

International Correspondence

SENEGAL

TOGO

UPPER-VOLTA

**IVORY
COAST**

MALI

FRANCE

PUERTO RICO

**UNITED
STATES**

CANADA

COLUMBIA

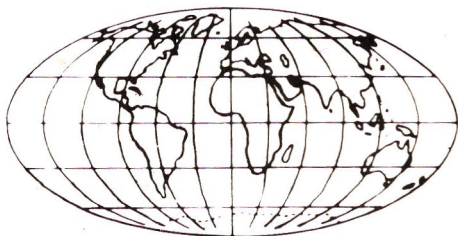
**DOMINICAN
REPUBLIC**

AUSTRIA

**WEST
BERLIN**

**WEST
GERMANY**

3



International Correspondence

Spring — 1981

No 3

- EDITORIAL
Decaying Centrism and Living Internationalism 1
Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists 9
- VIVE LE MARXISME-LENINISME!
On the Situation of the International Workers' and Socialist Movement and the Tasks of the Bolsheviks 13
- L'UNION DE LUTTE COMMUNISTE
Break with Centrism 35
- EN AVANT!
To Struggle Against Opportunism and Especially Centrism is to Struggle for the Real Application of the Revolutionary Slogan "Transform the Imperialist War into a Civil War Against the Bourgeoisie!" 61
- LA VOIE OUVRIÈRE
Bulletin International: A Gaullist Journal with a Communist Label 107
Bolshevism and Imperialist War 127
- LINEA BOLCHEVIQUE
Puerto Rico: Capitalist Colony and the Tasks of Marxist-Leninists 159
- SUR LA VOIE DU BOLCHÉVISME
Reply of the Communists of Mali to the Appeal of the Six 181
- COMBAT PROLÉTARIEN
Against the Revisionist Concept of "Superpowers" 189

SENEGAL

TOGO

UPPER-VOLTAGE

**IVORY
COAST**

MALI

FRANCE

PUERTO RICO

**UNITED
STATES**

CANADA

COLUMBIA

**DOMINICAN
REPUBLIC**

AUSTRIA

**WEST
BERLIN**

**WEST
GERMANY**

3

• FORUM IN NEW YORK ON THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE COMING IMPERIALIST WAR, NOVEMBER 8, 1980	
Introduction	199
Linea Bolchevique	
Presentation of Linea Bolchevique of Puerto Rico	201
La Voie Ouvrière and En Avant!	
Message to the Workers of the United States of America on the Occasion of the Commemoration of the 63rd Anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917	205
Workers' Revolutionary Organizing Committee	
Statement of the Workers' Revolutionary Organizing Committee	213
Kansas City Marxist-Leninist Cell and Kansas City Revolutionary Workers' Collective	
To All Participants of the November 8, 1980 Forum in New York	215
Support the "Conference Against Imperialist War"	219
Bolshevik League	
Speech at the November 8th Forum	221
Bolshevik Union	
Bolshevik Union Speech in New York	
Lessons of 1905 and 1917	
The Inevitable War and the Inevitable Proletarian Revolution	231
• CORRESPONDENCE	
A Communist Circle of Columbia	
Reply to the Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists	261
Correspondence from a Communist of the Dominican Republic	
	263
MPLÖ Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, Gegen die Strömung, Westberliner Kommunist	
	265
L'Aube Révolutionnaire	
Letter from L'Aube Révolutionnaire	275

EDITORIAL

DECAYING CENTRISM LIVING INTERNATIONALISM

The international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world are being bombarded from every side by a growing amount of propaganda from the bourgeois governments of the world about the necessity of piling armaments to the sky in order to "preserve the peace." The imperialists are trying once again to fool people into believing that by preparing for war they can live in peace. Karl Marx, more than 120 years ago, denounced this most perfidious propaganda that brings humanity to such grief.

