

STATEMENT OF RESIGNATION FROM THE BWC

The present situation in the BWC is characterized by the continued failure on the part of the majority of the BWC to grasp hold of the principal contradiction and give concrete and resolute direction to the struggle against the ultra-left line and the line of conciliation within the BWC. For nearly six months now the two line struggle has been at issue and we, as an organization, have failed to draw a resolute line of demarcation between ourselves and opportunism and engage in a rigorous program of sum-up, repudiation and rectification. This has left but one course of action to those of us who must refuse to compromise with opportunism. That course is to resign (from the BWC) and implement our line and program outside of the discipline of the BWC.

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Our basic position and line is contained in a series of documents that can be obtained by writing to the present I.C. These documents represent our collective views and are as follows.

1. Bulletin #1.....Oct. '74
2. Manifestations of the 'Left' Line...For Nov. BWC meeting
3. Oppose Bankruptcy and Draw a Firm Line of Demarcation..... " " " "
4. On the Two Line Struggle in the Secretariat..... " " " "
5. Papers presented by Detroit Cadre. " " " "
6. Carry the Struggle Against the ultra-Left line through to the End.....Feb. '75
7. In the Struggle Against Left Opportunism, Combat the Line of Conciliation..... " "
8. Additional Documents by Cadre in Detroit..... " "
9. (Emily's paper).....March '75
10. (Statement of Resignation)..... " "

We encourage all cadre who choose to remain in the BWC and continue to struggle to study these documents carefully!

In the last six months the struggle to rout the Left Opportunist line has taken many twists and turns. At the Central Committee meeting in November, the advanced members of the BWC, in unity with advanced cadre throughout the organization, initiated and waged a sharp and bitter struggle

against the ultra-left line and its chief perpetrators, urging full sum-up and repudiation. In response to this struggle, some comrades were partly won over, and a small minority held the totally unsubstantiated position that Right opportunism was the main danger in the BWC. What did develop and become the dominant position in the course of this NCC meeting was the line of conciliation as manifested in:

1. The majority-minority thesis
2. The theory of Equilibrium and the "Poverty of the Documents" theory
3. Resolutions on the equal suspensions of all former Secretariat members and one NCC member and the unfolding of the struggle prior to the first NCC meeting

(See pps. 12 - 17 for a detailed explanation and analysis in, "In the Struggle Against 'Left' Opportunism, Combat the Line of Conciliation".)

On the part of the advanced cadre leading the struggle, a compromise was made in hopes that further investigation, study, and struggle would win over the majority of the NCC members and the BWC to unite with the correctness of our position. On the other hand it must be stated that we made a grave miscalculation in underestimating the danger and extent of the class basis which gave rise to this new line and allowed wavering and confusion to influence our decision regarding the resolutions of the November NCC meeting. Further, given the history of the BWC, we could have predicted such a development, and prepared for it by more thoroughly consolidating around line. We should have opposed the conciliatory resolutions and do now resolutely repudiate them!

We have spoken at length to the havoc wreaked by this line of conciliation throughout the BWC and will quote briefly from "In the Struggle Against Left Opportunism, Combat the Line of Conciliation" to underscore this point.

"This line of conciliation objectively covers the opportunism of the ultra-left line and seems to shield it from complete defeat. It is this line and the lack of proletarian leadership on the part of the 'majority' on the

Interim Committee, that must be held accountable for the following:

1. The promotion of ideological confusion within the organization, raising secondary contradictions to the level of what's principal, and not focusing the struggle on the main danger to the organization.
2. Objectively covering the ultra-lefts and weakening the organization by keeping the struggle internal, delaying the final resolution and hence delaying the process of 'rectification in practice' - the test of our commitment to smash opportunism in the BWC.
3. Creating the present stagnant, passive situation internal to the organization; ultra-democracy instead of democratic centralism, thereby fostering various incorrect lines and tendencies under the signboard of 'promoting ideological struggle through wide democracy'.
4. Further perpetuating the basis and existence of factionalism by dogmatically refusing to 'amputate' the 'Left' faction and equating the revolutionary proletarian stance of the advanced, including the Revolutionary Bloc, with the bankrupt opportunism and decay of the 'Left' faction.
5. Promoting demoralization by the I.C.'s continuing to tail the consciousness of the most advanced, at the same time directing most of the fire toward the advanced within the leadership.
6. Delaying the resolution of the struggle - by searching for ways to avoid the central issue - empirically championing investigation and doing little - and dogmatically continuing to search for the 'ideological essence of the 'left' line' which has been demonstrated repeatedly since Bulletin #1.
7. Further encouraging petit-bourgeois tendencies and abstract theoretical phrasemongering."

