as Confucius in the East. And as Lenin pointed out, while he made certain "improvements" on Plato's philosophy, Hegel fundamentally based himself on it and defended it against its critics. (see Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 38, pp. 279-281, 303-304)

## All Reactionaries Have Same World Outlook

Thus, the counter-revolutionaries in every country, whether tracing their outlook back to Confucius, or Plato (or others), always base themselves, in the final analysis, on idealism and metaphysics. This applies, in the case of CL, not only to its description of its own development, and its line on how the Party must be developed, but to its line on every other question.

For example, CL takes the "Idea" of a colony and a national-colonial struggle for independence and tries to impose this on the reality of the U.S., including the "Black Belt" area, today. And CL's insistence that the national question in the U.S. (and really everywhere) has essentially remained the same since the era of imperialism began, and that slavery was capitalism, and the economic relations of the South have not fundamentally changed—all this is metaphysics, which goes hand in hand with idealism.

Further, CL's line on the working class is idealism—specifically in refusing to recognize the material necessity that workers must eat!—and is metaphysics—repudiating rather than building on the dialectical relationship between the workers' struggle for day to day needs and the long range and general proletarian struggle for socialism.

So, too, CL's line of united front against fascism (which tries to "negate" its sectarian line on the workers' struggles) is really based on idealist dialectics. It comes down to the notion that the Idea of Communism, residing in CL (and reaching its highest form in its about-to-be created "Party") "alienates," negates itself into a reformist movement "against fascism," and then will magically re-emerge as the Idea of Communism in the minds of the masses, making proletarian revolution possible. (We have shown in the other article how CL's line on the international situation, its attack on China's line, is based on idealism and metaphysics.)

From all this, it is clear that at its very roots, CL's line is based in the bourgeois world outlook and is therefore reactionary at its foundation and in all its expressions. For this reason, the forces working to build a real Party in this country, a party based on the Marxist outlook and method of dialectical (and historical) materialism, and on a Marxist-Leninist programme to lead the masses in revolutionary struggle, must expose and defeat all that is represented in CL's counter-revolutionary line. ■

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that, under today's conditions, Enver Hoxha would still make the statements cited above?!

### Aiding Imperialism

When the socialist camp did exist, and when U.S. imperialism was the single main enemy, the Albanians, the Chinese and all genuine Communist Parties exposed and denounced the efforts of traitors like Tito to isolate the newly independent states from the socialist camp and deliver them to the domination of U.S. imperialism, in the guise of creating a "third force." But today, when there are two superpowers, when such a socialist camp no longer exists, and when a major factor in world affairs is the increasing tendency of the Third World countries to struggle and to unite against superpower domination—to take a stand of opposing this as a trick of the imperialists is to aid imperialism. To pull a quote from Enver Hoxha out of context to justify this and try to imply splits between Albania and China is the lowest kind of counter-revolutionary double-dealing.

In fact, many times, including at the recent U.N. sessions, both the Albanians and the Chinese have made clear their full support for the struggle of the developing, or Third World, countries against superpower domination. It is CL that is opposed to the revolutionary stand of the Albanians and Chinese and it is CL that aids the superpowers, especially the Soviet social imperialists. Once again, CL's line is just a "left" cover for the revisionists.

CL even goes so far as to say that "such terms as superpowers are perfectly acceptable to the USNA (United States of North America, CL's term for the U.S.—Ed.) rulers because it tends to shield the class character of the most ruthless imperialism the world has ever known." (PT, May '74, p. 11) In other words, those who use the term superpower, including the Chinese and Albanians, are playing into the hands of imperialism by covering up its class nature.

Besides being counter-revolutionary itself, this statement reveals that CL has no consistency, except to be consistently counter-revolutionary. CL itself has frequently used the term superpower—and apparently has only now decided to denounce the term in order to attack China. For example, one month before this May "International Report" in the CL rag we are told that "The push towards war is not limited to the two superpowers." (PT, April '74, p. 8) Similarly, on the front page of the March 1974 issue of PT, there are references to the "collusion and contention of the superpowers," and in PT, Vol. 5, No. 9, 1973, there is also a use of the term "the two superpowers." If now, in its May 1974 "International Report," CL is actually criticizing itself for bowing to Marxism-Leninism by using the term superpower, why doesn't CL come out and say so openly, so that everyone can learn more from them—by negative example.

### Chinese Position

CL tries to confuse people by claiming that the Chinese hold that "we are in a new era, an era of the sundering of the world into three separate worlds—or as some are now proposing four worlds." (PT, May 1974, p. 10) CL refers to this line as one of "the maneuvers of the revisionists." Now, CL is unmistakably referring to the speech by Teng Hsiao-ping at the recent UN meeting, where he states that "the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The United States and the Soviet Union make up the First World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World. The developed countries between the two make up the Second World." (See *Peking Review*, No. 16, April 19, 1974)

CL preaches to the Chinese that "Stalin, the great continuator of Lenin's work wrote, 'Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.' This is still the only correct slogan." But Teng's speech does not say that we are in a different era. In fact, the Chinese, while making a concrete analysis of the current world situation, have emphasized that "We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution...Stalin said, 'Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.' This is entirely correct." (Chou En-Lai's speech, Documents of the Tenth Congress of the CPC, p. 21)

Since CL quotes Chou's speech in the very same May "International Report," they cannot claim ignorance on this at least. So what is CL trying to do? Misrepresent the Chinese position, or set Chou against Teng—or both? In any case, CL's efforts are counter-revolutionary.