"Of all the dogmas of the bigoted politics of our time, none has caused more harm than the one that says "In order to have peace, you must prepare for war." This great truth, whose outstanding feature is that it contains a great lie, is the battle cry that has called all Europe to arms and generated such a belligerent fanaticism that every new peace pact is regarded as a new declaration of war, and greedily exploited. At a time when the states of Europe have become so many armed camps, whose mercenaries are burning with the desire to rush at one another and cut each other's throats for the greater glory of peace, the only consideration before each new outbreak is merely the trifling detail of knowing which side one should be on. As soon as this incidental consideration has been satisfactorily disposed of by the diplomatic *parlementaires* with the help of the old reliable *si vis pacem, para bellum*, one of those wars of civilisation begins whose frivolous barbarity belongs to the best times of the robber knights, while their cunning perfidy belongs exclusively to the most modern period of the imperialist bourgeoisie."¹

Already Marx foresaw the emergence of "the most modern period of the imperialist bourgeoisie" and now long after his death the world has lived through the barbarity of this new era. Millions upon millions of people have died as a result of the many years of the imperialist bourgeoisie's efforts to "preserve the peace." Since imperialism emerged at the beginning of this century as an epoch in human history there can be no doubt that imperialism is war, but time and time again the bourgeoisie deceives the unaware with its calls for "peace" through increasing arma-

ment. The situation today has many similarities to the situation before the first imperialist world war and the situation described by Stalin in 1934. "It is not surprising that bourgeois pacifism is now dragging out a miserable existence, and that idle talk of disarmament is giving way to 'business-like' talk about armament and rearmament. Once again, as in 1914, the parties of bellicose imperialism, the parties of war and revanchism are coming to the foreground. Quite clearly things are heading for a new war."²

At a time when the imperialists are clearly preparing a new redivision of the world, the international proletariat has been languishing under the domination of bourgeois and revisionist propaganda about "peace" and not preparing itself to transform this inevitable slaughter into a civil war. It is out of this crying need of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world that six Bolshevik organizations issued an "Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists" that called for the beginning of the vital preparations for this imperative task. Since the conference that adopted this Appeal it has already been published in eight languages and over 100,000 copies have been distributed to all the continents, even in a number of the revisionist countries. This appeal has been distributed widely not only in legal conditions but also in illegal conditions.

The response by revolutionary communists is partially reflected in this issue, where there are positions supporting the appeal from two more organizations from Africa that are Bolshevizing themselves and have taken up the proletarian internationalist work of the appeal. Support for the appeal and the call for an international conference against imperialist war has also come from organizations in France and the United States. As well, circles and individual revolutionary communists from many countries have come forward in support of the appeal. This is partially reflected in the Correspondence section of this issue. As well, some organizations have expressed agreement with aspects of the appeal as well as disagreements with other aspects, along with criticisms of the framework in which the appeal is put forward and some of the objectives it is trying to achieve.

The proceedings of the International Bolshevik Conference that adopted the appeal have now been published in three languages, with the publication of the first issue of *International Correspondence in Spanish*. (The first issue in Spanish is a combination of material from issues one and two in French and English.) *International Correspondence* is expanding its distribution far beyond the countries of the participating organizations. As the international debate develops there are also changes in the composition of the participating organizations. In response to the editorial of the last issue some organizations have not responded, whereas others have expressed definite disagreements with participating in *International Correspondence* any more. (This is explained in more detail elsewhere in this issue.) On the other hand, other organizations have come forward with the courage to defend their views.

What is already becoming clear is that *International Correspondence* is becoming the vehicle for consolidating a definite trend, an internationalist trend, that is demarcating itself from social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. It is secondarily a forum

for debate because practice is proving that opportunists and their conciliators have little stomach for the rigours of a real polemic, especially with Bolsheviks. Most of the many organizations who have claimed an interest in a broad and open discussion internationally have in practice avoided it by all means possible. These organizations have met the appeal and the conference of Bolsheviks with a wall of silence in order to try and retain their internationalist mask and impede the ripping off of that mask to expose the social-chauvinism and social-pacifism that lurks beneath.