Thus the task which faced the Central Committee in February of '75 was to thoroughly smash the ultra-left line by thoroughly repudiating the line of conciliation which had held sway since November '74, mainly manifested in the majority-minority thesis, the theory of equilibrium, etc., which led to the further perpetuation of opportunism. In regards to self-criticism, the principal errors of the advanced in this period were Right, not ultra-left as has been

maintained by the conciliators. We should have struggled even more sharply against conciliation, carried out more extensive propaganda and agitation to demonstrate the correctness of our line and policy when the I.C. proved itself unwilling and unable to provide proletarian leadership.

In the midst of plans and preparations by all three camps in the leadership, the Ultra-Lefts, the conciliators, and the Revolutionary Bloc, for an MCC meeting on March 22, an "emergency" MCC meeting is called for February 22. What was the sudden emergency that made the hasty convening of this meeting necessary? The BMC labored under an ultra-left line from late fall of '73 which caused grave setbacks, not only to the BMC but to the entire anti-revisionist movement, and yet in November the MCC could not unite to repudiate this line. The line of conciliation held sway since November '74 and yet the I.C. shut its eyes to concrete reality and upheld the line of conciliation, branding us as ultra-left, sectarian, theoretically weak, subjective, etc., for waging struggle against this new danger (emanating from the Right).

Suddenly, we are led to believe that the I.C. will sum up its errors and is willing to repudiate its line and unite with the advanced, after tailing miserably for four to five months, and help set the organization on a Marxist-Leninist course. Is this in fact the case? Definitely not! We have not waged this struggle against Left opportunism and conciliation to be so easily deceived, nor should other comrades allow themselves to be deceived by this maneuver.

The February MCC emergency meeting was a crudely orchestrated maneuver by the camp of conciliation. It was called for the purpose of resolving the contradictions in the "Detroit situation", "correcting" the error set in motion by the majority-minority thesis, and passing a resolution against the "Left" line. The meeting in no way reflected any thorough sum-up and repudiation of the line of conciliation and it remains to be seen what the MCC considers a correct

"theoretical presentation of the essence of the Left line". (Many on the I.C. in the last period were infatuated with the thesis that there was only one task, democratic centralism was unnecessary in a pre-party period, and that we should focus on ideological struggle in the Communist movement. Clearly, many comrades still refuse to grasp and repudiate Left opportunism in word and deed.)

What, in fact, is the line emanating from this February MCC emergency meeting?

1. Conciliation has not been thoroughly repudiated (words and not deeds).
2. Detroit cadre in the Revolutionary Bloc and the advanced are seen as "Left" and errors seen in isolation from line.
3. "Business as usual" and mass work without any guiding line for work in this period.
4. no resolution to the line struggle in the BWC, thus prolonging the crisis within the organization.

If this is not the case and the "Left" line and conciliation have been repudiated, why does the I.C. maintain that it must do a thesis on the "ideological essence of the 'left' line" and the line of conciliation? Why, in practice, are we (the present I.C. and us) unable to unite? Clearly we and the I.C. mean different things by what we say. The theory of Equilibrium and the resolutions of the November MCC meeting have not been repudiated. There is no program of rectification (which is the beginning basis for unity), and no program has been suggested, but merely the slogan "engage in political work" without a clear line to direct the work. In essence the line of demarcation against the opportunism of the "left" line and the line of conciliation was not drawn. What took place was merely a superficial glossing over of some very deep-rooted and pernicious lines and policies.

Let us now examine the present motion of the I.C. and its "new" conciliationist position; let us look at the words and deeds of the MCC and the new I.C.

The resolutions from the February NCC meeting state that the majority-minority thesis was incorrect, represents conciliation, and that leftism is the main danger since party building became the central task. Also, our line on party building is a "Left" line.

Now, let us take a deeper look at the words and deeds of the NCC and the I.C.

While in words the NCC and the I.C. attempted to portray themselves as opposing the line of conciliation, in deeds they continue to carry out this line.

This line is most glaringly exposed on the question of suspensions. While repudiating the line that suspended the entire Secretariat and CG, the NCC continues this policy: DB has been promoted to the I.C.; JP has been promoted to managing editor of the organ; and MH and LM are still suspended.