Actually, CL within the past year has given us a definition of a new era. In an article on the Philippines, written only about nine months ago, CL informs us that "We are now in the world era in which USNA (United States of North America) imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-



Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping being congratulated by representatives of other countries after presenting China's views at the United Nations. In the speech, the Chinese encouraged the continued growth of the united front against the two superpowers and said that China did not want to become a superpower or seek hegemony. CL attacks this line, opposes the use of the term "superpowers" and covers up its attack on China and the Chinese international line by holding up Mao as an icon, like Lin Piao did.

wide victory." (PT, Vol. 5, No. 9, 1973, p. 8) This is not CL's own formulation, however, but Lin Piao's, who wrote it into his introduction to the "Red Book" of Quotations from Mao Tsetung. Many people in the revolutionary movement, including the RU, quoted Lin Piao several years ago, at a time when it seemed that he upheld the revolutionary line of the Chinese Party. But CL uses this formulation at a time long after Lin Piao had been exposed by the Chinese as a counter-revolutionary.

It is clear that Lin's "definition" is a cover for the revisionist line that U.S. imperialism will collapse of its own weight, combined with the economic competition of the "socialist" countries, especially the Soviet Union. And it is also clear that this is nothing but a counter-revolutionary cover for imperialism, and for Soviet social imperialism and revisionism in particular.

The fact that CL insists on one definition of the era one time and another definition another time, that it uses the term superpower, then attacks the Chinese and Albanians for using it—and all this without even any self-criticism—this not only is a dead giveaway of CL's total opportunism, but is an attempt to cover its tracks in carrying out its counter-revolutionary role.

CL calls the Soviet leaders revisionists, and at times refers to the Soviet Union as social imperialist—even certain openly Trotskyite groups will do this. But in fact, like all Trots, CL's line is that capitalism has not been fully restored in the Soviet Union, and that therefore U.S. imperialism alone remains the main enemy of the people of the world. This line disorients the revolutionary movement and deflects the people's struggle away from the Soviet social imperialists, and in fact aids them in their contention for world hegemony.

### Many Examples of CL's Stand

CL may scream that we are distorting their position on this—a stuck pig always squeals, as the saying goes—but there are plenty of places in CL's own publications where it reveals its real stand on the question. In the April 1974 PT, CL says that the Soviet revisionists are "attempting to restore capitalism." (p. 7, emphasis added) This is not just a slip of the pen, because this formulation is repeated by CL. In June 1973, for example, CL wrote that Brezhnev went to the summit meeting with Nixon "in an attempt to consolidate the power of the counter revolutionary bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union." (PT, p. 13)

And in case there is any doubt, CL also tells us that the "Soviet opportunists are locked in a life and death struggle with the Soviet working class. While they control the state apparatus, they have not been able to fully destroy the socialist relations of production." ("International Report," January 1974, PT, p. 2)

And again, in the June 1973 PT, CL says that "The struggle of the opportunist leadership in the Soviet Union to replace the dictatorship of the proletariat with the victory of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie has been marred by the socialist countries of China and Albania. In order to consolidate their power the opportunists must have the help of the USNA...the investment of enough finance capital in the USSR to bring it under the domination of USNA finance capital. This would completely destroy the heroic victory of the proletariat, placing them in total subjugation to imperialism." (PT, June 1973, pp. 9, 11)

Isn't it absolutely clear that the only imperialism the CL refers to above is U.S. imperialism and not Soviet social imperialism, that their line is that "opportunists" hold power in the Soviet Union, but this is not bourgeois state power and capitalist rule, that the Soviet working class has not yet been completely robbed of the victory of proletarian revolu-

tion? And doesn't this line serve only the imperialists, and the Soviet social imperialists in particular, by attempting to disarm and disorient the revolutionary people?

### China Aiding U.S. Imperialism?

On top of this, CL says that "everyone must admit that the situation between the USSR and China, which is growing daily more dangerous, made it possible for the USNA imperialists to consolidate" and for U.S. imperialism to succeed in "expanding its hegemony and tightening its grip on the dependent areas of the world." (PT, May 1974, p. 12) This formulation has been repeated by CL several times in the last year and more, and when you put it together with the statements above denying the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, you get an even clearer picture of CL's line and its direct attack on the Marxist-Leninist line of the Chinese Party.

What CL is really saying, when you pull off the mask, is that China is wrong in treating the Soviet Union as an imperialist rival to the U.S., as one of two superpowers, and that in so doing, China has actually aided U.S. imperialism in consolidating its position. CL, of course, doesn't say this straight out—that would blow their cover too quickly—but this is clearly what they mean.

In opposition to the totally distorted and counter-revolutionary "analysis" of the CL on the world situation, the Chinese have made the absolutely correct analysis that the Soviet revisionists have "restored capitalism," that not the consolidation of hegemony by the U.S. imperialists, but the "U.S.-Soviet contention for hegemony is the cause of world intranquility," and that "The awakening and growth of the Third World is a major event in contemporary international relations. The Third World has strengthened its unity in the struggle against hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers and is playing an ever more significant role in international affairs." And it is in this same speech that Chou emphasises that we are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. (See Chou En-Lai's speech in the Documents of the 10th Congress, pp. 26, 25, 23)

The point is that, in today's world—still part of the same era—inter-imperialist contention mainly takes the form of contention between the two superpowers and that the present overall struggle on a world scale is characterized by the resistance of the Third World and even lesser imperialists to superpower domination. This is an important part of the struggle for proletarian revolution throughout the world and is in no way opposed to this struggle. On the contrary, refusing to recognize and support the resistance to superpower domination is to sabotage the long-range struggle for proletarian revolution, socialism and communism throughout the world. It is to aid and not attack the present main enemies.

