

# Nationalism In "Marxist" Disguise

(One of the main, if not the principal, characteristic of "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric is the resuscitation of "national wars" as a still valid, nay, as a progressive element of social development and history. And it is precisely in this specific area of ideological struggle that the "M-L's" anti-working class demagoguery becomes politically transparent.)

Hence, the main task of the 7th World Congress of the C.I., was precisely that of refurbishing the basic ideological tenet of the bourgeoisie - nationalism.

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In his great analytical work dealing with the historical ascension to power by Louis Bonaparte and the establishment of the Second Empire Marx dealt with the question of the enervating influence that the "Cult Napoleon" had on the French working class.

Referring to the impact of that ideological deadweight on the working class and the inevitable historical course of its eradication, Marx wrote in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*:

"The French, so long as they were engaged in revolution, could not get rid of the memory of Napoleon, as the election of December 10, 1848 proved [the date when Louis Bonaparte was elected President of the Republic]. From the perils of revolution their longings went back to the flesh-pots of Egypt and December 2, 1851 [the Bonaparte coup d'etat] was the answer. They have not only a caricature of the old Napoleon, they have the old Napoleon himself, caricatured as he would inevitably appear in the middle of the nineteenth century.

"The social revolution of the nineteenth century cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future. It cannot begin with itself, before it has stripped off all superstition in regard to the past. Earlier revolutions required world-historical recollections in order to drug themselves concerning their own content. In order to arrive at its content the revolution of the nineteenth century must let the dead bury their dead. There the phrase went beyond the content; here the content goes beyond the phrase . . .

"Driven by the contradictory demands of his situation and, at the same time, like a conjurer under the necessity of keeping the public gaze fixed on himself, as Napoleon's substitute, by constant surprises, hence, of executing a *coup d'etat en miniature* everyday Bonaparte throws the entire bourgeois economy into confusion, lays hands on everything that seemed inviolable to the revolution of 1848, makes some tolerant of revolution, others desirous of revolution, and produces actual anarchy in the name of order, while at the same time he divests the whole state machine of its halo, profanes it and makes it at once loathsome and ridiculous. The cult of the Holy Coat of Treves he duplicates at Paris in the cult of the Napoleonic imperial mantle. But if the imperial mantle finally falls on the shoulders of Louis Bonaparte, the iron statue of Napoleon will crash from the top of the Vendome column." (Karl Marx, *The*

## Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte)

In his introduction to *The Civil War in France*, Engels singled out a revolutionary item of attainment of the Paris Commune which read:

"On the 12th [April, 1871] the Commune decided that the victory column on the Place Vendome, which had been cast from guns captured by Napoleon after the war of 1809, should be demolished as a symbol of chauvinism and incitement to national hatred. This decree was carried out May 16th." (K. Marx, *Selected Works*, p. 453)

"That's how 'wrong' Marx and Engels were on their 'prediction' that the Cult Napoleon would be eradicated and that its symbol at the Place Vendome would come down with a thunderous crash.

But before the French working class reached this high state of class consciousness, it went through a whole period of ideological and political numbness resulting precisely from the impact of the "Cult Napoleon," a sharp weapon in the hands of the French bourgeoisie, in the early stages of the Franco-Prussian War — the gestating period of the Paris Commune.

Referring to this period of deadly confusion and uncertainty which clearly spelled out inevitable defeat for the revolution of 1871, Lenin remarked:

"After the coup d'etat which crowned the revolution of 1848, France came for 18 years under the yoke of the Napoleonic regime. This regime reduced the country not only to economic ruin but also to national humiliation. The proletariat which rose against the old regime took upon itself two tasks; a general national, and a class task — the liberation of France from the German invasion, and the socialist liberation of the workers from capitalism. This combination of two tasks is the most original feature of the Commune.

"The bourgeoisie had established 'the government of national defence,' and the proletariat had to fight under its leadership for national independence. In reality, this was a government of 'national betrayal' ordained, as it thought, to fight the Paris proletariat. But the proletariat did not realize this for it was blinded by patriotic illusions. The patriotic idea had

its origin in the Great Revolution of the 18th century; the minds of the Socialists of the Commune were under its spell and Blanqui, for instance, a true revolutionary and an ardent advocate of socialism, could not find a more suitable title for his newspaper than the bourgeois cry: 'Our Country Is In Danger!'