The only explanations offered on their failure to restore Mike and Lynne to the Central Committee were 1) Mike's errors, and 2) Lynne's aloofness. Both cases represent an incorrect policy flowing from an incorrect line and an application of the theory of equilibrium. If the decision to suspend the leaders in the fight against the main danger was an error by the NCC's own admission in the first place, what was the basis for the error being made? When the question was put to the representatives of the Interim Committee regarding the competence of MH and LM to continue to serve on the Central Committee, the response was that this was not an issue. (They met the criteria set forth in the Constitution.) Thus, two conditions determining membership on the Central Committee and/or restoration of formerly suspended members to this body are met; 1) struggle for the correct line and the maintenance of that line against the main danger, and 2) competence. These are clearly conditions which, according to representatives of the Interim Committee, Mike and Lynne meet and continue to fulfill. How then can the failure to restore Mike and Lynne to the Central Committee,

which they were erroneously removed from to begin with, be justified? It cannot be justified, and the pitiful explanation of viewing errors in isolation from line and aloofness, etc., clearly exposes the continuation of the line of conciliation.

The NCC and the I.C. are unable to defend this policy. It represents a trend to put unity above line, isolate the advanced, conciliate with opportunism, and throw sum-up and repudiation out the window. The ideological defense of these actions is phrasemongering about the "essence" of the struggle, and how papers (which contain the correct policy) are "ideologically weak".

This new line of conciliation is but another attempt to confuse and dissipate the two line struggle, blunting the blow against the bourgeois line.

This confusion and dissipation will be further aided by the NCC's and the I.C.'s line on political and organizational work. BWC cadre are presently in the dark because of the NCC's and the I.C.'s hide and seek policy in putting out a line. Three weeks after the NCC meeting, no sum-up or documents have been put forth. The I.C. has promised, however, to soon bombard cadre with; 1) a thesis on the "ideological essence" of the "Left" line, 2) a thesis on the line of conciliation, 3) a thesis on party building, 4) at least one organizational bulletin, 5) a summary of the NCC meeting, 6) Regional Conferences, and 7) an organizational congress, all within a two month period.

These activities also demonstrate the I.C.'s ability to develop elaborate and unrealistic plans with no money to carry out these plans (separating politics and economics).

But this is not all. Again, with no line to guide the organization, with no sum-ups, repudiation, or rectification, we are to jump into "practical work". Programs are to jump off in the working class struggle, the international struggle, the national struggles, and the Communist movement.

Moreover, the Communist (putting forth the new stable line of ^{BWC} will continue to be published and distributed under a new name.

This line on political and organizational work is the same line of its two predecessors, the old I.C. and the diehards on the Secretariat. It is a line calling for business as usual, putting organization above line, and an attempt to set a track record and to get cadre's minds off of the two line struggle (unity above line).

The line of the old I.C. and the diehards can also be seen in the new line on democratic centralism and leadership. The new I.C. has again put democratic centralism, in the abstract, above line. How will cadre be selected for leadership bodies and assignments? The lines cadre hold are irrelevant. The I.C. has stated that what is key is that cadre uphold democratic centralism, and furthermore, the "class stance" of cadre is more important than the line they hold. The I.C. has once again said that organization is key. In counterposing class stance and line, they have degenerated into idealism. They are making Marxism-Leninism an abstract science in which one "searches for truth", and the positions one takes in the concrete are irrelevant.

In summary, the movement of the I.C. represents conciliation, putting organization above line, business as usual, confusion, refusal to engage in sum-up, repudiation, and rectification, and dissipation of the two line struggle.

During this period we have struggled hard to wage a principled fight for the correct line. We have been willing to recognize our errors and to compromise in the interest of organizational unity. At this point, due to rampant petty-bourgeois ideology in the organization and the deep entrenchment of the opportunist lines of hegemonism, careerism, infantilism, straight up childness, and conciliation, we can sum-up very little, if any gains. What is going on now in the BWC is a debacle of phrasemongering, elusive track

covering, posturing, and proclamation issuing. The old I.C. has crept off the stage without adequate self-criticism and no repudiation of the bankrupt policies and pronouncements that it made during its reign at the helm. The new I.C. we have already spoken to.