In its January 1974 "International Report," CL says that the Marxist-Leninist view of the world situation "was best expressed by Chou En-Lai in his recent speech to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China: 'The present international situation is one characterized by greater disorder on the earth...Relaxation is a temporary and superficial phenomenon and great disorder will continue.' Chou En-Lai is quite correct." (PT, Jan. 1974, p. 2)

But CL denies the progressive role—and even the existence—of the Third World. And CL follows its quoting of Chou with the claim that the Soviet revisionists have not yet fully restored capitalism—have not "been able to fully destroy the socialist relations of production." (PT Jan. 1974, p. 2) Of course, the Soviet ruling bourgeoisie is still experimenting with various forms of capitalism, but there is absolutely no doubt that they have destroyed the socialist relations of production, have fully restored

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capitalism, and are contending everywhere with the U.S. imperialists for hegemony. This talking out of both sides of its mouth, the quoting of Chou En-Lai only to contradict him, once again shows that CL "raises the red flag to oppose the red flag," that its only consistency is to be consistently counter-revolutionary, and that it is attempting to cover up the real nature of Soviet social imperialism and to sabotage support for the struggle of the Third World against domination by the TWO superpowers.

**Denial of Two-Stage Revolution**

On what basis does CL deny the existence of the Third World? According to its May 1974 "International Report," the world today is such that "even in the most backward areas of Oceania, capitalist production and exchange are now deeply rooted and consequently, the colonial question is transformed into the national-colonial question, with the proletarian revolution the next step on the historical agenda."

This is a direct denial of the need for two-stage revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries where the next immediate step on the historical agenda is not the proletarian-socialist but the bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type, under the leadership of the proletariat. This new-democratic revolution clears the way for the second stage, the socialist stage of revolution.

This is the theory of New Democratic Revolution, developed by Mao Tsetung, which led the 700 million Chinese people to liberation and to socialism, and which is guiding revolutionary struggles in many parts of the Third World today. And it is this theory that CL is attacking.

True, in its article on the Philippine struggle—the same article in which it repeated Lin Piao's formulation on the new era—CL talks about the need for two-stage revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies, and in other places quoted from Mao's article, *On New Democracy*. But that only shows, yet one more time, that CL has absolutely no consistent line or principles, except to oppose revolution. This is borne out by the following that CL puts forward in opposing the concept of a Third World: "There is no possible 3rd factor from the standpoint of theory and philosophy. Thesis: capitalist imperialism, anti-thesis: the proletariat and the toiling masses, synthesis: socialism. This is the motion of history." (PT, Sept. 1972, p. 7)

This is a correct description of the "motion of history," of the class struggle in capitalist and imperialist countries. However, CL is not just talking about these societies, but about the world struggle against imperialism. "Imperialism created its antithesis—the colonies," CL writes in this article, but while claiming to base itself on Mao's *On Contradiction*, this article totally opposes the analysis that Mao provides in that work. Mao shows that in China and other colonial and semi-colonial countries, the character of the first stage of revolution is "the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic-revolutionary nature of the process (the op-

posite of which is its semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature.") (Mao, *On Contradiction*, "The Particularity of Contradiction"—words in parentheses Mao's) In other words, thesis: imperialism and feudalism, anti-thesis: the masses of people of several revolutionary classes, synthesis: New Democracy. Then the struggle for socialism is the next step on the historical agenda.

**Trotskyite Streak**

This is the "motion of history" in the colonies and semi-colonies. Once again, by distorting this, CL has revealed its complete refusal to base itself on the particularity of contradictions, and has exposed the Trotskyite streak that runs a mile wide through its whole outlook. And when CL says that the line that there is a Third World "stinks of the CIA" (PT, Sept. 1972, p. 8), CL shows where it is really coming from, whom it is really attacking, and whom it really serves!

It is true that there have been important changes in the world situation since Mao wrote *On New Democracy*, in 1940. Particularly since WW2 a number of states have emerged, especially in Asia and Africa, which are politically independent but are not under the rule of the working class or of an alliance of revolutionary classes, led by the working class.

CL says that some of these states are semi-colonial—for example, Tanzania and Zambia—which is a "transitional form which must either be carried forward towards socialism or slip into neo-colonialism." (PT, Jan. 1974, p. 12) But most of these states are, according to CL, only neo-colonies that are "absolutely subservient to the imperialists." (PT, May 1974, p. 10)

CL is wrong—subjective and one-sided—here on several counts. First off, in countries like Tanzania and Zambia, while it is true that eventually socialism must be achieved or full independence can't be won, it is not only a question of the possibility of "slipping into neo-colonialism." It is much more the case that the imperialists sooner or later seek to *smash* governments in these countries which continue to struggle for independence from imperialism—Ghana, Indonesia, and Cambodia are outstanding examples.

But more importantly, CL is completely anti-Marxist in declaring that most countries in the Third World are "absolutely subservient to the imperialists." Marxism does not recognize absolutes except that nothing is absolute—all other "absolutes" are only relative. Everything is composed of contradictory aspects, and under certain conditions these contradictory aspects can transform themselves into their opposites. In other words, in examining anything, we must always ask—compared to what?

For example, the imperialists of any given state are "absolutely" reactionary in relation to the masses of people, but they are also in contradiction with other imperialists. And at certain times their contradiction with other imperialists can become principal over their contradictions with the masses of people, and despite their ideology and their subjective intentions, their *objective role* can, for that given time, become

mainly an aid to the people's struggle, and only secondarily an obstacle. Such was the case during WW2 with the U.S., British and French imperialists.