In Struggle, the publishers of *International Forum*, has carefully avoided even mentioning the existence of the appeal or the occurrence of the conference, despite the fact that In Struggle has had relations with three of the organizations that signed the appeal. In Struggle is so afraid of Bolshevism that it has even taken to hiding from organizations it promised to meet. In Struggle is trying to pretend Bolshevism does not exist, and any organization that walks down this road no longer exists for In Struggle. Buried deep inside of its *reportage* of the international movement, the second issue of *International Forum* says: "Many communist organizations put forward statements of principle on war, saying that imperialist war must be turned into revolutionary civil or national liberation wars. But there was little discussion internationally of immediate tactics or common actions in relation to the war danger."³ The pacifists of In Struggle, however, certainly have not been found "putting forward statements of principle on war." Instead they are quite happy to avoid the whole problem by saying "no" to the war. There is only a "war danger" that In Struggle fervently hopes will become less of a danger, but true to its centrist nature it tries to reconcile internationalism with nationalism by saying that it is permissible for communists to "say that imperialist war must be turned into revolutionary civil or national liberation wars." For In Struggle a communist can take either position in relation to an imperialist war. But In Struggle objects to being internationalist in principle or social-chauvinist in principle; instead it prefers a spineless philistine policy of reconciliation to the two. In Struggle's whole project is to try to reconcile the different centrist currents with social-chauvinism for the fight against Bolshevism. It cannot understand why there has to be a split between Hoxha and Mao — "Weren't they both against Bolshevism?"

In Struggle responded to the emergence of *International Correspondence* with *International Forum* so that it could sabotage any real international debate, and now In Struggle responded to the appeal and conference with its own call for an international conference made with three other groups. This call was forced to acknowledge that there is "a real danger of war,"⁴ but there is no intention to discuss it at this conference. Instead the subject will be buried amidst a deluge of semi-Trotskyite nonsense and anything any organization wishes to fill the air with, but certainly these groups will not allow their conference to become a stage for "war hysteria." These groups call for international debate but they are in hiding with no firm views on anything. They are proving their "internationalism" by hiding from communists from the semi-colonies of their own bourgeoisie that are calling for the transformation of the coming imperialist war into a civil war.

There are many calls today for international debate, etc., but in practice each case is showing that what is happening is that each sub-section of centrism is grouping together to in fact avoid that debate and organize against it. The latest attempt is a Joint Communique of 13 groups in 12 countries building a wall of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" in which to protect themselves from their own disunity. This Communique was issued from a meeting of the groups in the autumn of 1980, but the Communique was not issued until January 1981. They too can only speak of "the danger of the outbreak of a new, third, world war."⁵ Nowhere is it stated clearly and unambiguously that the character of the war that is being prepared today is an imperialist war. Of course, like all social-pacifists, they deny the inevitability of war, and if there is a war their position is vague and contradictory, allowing them to base themselves on "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and decide what is opportune when the war breaks out. These groups have, of course, said that they will launch an international journal! *International Correspondence* was the first international journal and remains the only one committed to an actual debate, but it seems that these bold "internationalists" do not have the courage for such a debate. Only a hundred flowers of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" are allowed to contend.

In the face of the appeal, all sorts of opportunists are consolidating themselves around pacifist demagogy today. "revolutionary" pacifism to be sure, and hypocritical promises to possibly be revolutionary if a war breaks out but to do absolutely nothing in practice to actually prepare even before the war starts to transform it into a civil war. But there are also those who declare that they uphold the Leninist-Stalinist principle on the inevitability of imperialist war and uphold transforming this war into a civil war, but who simply do not want to break with the center, who refuse to make these principles a line of demarcation between opportunism and internationalism. Stalin quotes Lenin saying: "*The weakness of all German Lefts, who are entangled on all sides in the vile net of Kautskyite hypocrisy, pedantry, 'friendship' for the opportunists; in which he says that 'Junius has not yet freed himself completely from the 'environment' of the German, even Left Social-Democrats, who are afraid of a split, are afraid to voice revolutionary slogans to the full.*"⁶