"It is this combination of contradictory tasks — patriotism and socialism — which constituted the fatal error of the French Socialists. Already in the Manifesto of the International, September, 1870, Marx warned the French proletariat not to be carried away by the false national idea; profound changes had taken place since the time of the Great Revolution, class differences had become more acute, and although at the time the struggle against the reaction of the whole of Europe united the whole revolutionary nation, the proletariat of the present time can no longer unite its interests with the interests of other classes hostile to it; let the bourgeoisie bear the responsibility for the national humiliation — it is the business of the proletariat to fight for the socialist liberation of labor from the yoke of the bourgeoisie." (V. I. Lenin, *The Paris Commune*, p. 20)

## Nationalism and Tradition— The Ideological Procrustean Bed of the Proletariat

This particularly vital and indeed transcendental revolutionary lesson of the Paris Commune has been totally ignored or deliberately distorted by the "M-L's", all the way from Stalin and Co., Brezhnev and Co., Mao and Co. and all in-between.

The slogan "Defense of the Worker's fatherland," etc., concealed the historical return to power of the Russian bourgeoisie and the re-establishment of its class dictatorship. Concealed behind the "Fascist danger" political canard the whole Communist International, led by Stalin and Co., became the most ardent advocates of "revolutionary patriotism."

The Seventh World Congress of the C.I. held at Moscow in July-August, 1935 became the historical platform from which Stalin, Dimitrov and Co. pushed the C.I.'s "Patriotic anti-fascism" line.

The Seventh World Congress line, which had been surreptitiously and studiously injected into every single member of the International, converted those Parties into organizations of social-imperialists, social-patriots, or plain bourgeois-nationalists with a Communist shingle. . . .

"Wang Ming, head of the Chinese Party's delegation to the Seventh World Congress, concretized Dimitrov's 'People's Front in the colonies' theories to the specific conditions of China when he stated:

"How should these tactics of the Communist Party of China

develop further? In my opinion and in the opinion of the entire Central Committee of the Communist Party of China our tactics should consist in a joint appeal with the Soviet government of China to all the people, to all parties, groups, troops, mass organizations and to all prominent political and social leaders to organize together with us an All-China United People's Government of National Defense.

"At the same time, the Communist Party of China should openly and solemnly proclaim before all the people that it welcomes the participation of this united people's government of national defense together with representatives of the Soviet government, of all those who refuse to be colonial slaves, of all soldiers and commanders who are ready to turn their arms in defense of their people and fatherland, of all parties, groups and organizations that want to participate in the sacred struggle for national liberation, of all honest young people from among the membership of the Kuomintang and the Blue Shirt League who really love their people and their country, of all Chinese emigrants who want to save their fatherland and of all their brothers among the national minorities, who are under the yoke of the imperialists and their agents — the Chinese militarists." (Wang Ming's speech at the Seventh World Congress)

Echoing Wang Ming's position on the application of the Seventh World Congress' "united and people's front" line, Mao Tse-tung gave concrete expression to the "revolutionary patriotism" policies engendered by the Seventh World Congress:

"The Chinese bourgeoisie is a colonial and semi-colonial bourgeoisie, oppressed by the imperialists, and therefore, even in the epoch of imperialism, it still maintains, for a certain period and to a certain degree, the revolutionary characteristic of opposing imperialism as well as opposing the bureaucratic war-lord government of its own country, examples being the 1911 Revolution and the Northern Expedition, when the bourgeois class was not yet in power, and can unite with the proletariat and the petit-bourgeoisie to oppose the enemy whom it is willing to oppose. This is the difference between the Chinese bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie of Tsarist Russia. . . .