So, too, governments in the Third World, even those that are "absolutely reactionary" in relation to the peoples of their countries, and which are dependent on imperialism, always have contradictions to one degree or another with imperialism, exactly because they are dependent. And especially in today's world, with U.S. imperialism on the decline, and U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism contending for hegemony, many governments, including even reactionary governments in the Third World, have taken advantage of that situation to push for more independence.

Of course, independence can only be achieved fully with the achievement of socialism (even this "absolute" independence is relative and depends on the advance to worldwide communism). And as Teng Hsiao-ping pointed out in his UN speech, economic independence and political independence are inseparable, fundamentally and in the final analysis. But to recognize only what is fundamental and only what is true in the final analysis, and to ignore the stages of development of a process and the particularity of contradictions—this, again, is Trotskyism. And this, again, is the stand of CL.

**Case of Egypt**

CL tries to negate the struggle of Third World countries for independence by decreeing that "the only way for the bourgeoisie of the dependent countries to escape from dependence upon Soviet imperialism and to preserve themselves is to rely on USNA imperialism and vice versa." CL cites Egypt as "proof" of this. And further, CL declares that "it is impossible to unite the various national interests against imperialism...the national interests can only be defended from the standpoint of making the international interests of the proletariat the leading factor." (PT, May 1974, pp. 12, 11)

The fact that Egypt has, of late, swung more into the orbit of U.S. imperialism, especially after kicking out Soviet military advisors, does not at all prove that the only alternative for the non-socialist countries of the Third World is domination by either the U.S. or USSR. This is exactly what the two superpowers try to tell the various Third World countries. But this line is increasingly rejected—as the formation of various agreements among Third World countries to demand higher prices for oil and other key raw materials, the struggle for sea and fishing rights, the recent demands at the UN, and many other developments clearly demonstrate.

In opposition to this line of the superpowers, and CL, the Chinese encourage the countries of the Third World to unite and strengthen their struggle against superpower domination, and to rely on their own efforts and their own peoples. In the final analysis, of course, only by "making the international interests of the proletariat the leading factor" can full independence be achieved in all countries. But short of that, and short of the achievement of the rule of the proletariat in these countries, even the bourgeois governments of the Third World, and even of the "Second World" (the lesser capitalist and imperialist countries) can unite to resist superpower domination.

It is the duty of the international proletariat to encourage, assist and support them in doing this, because this resistance is a blow against the present main enemies—the two superpowers. And if the proletariat carries out this policy correctly, it makes the conditions for revolution in all countries more favorable. CL poses as great upholders of proletarian internationalism, but in fact their stand is nothing but support for the greatest enemies of the people of the world in suppressing struggles for independence, liberation and revolution.

This is demonstrated once more in their May 1974 "International Report" and its direct attack on Teng Hsiao-ping's speech. Teng's speech lays out the programmatic basis for the united front against the two superpowers. It is not a substitute for, nor in contradiction to the revolutionary struggles of the workers and oppressed nations, but is a line for uniting and advancing the worldwide struggles of various kinds against the two superpowers.

**Question of Hegemony**

CL makes a further attack on China in the form of saying that "It is absolutely proper and revolutionary for the working class and for the camp of peace and socialism to struggle for world hegemony." (PT, May 1974, p. 11) This is clearly said in opposition to the line of the 10th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, and specifically to Mao Tsetung's statement, "never seek hegemony." (See Documents from 10th Congress, p. 30)

CL lectures that there are two kinds of hegemony—the reactionary hegemony of the imperialists and

**From the Horse's Mouth**

"Five people make up the legal department at our plant. Our main job is to familiarize the plant personnel with the law, giving particular emphasis to labor-management provisions. A ready knowledge of labor relations law is important for employees in the personnel department, for instance, who hire, fire and promote factory and office workers. For people in that department we have organized a special three-month course. Not long ago I gave a lecture for this course on transferring workers from one job to another."

The above statement was made by the head of the legal department at a large factory. GM or Ford Motor Company? U.S. Steel? International Harvester? Bell Telephone?

No. It is part of an article by Nikolai Belov, head of the legal department at the Ball-Bearing Plant in Moscow, appearing in the April issue of *Soviet Life*, a magazine published by the Soviet government.

The Soviet social imperialists, having restored capitalism, have also brought back all its trappings—including labor relations lawyers to teach the plant managers how to more efficiently "hire, fire and promote" the workers.



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the "hegemony of the proletariat," (PT, May 1974, p. 11), and CL also declares that "whoever in the slightest way detracts from the struggle for the hegemony of the working class aids the bourgeoisie in its efforts to politically decapitate the working class." (PT, May 1974, p. 10)

This last statement comes right after CL's attack on the line that there are three worlds—in other words right after their attack on the international line of the Chinese Party. So put it together and it's plain that CL is really saying that the Chinese are hurting the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat and are aiding the bourgeoisie.

The Chinese Communist Party has immeasurably aided the world proletariat in its struggle for ideological and political hegemony in the revolutionary movement. The Chinese have carried out the struggle for this ideological and political hegemony in a principled way, insisting that all countries are equal and all Parties are equal. CL opposes this by saying, "After WW II when the imperialists openly planned to attack the Soviet Union, if it had not been for the socialist hegemony of the *Soviet Union* over the peoples of the earth, the USSR would have been in an indefensible position." (PT, May 1974, p. 11, emphasis added)

What is CL really getting at here? Are they saying that the Soviet Union was great power chauvinist and enforced *its* hegemony as a *state* "over the peoples of the earth?" While CL gives lip-service to the distinction between the reactionary hegemony of the imperialists and the revolutionary hegemony of the proletariat, in fact they treat the two as the same and put forward the hegemony of the proletariat as the same thing as the chauvinism of a big power.