CONCLUSION:

Today, the Communist movement is dominated by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, is largely isolated from the working class, and is torn by the spectacle of bourgeois competition and sectarianism, with organizations fighting each other for recognition as the "true vanguard of the working class". The continued vacillation of the BWC and its failure to resolutely carry the two line struggle through to the end is but a reflection of the class influences in our movement. In order to distinguish genuine from sham, to expose opportunism and break from it, we must firmly break with bankrupt practices or fall into opportunism ourselves.

For all these reasons, we have concluded that if we are to remain Communists, we must put line above all considerations, repudiate left opportunism and the line of conciliation, and resign from the BWC. Not to do so would be dishonest and place the interest of organization above line. This we will not do! In taking this drastic action we do not hold the position of some members of the I.C. who believe that anytime there is a split it is with the intent of wrecking and destroying the other side. We do not view the situation this way. We think that all but a minority of opportunists are honest and seeking proletarian revolution. In the course of time, through study, struggle and criticism, self-criticism, we are confident that many comrades will come to the same conclusions that we have, and that there can then be unity on the basis of line and common objectives. We are aware of our responsibility in helping to bring about the present situation and do not shrink from criticism and rectification. However, as for that small minority of

opportunists, and the ultra-left line we see the struggle as an antagonistic one. This is an open trial of strength between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. There can be no Communist unity with the chief perpetrators of the ultra-left line in the BWC.

We will struggle to put into practice the lessons we have learned in the course of this struggle and our experience with the BWC.

As stated before in "Carry the Struggle Against the Ultra-Left Line Through to the End", "Our general line will be based upon deepening our understanding of the general line of the International Communist Movement as developed by the CPC headed by Mao Tse-Tung and the PLA under the leadership of Enver hoxha. We will struggle to apply this general line to the concrete reality of the US. We see that the correct proletarian line will be developed in the course of struggle against opportunism. We will greatly intensify our efforts to contribute to the development of this line by raising our theoretical level as rapidly and as thoroughly as possible through concrete investigation of objective conditions, linking ourselves more closely to the working class, struggling in a principled, non-sectarian way with other Communists, and studying hard the science of MLMT. The development of a correct proletarian line is a protracted and continuous process requiring constant study, investigation, testing in practice, and summing up. It does not come from one's head, or books or practice alone and certainly not overnight.

3-1
 We believe that in order to move forward to proletarian revolution we have three strategic tasks: 1. Party-building; 2. The United Front; and 3. building the political consciousness and struggles of the masses into armed struggle. We believe that party-building is the central task and therefore must be emphasized at this point. However, this does not mean that the other two tasks are unimportant and must not be carried out simultaneously. Indeed, some comrades have moved from the position of seeing the necessity of carrying out the three tasks to saying that we can handle only one task at this time and that is party-building. We disagree with this view and see that the question of welding the main core, winning over the vanguard, training Marxist-Leninists, can only be accomplished in close connection with the struggles of the working class and other oppressed classes - with primary emphasis on the working class. You are not going to weld a core of Marxist-Leninists and unite socialism with the workers movement purely through ideological struggle alone in isolation from the concrete struggles of the masses.

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We see the necessity for uniting with other communists in the context of these struggles and waging ideological struggle in a non-sectarian way. Further, we intend to establish the points and principles upon which we are united with other organizations within the anti-revisionist communist movement in the area of ideology so that joint ideological work can be carried out.

On the question of how we will work in the workers movement, we agree with the principle contained in the resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist International, the Resolution on the Role of the Communist Party in the Workers Revolution, point #18, which states: 'The fundamental principle of all organizational work of the Communist Party and individual communists must be the creation of a communist nucleus everywhere where they find proletarians and semi-proletarians - although even in small numbers. In every Soviet of Workers Deputies, in every labour union, every cooperative institution, workshop, house committee, in every government institution, everywhere, even though there may be only three people sympathizing with communism, a communist nucleus must be immediately organized. It is only the power of organization of the communists that enables the advance guard of the working class to be the leader of the whole class.'

"We must begin to take up the task of patient, protracted and, in most cases, secret work within the working class and among the oppressed nationalities, women and youth. We must work to build up the fighting organizations that have developed and will develop. We must recruit the advanced in the struggle and carry out propaganda, and agitation, linking these struggles to the worldwide struggle against imperialism, for proletarian revolution, national liberation, justice, and democracy."

On the basis of our determination to break with opportunism, the ultra-left line and the line of conciliation, and carry out the above general line, we, the undersigned, resign from the B/C effective immediately!

The Revolutionary Bloc
New York and Detroit

March 21, 1975