"Therefore, no matter under whatever condition, the proletariat, the peasants, the intelligentsia and other petty-bourgeois elements of China are the

basic force that determine the destiny of the country. The above classes, some of which have awakened already while others are in the process of awakening, will inevitably become the most basic part in the constitution of the power and the nation in the Democratic Republic of China. The Democratic Republic of China which we are aiming to construct now can only be ruled by an alliance of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people. It is a Republic of New Democracy, or a Republic of the genuine, revolutionary San Min Chu I that includes Dr. Sun's three revolutionary policies.' (Mao Tse-tung, *China's New Democracy*)"

## "Cult Napoleon" With An Oxford Accent

And right at the beginning of what Stalin and Co. called "the Great Patriotic War" and the world "M-L's" referred to as "the just, anti-fascist war," the British set of social-patriots concretized the Seventh World Congress' "revolutionary patriotism" line by appealing to the colonial and semi-colonial masses to support British imperialism.

"In a demagogic appeal to British colonial chattels for support of their imperialist masters, Harry Pollitt's crew of C. I. agents whooped it up for their imperialist 'fatherland.'

"The appeal for colonial support for British imperialism, (in fact, support for the emerging 'Entente') was made in an official British C.P. statement which read in part:

"The war of fascist aggression is extending in the Far East, in the Middle East, in Africa. The criminal war plans of the Nazi rulers and their allies in Italy and Japan for the enslavement of the world are more and more openly directed, not only against the Western peoples and the Soviet Union, but against all the people of Asia and Africa. . . .

"The menace to all the colonial peoples is extreme and urgent. The world victory of fascist barbarism would mean the most brutal enslavement of all the colonial peoples, with a ruthlessness of exploitation and suppression far exceeding their present servitude, and the heaviest setback to all the national liberation movements. . . .

"Against this menace the victory of the world front of the peoples fighting against fascist enslavement, led by the powerful coalition of the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States and

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China, represents the hope of all the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world. . . .

"The colonial peoples are for these reasons vitally interested in the victory of the British-Soviet Alliance in this just war, even though they still have to win their own national freedom.

"In the new world situation the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are conscious of the great role that they can play in winning the battle of freedom. They will understand the need for the immediate building of a great united front for the defeat of Hitler. This takes precedence over every other issue of the present moment." (The Communist, The War and the Colonial Peoples, Statement of the Communist Party of Great Britain, November, 1941, Emphasis ours)

"Explaining" the reason for the dissolution of the Third International, Joseph Stalin, in answer to a questionnaire submitted by Harold King, Moscow correspondent for Reuters news agency, stated on May 28, 1943:

"It facilitates the work of patriots in freedom-loving countries for uniting progressive forces of their respective countries regardless of party or religious faith into a single camp of national liberation — for unfolding the struggle against fascism.

"It facilitates the work of patriots in all countries for uniting all freedom-loving peoples into a single international camp for the fight against the menace of world domination by Hitlerism, thus clearing the way for future organization of a companionship based on their equality. . . ." (From J. Stalin, pamphlet entitled The War of National Liberation)

And what has all of this shameless display of bourgeois patriotism in common with Marxism or specifically with the lessons of the Paris Commune? Nothing, nothing at all. On the contrary, all of the above only proves that "Marxism-Leninism", despite their constant disclaimers, is an integral part of the counter-revolution.

For us in the A.W.C.P. every single lesson of the Paris Commune constitutes not just a mile-post of the Proletarian revolution but in fact a guideline to the World revolution.

Referring to the specific lesson of the disastrous results of nationalism in the worker's rev-

olutionary movement and clearly projecting our Party's position on this subject, the Vanguard of December, 1968-January, 1969 stated:

"With his political incisiveness and his unequalled eloquence, Marx counterposed the groveling and cowardly actions of the French bourgeoisie to the heroic and sublime role of the French proletariat in the face of a criminal foreign invader and aggressor (the Prussian hordes of Bismarck), when he stated:

"And while their bourgeois chauvins have dismembered France, and act under the dictatorship of the Foreign Invasion, the Paris workmen have beaten the Foreign enemy by striking at their own class rulers, have abolished fractions, in conquering the post as the vanguard of the working men of all nations!

"The genuine patriotism of the bourgeoisie — so natural for the real proprietors of the different "national" estates — has faded into a mere sham consequent upon the cosmopolitan character imprinted upon their financial, commercial, and industrial enterprise. Under similar circumstances it would explode in all countries as it did in France." (Marx, Karl, The Civil War in France, p. 186)

"Thus, Marx exposed the only brand of 'patriotism' that any bourgeoisie is capable of today — treason to their own nations, when their class interests are challenged or when these interests are in jeopardy.