#### "External Contradiction"

CL further attacks the Chinese line that there is no socialist camp by making the "analysis" that since the victory of the Russian revolution, "a contradiction with imperialism, external to imperialism, emerged...It was the fact that it was outside the sphere of imperialism that made it impossible to deny the existence of such a camp...Thus, the socialist countries emerged as the leaders of the camp of Peace, Democracy and Socialism, while the major imperialist power, the USNA, emerged as the leader of the camp of reactionary, warmongering anti-national imperialism. These two camps, because they are external to one another are bound to exist until the death of imperialism." (PT, May 1974, p. 11)

Since CL makes such a big thing out of this formulation of "external contradiction," let's examine it and see what they mean. A socialist country is "external" to imperialism, in the sense that it is under the rule of the working class and has been "removed" from bourgeois-imperialist rule. But can it be totally "external?" Are there not agents of imperialism within socialist states? Further, are there not exploiting classes within socialist countries that are inevitably in league with imperialism and seek to restore capitalism and make the socialist country once more "internal" to imperialist rule?

Do not socialist countries exist in the same world with imperialist countries, and don't they, of necessity, establish diplomatic and trade relations with imperialist countries, and aren't they at the same time faced with the task of defending themselves from possible imperialist attack? CL, we think, would answer yes to all these questions, but then what do they mean "external to imperialism" and "these two camps are bound to exist until the death of imperialism"?

The logic of CL's line here is that it is impossible for capitalism to be restored in all the socialist countries at any given time, and that therefore there will always be socialist countries, and hence always a socialist camp. This, of course, plays into the hands of the imperialists and revisionists, but even more importantly, what CL is actually dishing up is a warmed over version of the revisionist line that the Soviet Party put forward in betraying the world revolution and restoring capitalism.

This is the line that "The contradiction between capitalism and socialism is the chief contradiction of our epoch," because after WW2, a "world socialist system" (i.e., a system "external to imperialism") was created, "Thanks to the achievements of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries." ("Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the CPC, March 30, 1963, pp. 71, 69, in the pamphlet of the Chinese Communist Party on the General Line of the International Communist Movement)

#### Not Part of Any "Socialist Camp"

Just as CL says that the Soviet rulers are still only "attempting" to restore capitalism in the USSR, they say that "with the offensive of imperialism and revisionism after the death of Stalin"—they don't say *with the restoration of capitalism!*—the Soviet rulers are engaged in a "drive to make the Eastern European



Soviet tanks, part of the invading forces sent by the Soviet social imperialists to attack the Czechoslovakian people in 1968. Soviet rulers have restored capitalist relations of production in the Soviet Union and seek imperialist domination over other countries. CL says capitalist relations of production haven't yet been restored, once again coming into open conflict with the Chinese, who say capitalism has been restored and that this is the material basis of social imperialism.

countries economic vassals to the USSR." (PT, Oct. 1972, p. 5, emphasis added)

When you put this together with the other statements by CL, it is obvious, once again, that CL treats U.S. imperialism as the single imperialist superpower (whether they use the word or not), and that CL doesn't deal with the USSR as a country that has *already* become a *capitalist-imperialist* superpower, that has *already turned* most of the countries of Eastern Europe, and a number of other countries, into its "economic vassals" and political dependencies, and that is definitely not a part of any "socialist camp."

CL's line comes down to the old Trotskyite line with a new twist. Most of the Trots took the position at the time of WW2 that the Soviet Union was a "degenerate workers' state" and not socialist, but it should be "defended" in a war with the imperialists. And this was at a time when the Soviet Union was the only socialist state. Now, when the Soviet Union is not only no longer socialist, but is one of the two contending imperialist superpowers, CL puts out a line that logically leads to saying that in the event of war between the imperialists—headed by the U.S.—and the Soviet Union, the people should still side with the Soviet Union, because, while it is run by "opportunists" and international bullies, they have not yet fully restored capitalism. And CL attacks the line of the Chinese Party for not basing itself on class analysis and for delivering the people of the world up to their enemies!!

Continuing with the line that the main contradiction is between the socialist and imperialist camps, CL revises history and Marxism-Leninism by saying that "no matter what the contradictions are between the imperialists, they cannot help but constitute a *bloc*. Their vital interests even in time of war compel them to unite against socialism. This accounts for the anti-Soviet *attitude* of the imperialists toward the USSR even while they jointly fought Hitler." (PT, May 1974, p. 11, emphasis added.)

We don't know what WW 2 CL has concocted in its "ideal" reality, but in the real world, the imperialists formed not a bloc, but two *blocs* in WW2—the fascist Axis, and the "allied" imperialists, which were forced to line up with the Soviet Union against the fascist Axis. This was due to the basic laws of capitalism, especially in its imperialist stage, which, in an overall sense, mean that contention and not collusion is the principal aspect of relations between imperialists and that, as Lenin explained, alliances between imperialists are "inevitably nothing more than a 'truce in periods between wars...' Once the relation of forces is changed, what other solution of the contradiction can be found *under capitalism* than that of *force*?" (Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Collected Works, Vol. 22, pp. 295, 274, emphasis Lenin's).