Today there are many who are proclaiming their internationalism from the rooftops of their legal presses, but as Stalin said: "History knows not a few Socialists who readily signed all sorts of revolutionary resolutions, just for the sake of satisfying impudent critics. But that does not mean they carried out these resolutions. Furthermore, history knows not a few Socialists who, foaming at the mouth, called upon the workers' parties of other countries to perform the most revolutionary actions imaginable. But that does not mean that they did not in their own party, or in their own country, shrink from fighting their own opportunists, their own bourgeoisie. Is not this why Lenin taught us to test revolutionary parties, trends and leaders, not by their declarations and resolutions, but by their deeds?"⁷

The work around the appeal and the next conference and the work that will be organized as a result of that conference will begin to demonstrate by deeds who are the ones that will work against "their own" opportunists, against "their own" bourgeoisie.

As Lenin said: "Diplomatically veiled opportunism and the gap between word and deed. We repeat: this is a road we shall not take"⁸ — although it is a popular road to take internationally today. Since the war has not broken out yet, it is easy to make revolutionary-sounding declarations and resolutions, but there is a wall of silence surrounding a declaration of real communist principles about the coming imperialist war, because this is a first step in carrying them out in deeds.

Today, however, there are increasing numbers of real internationalists coming forward to take up their internationalist duties. To prepare the second conference and to emerge from that conference with a real internationalist trend, the struggle against social-chauvinism and social-pacifism must be intensified, particularly with the conciliators who are attempting to prevent the emergence of a genuine Left trend internationally. The activities of the various trends who claim to oppose modern revisionism are exposing them for the opportunists that they are, and those Lefts who want to conciliate with this opportunism have to be criticised by us in no uncertain terms. We must work resolutely for a split and a rupture with the center. We are not afraid to win, as Stalin called it, the "honourable fame as being 'splitters' and 'disrupters'"⁹ from social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. Those who even in word refuse to take a revolutionary position in relation to imperialist war are not going to take a revolutionary position in deed when the war breaks out! Those who cannot find clarity and consistency on these questions today are not going to find it when the war breaks out! What are those organizations that today vacillate between revolution and "defense of the fatherland" going to do with all the pressure and demagogy of the bourgeoisie weighing upon them during a war? At least before the first imperialist world war, socialists proclaimed their adherence to internationalism in word. Today are we to maintain "unity" with those who will not even uphold internationalism in word, not to mention deed?

This is the importance of the appeal and the proposed conference. It is forcing a line of demarcation with those forces that do not even want to take an internationalist position in word and who wish to openly or "secretly" maintain their adherence to the revisionist theses of the XXth Congress of the CPSU. The forcing of a split between internationalism and opportunism is also exposing the vacillators who in word will uphold some correct principles but in practice do not want to, and refuse to, split with the opportunists. There are those who waver between Bolshevism and Menshevism. As Stalin said: "Is it not obvious that the Bolsheviks could not support the Lefts in Germany, who time and again wavered between Bolshevism and Menshevism, without important reservations, without seriously criticising their mistakes, and that to act otherwise would have been a betrayal of the working class and its revolution?"¹⁰

The results of the work with the appeal is clearly demonstrating in practice the existence of three trends internationally. But these trends have no great wall in between them. Centrist trends like the one led by the PLA are social-pacifist today, but when the war breaks out they are promising to "defend the fatherland." It is just not a certainty which imperialist fatherlands it will be in the interests of the PLA to defend. There are on the other

hand those that vacillate between internationalism and centrism, who use the luxury of "peacetime" to avoid the real practical implications of the theoretical differences that exist today. The world is not so full of resolute and dedicated internationalists that we can avoid trying to win some of these hesitators to the side of internationalism, who despite their theoretical and practical weakness may actually oppose their bourgeoisie in the war and work for its defeat. The only way this task can be carried out, however, without conciliating with opportunism, is to use the method of Lenin:

"Let us openly state the facts; the war will compel us to do it anyway, if not to-morrow, then the day after. There are three currents in international Socialism: (1) the chauvinists who consistently pursue a policy of opportunism; (2) the consistent enemies of opportunism who in all countries have already begun to make themselves heard (the opportunists have almost everywhere dealt them a staggering blow, but 'defeated armies learn fast') and who are capable of leading revolutionary work in the direction of civil war; (3) confused and vacillating elements who at present drag themselves in the wake of the opportunists and who are most harmful to the proletariat by their hypocritical attempts to justify opportunism, which they do (no joke!) almost scientifically and with the use of the Marxian method. Part of those perishing in this last-named current can be saved and restored to Socialism, but only through the policy of a most decisive break and rupture with the first current with all those who are capable of justifying the vote for appropriations, 'the defence of the fatherland,' the 'submission to martial law,' the eagerness to use legal means only, the renunciation of civil war. Only those to follow such a policy do in practice build a Socialist International."¹¹

It is not by hesitating and vacillating with them that some of these elements will be won to Bolshevism, it is only by consistently and persistently criticising their semi-Menshevik and semi-internationalist politics that it will be possible to rally them to the banner of the revolutionary proletariat or to at least exert a Left influence upon them so that some of them may stand on the side of the revolution in spite of their theoretical weakness. The resistance in practice to the appeal and to the debate in *International Correspondence* is a reflection of this vacillation and fear of theoretical criticism because of the practical implications for the imperialist war and the very real and concrete work that must be done today to start the preparations to turn the war into a civil war. To accept that war is inevitable and not just theoretically as some vague and always avoidable prospect means decisive action today or confession of pacifism or chauvinism. To realize that revolution is not going to "prevent" this war means the necessity of giving up the activity that is generally carried out today in the name of "preparing the revolution" — economism, spontaneity, trade unionism, tailing after nationalists, theoretical "freedom of criticism," subservience to legal work or plain inactivity — all this would have to be abandoned in favor of revolutionary work to prepare for civil war. This is the only way to be ready for a revolutionary crisis if it happens somewhere before the war! The work that is usually passed off as "preparing for revolution" to "prevent the war" is invariably characterized by opportunism and social-

pacifism. The theoretical refusal to firmly adopt Leninist-Stalinist principles on the war is not only an attempt to avoid the correct position during a war, it is to justify the opportunism that exists today and characterizes the so-called Marxist-Leninist movement. It is not the "war hysteria" of the Bolsheviks that is promoting passivity in the proletariat, it is rather the position of the Bolsheviks that is challenging the passivity of the conciliators of opportunism.

The question of war is certainly not the only question facing revolutionary communists in the face of the theoretical confusion that is the result of the temporary victory of modern revisionism in the international workers' movement but it is a fundamental question that sheds light on the others. Historically this question has immense importance. The Second International collapsed around this question, the Communist International was built around this question. This question played a fundamental role throughout the history of the International and was of vital significance after World War II. It was central to Stalin's attack on modern revisionism and it was central to Khrushchev's open revision of Marxism-Leninism at the XXth Congress of the CPSU and it is today fundamental to the building of a new international. This question more than any other puts to the test the words of those who claim to be proletarian internationalists. If some self-proclaimed internationalist supports his own bourgeoisie in the coming war, with either chauvinism or pacifism, his opinion about the cultural revolution in China is of little importance to the task of building a new international, unless you want that international to be composed of social-chauvinists and social-pacifists. Enough of this "radicalism in theory and opportunism in practice."¹² As Lenin said: "Internationalism consists in coming together (first ideologically, then in due time also organisationally) of people who, in these grave days, are capable of defending Socialist internationalism in practice, i.e. to gather their forces and 'to be next in shooting' at the governments and the ruling classes of one's own 'fatherland'. This is not an easy task; it will require much preparation, great sacrifices, it will not fail to suffer defeats. But just because it is not an easy task, it must be done in company with those only who wish to do it, who are not afraid of a complete break with the chauvinists and with the defenders of social-chauvinism."¹³

Editorial Committee
International Correspondence

Notes

1. "Invasion!", *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 439.
2. Report to the XVII Party Congress, *Problems of Leninism*, FLP, p. 680.
3. *International Forum*, no. 2, Nov., 1980, p. 52.
4. *ibid.*, p. 18.
5. "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers, and the Oppressed of All Countries," Autumn, 1980.
6. "Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism," *Problems of Leninism*, FLP, p. 563. This article was reprinted by the Bolshevik Union of Canada in *Lines of Demarcation*, no. 13.
7. *ibid.*, p. 572.
8. "On the Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism," *LCW*, Vol. 21.
9. "Some Questions. . .", *op. cit.*, p. 563.
10. *ibid.*, p. 565.
11. "Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism: How Shall the International be Restored?", *Collected Works* (1930), Vol. 18, p. 97.
12. *ibid.*, p. 98.
13. *ibid.*, p. 97.