"This is precisely what has happened all over Asia, Latin America and Africa in connection with the role of the national bourgeoisie today. The national bourgeoisies have now become the imperialists' colonial overseers of the exploitation of their own masses of workers and toilers.

"The "M-L"'s are already accusing us of 'defeatism' and of 'splittism' in connection with the struggles for national liberation.

"Let them rave on! Being agents of the imperialists they fear the exposure of the venal national bourgeoisie as much as they fear their own exposure.

"We are the ones that are absolutely confident in the historical role of the working class of the whole world, including its neo-colonial sector.

"Indeed, the massive treachery of the national bourgeoisie has its dialectical positive aspect, and it is that for the first time

in history it facilitates the fullest identification of the national bourgeoisie with the forces of class exploitation and national oppression.

"To all those who accuse us of 'defeatism' and 'splittism' we simply answer with another brilliant statement by Marx in connection with the Paris Commune.

"Following the defeat of the heroic Communards, Marx expressed his unbounded confidence and optimism with the historical role of the world working class, even in the face of one of its bloodiest and most disastrous defeats, when he stated:

"That after the most tremendous war of modern times, the conquering and the conquered hosts should fraternize for the common massacre of the proletariat — this unparalleled event does indicate, not, as Bismarck thinks, the final repres-

sion of a new society upheaving, but the crumbling into dust of bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war; and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out into civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national Governments are one as against the proletariat!

"After Whit Sunday, 1871, [May 28th, the last day of the Paris Commune] there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the working men of France and the appropriators of their produce. The iron hand of a mercenary soldiery may keep for a time both classes tied down in common oppression. But the battle must break out again and again in ever-grow-

ing dimensions, and there can be no doubt as to who will be the victor in the end — the appropriating few, or the immense working majority. And the French working class is only the advanced guard of the modern proletariat." (Ibid., p. 87)

"The 'Whit Sunday' of the neo-colonial working class has now taken place!

"Today, it is not the French proletariat that can act as the avantgarde of the whole class. That historical task has fallen on the shoulders of that sector of the proletariat that is most exploited, most oppressed and least bribed — the working classes of the neo-colonies. It is they that will show the revolutionary way towards the emancipation of the proletariat to the whole working class.

"Obviously the final stages of the process of the polarization of classes in capitalist society has now begun. This means that not only has the world bourgeoisie entered the period of its total unification but that the world proletariat will follow this identical class unification path.

"The eventual and final unity of the world working class is historically inevitable, as Lenin foretold way back in October 1916:

"The proletariat is the child of capitalism — of world capitalism, and not only European capitalism, and not only of imperialist capitalism. On a world scale, fifty years sooner or fifty years later — measured on a world scale this is a minor point — the "proletariat" of course "will be united," and revolutionary Social-democracy will "inevitably" be victorious without it." (V. I. Lenin, Imperialism and the Split in Socialism, Against Revisionism, p. 336).

"Unquestionably the working class will be united as Lenin predicted and it will accomplish its historical task — the task of carrying through the world revolution under the leadership of new homogeneous working class vanguards.

"Such is the perspective that looms in the horizon of history, and that is the perspective that we in the A.W.C.P. have accepted as the guiding star that points to the path of revolutionary struggle.

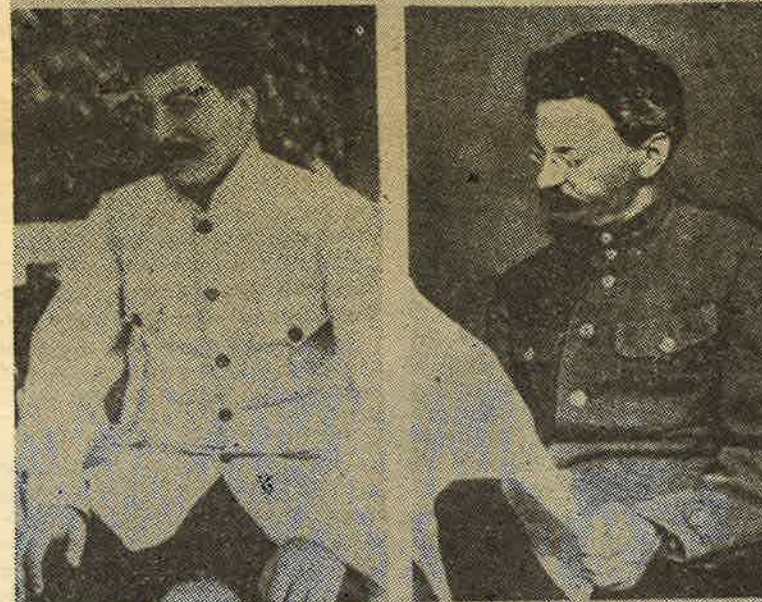
"Let all of those who accuse use of 'pessimism' enjoy their rotten 'optimism.'"