#### Using Contradictions

This does not mean that it is *impossible* for the imperialists to form a bloc against the socialist states, but it does mean that, by skillfully utilizing the contradictions among the imperialists, the socialist states and the people of the world can make it more difficult for them to form such a bloc, and under certain conditions can prevent them from doing so. Failing to recognize this and failing to make use of every such contradiction is playing right into the hands of the imperialist butchers and aiding counter-revolution, just as CL does.

Typical of its idealist world outlook, CL raises ideas, or "attitudes," above material reality. Of course, the "allied" imperialists were hostile to socialism and anti-Soviet in their attitude. But this did not enable them to avoid allying with the Soviet Union. In recent polemics with the Black Workers Congress (BWC) and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO),

we pointed out that they have consistently confused ideology with programme (see *Red Papers 6*). Here we see how CL does exactly the same thing—confusing the ideology of the imperialists, which is anti-communist of course, with the practical actions—the programmatic stand—of the "allied" imperialists.

Naturally, when the fascist Axis had been defeated, and conditions had changed, the "allied" imperialists turned on the Soviet Union, and, just as naturally, they were preparing to do this all during the war. But all that doesn't change the fact that objectively, *in the material world*, the *main aspect* of their actions during WW2, as opposed to their *ideology*, was unity with the Soviet Union against the fascist Axis.

CL thinks that a "bloc of ideas," in and of itself, is more powerful than the action of material forces in the real world—and this idealism characterizes their line on building a Communist Party and on every other question (more on this later).

CL distorts the character of WW2, treating it just like WW 1—as a war "fought on the continent of Europe" (what about Africa and Asia!) "for the re-division of the colonial world." (PT, May 1974, p. 11) Imperialist re-division of the colonies is what started the war, but this is not what the *main content* of that war ended up to be. CL's "analysis" is nothing but chauvinism (denying the role of the Asian and African people) and a slander of the Soviet Union, the hundreds of millions of people in the colonies and the masses of peoples in the capitalist countries who fought in WW2 to defeat fascism and fascist aggression and to liberate the colonies from imperialism!

#### Slander of Stalin's Role

CL claims not only to be the great standard-bearers of Marxism-Leninism in general, but of Stalin's work in particular. They say that in opposition to the revisionism of the CPUSA, "Those of us who have remained true to Leninism during the past 19 years did so only because we were inspired by Stalin's dogged determination in the face of political reverses...our sole weapon was Stalin's ideology." (PT, March, 1972, p. 2)

We think that therefore, instead of slandering Stalin's role during WW2, and instead of basing itself on idealistic and metaphysical notions about the absolute character and oneness of imperialist blocs against socialism, CL should try to learn something from Stalin on the question.

In *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, written shortly before his death, Stalin sums up for the lessons of WW2, noting particularly that "the Anglo-French-American bloc, far from joining with Hitler Germany, was compelled to enter into a coalition with the U.S.S.R. against Hitler Germany. Consequently the struggle of the capitalist countries for markets and their desire to crush their competitors proved in practice to be stronger than the contradictions between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp." (pp. 27-28, International Publishers Edition)

What underlies CL's distortions on this question is its attack on the Chinese Party's line that "strategically the key point of their [superpowers'] contention is Europe," and that the Soviets are "making a feint to the east while attacking in the west." (Chou En-lai's speech, Documents of the 10th Congress, CPC, p. 24)

CL flies in the face of this. They have said for at least a year that "The struggle between the Soviet Union and China has allowed the USNA to achieve temporary hegemony. This is now conditioning world affairs." (PT, May 1973, p. 2; see also May 1974, p. 12) And CL adds that "the seeming strength of USNA imperialism is based on the deadly struggle between the opportunists of the USSR and Socialist China. That struggle is based in the struggle of the oppor-

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tunists to consolidate their position as the ruling class within the USSR. This is expressed as a struggle between Marxism-Leninism and Revisionism within the USSR. And so it is that the understanding of this struggle between Marxism-Leninism and Revisionism is key to understanding the world situation. (PT, May 1973, p. 12) Again, CL reduces everything to ideology—ideas—and ignores (or distorts) the actual character of society, the actual material base, the relations of production.

Acting in this way as a cover for the Soviet social imperialists, CL is bound to put forward an opportunist line on imperialist contention in general and on superpower contention for Europe in particular. CL presents the only *imperialist* contention as that between the U.S. and the European (and Japanese) imperialists. CL denies the basis for the united front against the two imperialist superpowers and reduces imperialist contention to contention for control of the colonies.

## Kautskyite Line

In this CL adopts the same line as Karl Kautsky, a Marxist-turned-revisionist who defined imperialism as simply the domination of backward agrarian countries by advanced industrial ones. Lenin exposed that "This definition is of no use at all 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)...The characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex *not only agrarian* territories, but even most highly industrialized regions." (Lenin, *Imperialism*, Works, Vol. 22, pp. 368-69, emphasis, words in parentheses, Lenin's)

In today's world the imperialist camp is clearly dominated by the two superpowers—and their military superiority is even more decisive than their economic superiority over the other imperialists. In this situation, they not only contend for hegemony in the Third World, but for domination over the other, lesser imperialist countries centered in Europe—and *this* latter contention is the focal point of the two superpowers contention now. This provides the basis for uniting with these countries of the "Second World" in their resistance to superpower domination.

Once again, CL's line is only an attempt to deflect attention and struggle away from the Soviet social imperialists, to set the proletariat and oppressed peoples up to be stabbed in the back and to sabotage the uniting of all who can be united against the main enemies. In and of itself, of course, CL and its puny efforts at counter-revolution amount to very little, but exact-



*Joseph Stalin is a great revolutionary leader that CL loves to quote, hoping to cover its counter-revolutionary line with his prestige among the people. But CL consistently distorts and opposes his real role historically. Stalin, however, knew exactly how to deal with reactionaries and Trotskyites like CL.*

ly because their line is only a variation of revisionist and Trotskyite lines which are still able to create considerable confusion, it is important to thoroughly expose this line and to draw a clear line of demarcation between revolution and counter-revolution.

Finally, on the question of contention vs. consolidation, it is important to point out that CL not only essentially leaves the USSR out of the picture, but presents a one-sided and overstated view of U.S. imperialism's strength, even vis-a-vis the European and Japanese imperialists. What does CL cite "to prove" this? Trade figures—all taken during the recent period, when the U.S. imperialists have experienced a recovery in their trade balance, following their trade deficit in 1971-'72. CL even gives the U.S. imperialists credit for "the careful monitoring of inflation," when even many spokesmen for U.S. imperialism acknowledge that inflation presents a persistent problem and danger for U.S. imperialism, internally and internationally.

The devaluations of the dollar, for example, which finally brought an improvement in the U.S. trade po-

sition, also increase the problem of inflation, and represent a weakening of the financial position of U.S. imperialism internationally. As the Albanians pointed out, "The devaluation of the dollar is clearly accompanied by grave consequences in the field of financial relations, and is not willingly undertaken." (*Albania Today*, Nov.-Dec. 1973, p. 30)

Further, trade is not the decisive factor in the era of imperialism. The export of capital, foreign investment, loans, etc. is the decisive factor, and the position of U.S. imperialism has been hurt by the developments which forced the devaluations in the first place, and by the act of devaluating itself.

## The Arab Oil Embargo

CL plays the same game around the Arab oil embargo, which "the USNA oil firms not only orchestrated but profited greatly from." (PT, March 1974, p. 7) Once more this is completely one-sided and loaded in favor of the U.S. imperialists.

The fact is that the oil embargo was a real blow at the U.S. imperialists, politically as well as economically. As the Albanians put it, "The Arab people in their just struggles against the recent aggression of Israel and its instigators and supporters, the imperialists, are successfully using also the powerful oil weapon. The adoption of measures to stop or limit the sale of oil to the United States and other countries which support the Zionist aggressors, has greatly shaken the capitalist world." (*Albania Today*, Nov.-Dec. 1973, p. 36)

As always, of course, the U.S. imperialists tried to turn this to their advantage, and in particular, to use the fact that they control much of the Middle East oil to gain an advantage on their European and Japanese rivals, who are more dependent on Middle East oil than the U.S. But there is no doubt that the actions of the Arab and other oil-exporting states, in demanding higher prices, carrying out nationalizations and other measures, have, looking at the past several years as a whole, cut into the rate of profit of the U.S. oil firms and hurt U.S. imperialism.

And even during the embargo, while the U.S. used oil control as a weapon against Europe and Japan, Japan and a number of European countries struck back by making independent deals with the Arab states, just as a number of European governments resisted U.S. demands on troop movements in their countries during the recent Middle East war.

In sum, in opposition to CL's line that the world situation is determined by the consolidation of hegemony by U.S. imperialism—resulting from the "China-Soviet conflict"—the line of the Chinese Communist Party is absolutely correct: the world today is characterized by great disorder, marked by the contention of the two superpowers, and this is a very good thing for the oppressed people and their struggle for liberation.

CL presents its distorted view in order to spread defeatism, to overestimate the strength of U.S. imperialism. This serves not only U.S. imperialism, but *Soviet social imperialism* especially, and is an attempt to attack the building of a broad united front against the *two superpowers*. The May 1974 "International Report" by CL goes farther than CL has gone before in attacking China, exactly because the development of this united front, and the leading role of China within it, has made significant advances.

## Not An Open Attack

But exactly because the Chinese are continuing to gain support among revolutionaries and oppressed people throughout the world, CL does not come out and attack China openly. In fact, at the end of its May 1974 "International Report," after attacking the whole substance of the Chinese line, after attempting to pit the Albanians against the Chinese, and even to pose different Chinese leaders against each other, after trying to cover the Chinese Communist Party with mud, CL has the nerve to say, "The great Communist Party of China has covered itself with glory in the military and ideological battles of the past five decades. It has emerged as the leader, the most experienced and most consistent standard bearer of the revolution"!!!

Whom does CL expect to fool with this low-life, back-stabbing attempt to bury the Chinese Party while praising it? If CL at least had the courage of its convictions it would come out openly and blast the Chinese Communist Party as counter-revolutionary misleaders. Of course, that would only hasten the exposure of CL itself, so like the cowards and reactionaries they are, CL's "leading members" shrink from doing this.

But they cannot cover up their real nature, nor disguise their attacks on China, nor even hide the fact that they think it is they, and not the Chinese Communist Party, who are the real leaders of the world revolution. CL's leaders claim they have an organization that is "100% working class," but the only

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"...we study Marxism-Leninism not for display, nor because there is any mystery about it, but solely because it is the science which leads the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to victory. Even now, there are not a few people who still regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies. These people show childish ignorance, and we should enlighten them. It is precisely such ignorant people who take Marxism-Leninism as a religious dogma. To them we should say bluntly, 'Your dogma is worthless.'" —Mao Tsetung, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," *Selected Readings*, p. 179. Today, genuine revolutionaries must say to CL, "Your dogma is worthless," and expose its counter-revolutionary line.