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The Three Top "Marxist-Leninists" — Counter-Revolutionaries All



Mao Tse-tung



Joseph Stalin

Leon Trotsky

Path...

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between representatives of different states and different parties.

"The surprising thing is not that differences exist, but that there are so few of them and that as a rule in practically every case they are resolved in a spirit of unity and co-ordination among the three great powers.

"What matters is not that there are differences, but that these differences do not transgress the bounds of what the interests of unity of the three great powers allow, and that in the long run they are resolved in accordance with the interests of that unity. . . .

"The United Nations face the victorious conclusion of the war against Hitler Germany. The war against Germany will be won by the United Nations — of that there can no longer be any doubt today. . . .

"One cannot regard as an accident such distasteful facts as the Pearl Harbor 'incident,' the loss of the Philippines and other Pacific Islands, the loss of Hongkong and Singapore, when Japan as the aggressor nation proved to be better prepared for war than Great Britain and the United States of America, which pursued a policy of peace. Nor can one regard as an accident such a distasteful fact as the loss of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Baltics in the very first year of the war, when Germany as the aggressive nation proved better prepared for war than the peace-loving Soviet Union.

"It would be naive to explain these facts by the personal qualities of the Japanese and the Germans, their superiority over the British, the Americans, and the Russians, their foresight and so on. The reason here is not personal qualities but the fact that the aggressive nations interested in a new war, being

nations that prepare for war over a long time and accumulate forces for it, are usually — and are bound to be — better prepared for war than peace-loving nations which have no interest in a new war. That is natural and understandable. If you like, this is a law of history which it would be dangerous to ignore.

"It is not to be denied accordingly that in days to come the peace-loving nations may once more find themselves caught off their guard by aggression, unless of course they work out special measures right now which can avert it.

"Well, what means are there to preclude fresh aggression on Germany's part, and, if war should start nevertheless, to nip it in the bud and give it no opportunity to develop into a big war?

"There is only one means to this end, in addition to the complete disarmament of the aggressive nations: that is, to establish a special organization

made up of representatives of the peace-loving nations to uphold peace and safeguard security; to put the necessary minimum of armed forces required for the averting of aggression at the disposal of the directing body of this organization, and to obligate this organization to employ these armed forces without delay if it becomes necessary to avert or stop aggression and punish the culprits.

"There must not be a repetition of the ill-starred League of Nations which had neither the right nor the means to avert aggression. It will be a new, special, fully authorized world organization having at its command everything necessary to uphold peace and avert new aggression.

"Can we expect the actions of this world organization to be sufficiently effective? They will be effective if the great powers which have borne the brunt of the war against Hitler Germany

continue to act in a spirit of unanimity and accord. . . ."

There you have the chronological story of the Second Imperialist World War, as told by the number one "Marxist-Leninist" — Joseph Stalin. We refer to the above series of political rigmoroles as the "chronological story of the war" because there isn't one iota of Marxism in it. Marxist historiography presupposes a sound grounding on the materialist conception of history. Hence, Marxist historiography to be genuine, must proceed from an analysis of the class interest involved in the particular social phenomenon under examination. But Stalin, and in fact every "Marxist-Leninist" of the war period toned down, nay, completely ignored this theoretical ingredient of social and historical analysis and substituted for it meaningless generalities and irrelevant semantics.

Obviously, according to Stalin (Continued on Page 12)