Continued from preceding page

"100%" that CL is, is 100% counter-revolutionary. The line of CL in general, and of its May 1974 "International Report" in particular, is something that all revolutionaries in the U.S. must take a clear-cut stand on, especially now when the task of building the new Communist Party, a genuine vanguard of the working class, confronts us. We want to ask groups or individuals that are presently relating to CL's "party-building"—can there be any possible basis whatsoever for even considering building a Party together with a group whose line is as thoroughly counter-revolutionary as CL's?

CL declares that it will not struggle any more with "these lefties." This is nothing but an admission that CL knows it cannot defend its line in the face of Marxism-Leninism, and so it is retreating even before the real struggle begins, while building up the CPUSA, exaggerating its base in the working class, and in fact covering for revisionism. We are firmly convinced, however, that the struggle against CL's counter-revolutionary line will help to unite all who can be united around a correct line and programme to form a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party.

Members of BWC and PRRWO

Finally, we want to address ourselves especially to the members of BWC and PRRWO, since these two organizations have recently joined the "Continuations Committee" to build a "Party" with CL. Comrades, why should you allow a few opportunists to drag you into the camp of counter-revolution? In the past nine months, those responsible have put forth one opportunist line after another, and built up one renegade after another. First, "revolutionary nationalism" as a "third ideology." That was exposed and then it was Charles Loren, whose pamphlet was hailed like it was the "What Is To Be Done" of our time. And when his reactionary line on the national question was exposed, then it was—well, at least he raised the question of the Party. Now Loren is out (he has been kicked out of the "Continuations Committee") and the CL is "in." And when the counter-revolutionary nature of CL's line is fully exposed, will it also be said, well, at least they raised the question of the Party? What kind of Party can be built on the basis of uniting or compromising with a counter-revolutionary line!

Isn't there a fundamental connection between CL's counter-revolutionary line on the international

situation and its line on everything else, including the Party? Don't they have the same philosophical roots—idealism and metaphysics—and aren't they based on the same stubborn refusal to get deeply involved in the actual mass struggle, to apply communism to it, to discover the actual contradictions and development of the struggle as they unfold in real life, to learn from the masses and sum up the experience of applying communism to the mass movement, and in this context to conduct principled ideological struggle to develop the programmatic basis to unite the forces for the Party to lead the masses?

We strongly feel this is something which all communists, and especially the members of BWC and PRRWO, should think deeply about. The previous erroneous lines put forth by BWC and PRRWO leadership represented quantitative steps in the direction of opportunism, but to unite with CL to form a Party is to make a qualitative leap into the cesspool of counter-revolution.

There's No "Race"

As for CL's claim that the RU has "hastily put out the call to build a Communist Party at once" in order to beat CL to it, we can only say that the RU's decision to seek to unite with all who can be united to form the Party as an immediate task is not based on any need to "beat CL" or anyone else to forming the Party, but is based on the needs of the mass movement and the communist movement. We are not in any "race" with CL, because we are interested in uniting all who can be united to form a revolutionary Communist Party; all CL can possibly form is a counter-revolutionary cult.

CL distorts the RU's line on the Party, just as it distorts everything else. CL even tries to claim that the RU put forward the line of having separate "representatives" for the workers of different nationalities and that we tried to impose that line on the BWC and PRRWO. The publication of *Red Papers 6*, including the documents of ideological struggle between the RU and BWC and PRRWO, makes very clear that it was the RU that brought forward the line of moving ahead to form a single vanguard Party, and that we fought against BWC and PRRWO's insistence that we must prolong the situation of having separate communist organizations based on lines of nationality.

The RU has always considered the building of the

new Party a key task which must be carried out at the earliest possible time, and we have always held that this task can only be carried out by the joint efforts of all those who genuinely strive to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country and who base themselves on the interests of the international proletariat.

At this time, the creation of such a Party on this basis has become an immediate possibility and an immediate task. In carrying it out, the honest forces must conduct principled ideological struggle to ruthlessly expose and root out counter-revolutionary lines and the forces representing them, like CL, and to unite around a correct line.

Since the above article was written, the June 1974 "People's Tribune" has come out with an article, "Class Struggle in the USSR," where CL tries to use more double-talk to further disguise its act of covering for the social imperialists.

In this article, CL says "The Soviet state is an imperialist state. The imperialists hold state power." (p. 12) But then CL says that the Soviet people and Party have not yet and "will not be thrown back into the epoch of capitalist barbarianism." (p. 13) CL asks, "Is there capitalism in the U.S.S.R.?" and answers, "Yes, there is, and plenty of it." But they also attack as mere "simplicity" the analysis that "the U.S.S.R. is a capitalist country." (p. 12, 4)

Again, a straight attack on China and covering for the social imperialists. The Chinese consistently stress that the Soviet rulers have restored capitalism and that "the economic base of social imperialism is monopoly capitalism" which is "subject to the same objective law of imperialism." (See *Peking Review*, No. 39, Sept. 28, 1973)

CL pictures the Soviet Union as a society run by bourgeois strata who are only still "attacking the socialist relations of production." (p. 12) So in the Soviet Union capitalism and socialism, according to CL, exist side by side and are fighting it out, but capitalism has not triumphed.

This line provides an incorrect analysis of class struggle in the USSR and leaves you with no materialist explanation of social imperialism's role in the world. If followed, this line would disarm people in the face of social imperialism's collusion and contention with the U.S. and its aggressive imperialist expansion and drive for hegemony throughout the world—Ed. ■

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