APPEAL TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS

Economic and political crisis is sweeping the world. All the imperialist powers are frantically competing over export markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of capital investment. The uneven economic and political development of the various imperialist powers drives them towards redividing the world through force. Imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to such a degree that the "peace" that prevails today is nothing but a breathing spell between wars; wars between the imperialist powers to redivide the world for the profit of the imperialists.

These wars are an inevitable feature of imperialism. Already imperialism has plunged the world into two world wars and innumerable wars of colonial conquest. Today, however, imperialist world war is not only an inevitable prospect but something being actively prepared for by all the imperialists who are becoming more bellicose and warmongering everyday. For years the imperialists have waged wars against the oppressed peoples of the world to enslave them and to redivide this or that colony, semi-colony or dependent country, in favour of one or another group of imperialist robbers. The politics of the coming interimperialist war are the politics of today, the politics of unbridled economic, political and military competition between the imperialists to prepare for a military redivision of the world.

This war is made all the more inevitable by the fact that there are so few organized forces opposing the imperialist war plans. Once Communists the world over stood in opposition to the imperialist war. The Communists led the revolutionary proletariat in class struggle before, during and after wars. Today, however the overwhelming majority of so-called Communists have sold themselves to their imperialist masters. Bribed and corrupted by the superprofits of imperialist exploitation, they stand today as a bulwark of the imperialist system which they defend with every kind of demagogy in order to

prevent the revolutionary proletariat from its historic mission of ending imperialist war for all time by overthrowing the imperialist system and replacing it with the socialist system.

These social-chauvinists align themselves with one imperialist bloc or another. Some support the Western imperialists; others support the Russian imperialists. Even before the war they are organizing support for one of the groups of imperialist robbers in the coming war. These "Communists" do not represent the proletariat, they represent the imperialists in the labour movement.

War is an inevitable result of class society and the continued existence of the imperialist system and war can only be put to an end by the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism and class exploitation. No pacifist illusions will prevent war, only the revolutionary action of the international proletariat to turn the war into a civil war, a revolution against the bourgeoisie of all the imperialist countries and a national revolutionary struggle in oppressed nations against imperialism will put an end to the imperialist system and put a final end to the carnage of war. The proletarians consider it a crime to fire at each other for the profits of capitalists, and must instead turn the guns against their "own" bourgeoisie. The proletariat must struggle against the imperialist war preparations by preparing the proletarian revolution.

The line of revolutionary Communism has always been to transform imperialist wars into civil wars against the bourgeoisie. This stand started before the first imperialist world war and was upheld against the betrayal of social-chauvinists and social-pacifists by the internationalists, the revolutionary Communists led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It is in this tradition that this appeal is made. We call on all those who uphold the cause of proletarian revolution and socialism to break with the social-chauvinist "Communists" and the social-pacifist "Communists" to build once again a real Communist International to lead the cause of world revolution.

It is not enough to oppose the war with words, and to favor peace it is not enough to utter empty phrases about proletarian internationalism as the "centrists" do. There is no possibility of real peace under capitalism. To preach peace instead of revolution is to betray the proletariat and condemn the world to an endless series of wars. These social-pacifists also serve the imperialists by sabotaging the preparation of civil war and its execution by spreading pacifist illusions. They mystify and deceive the proletariat and try to deroute it from the only path to end imperialist war. We must break with these deceivers of the proletariat and once again re-establish the principles of revolutionary Communism. We must uphold the programme of revolutionary defeatism, the transformation of the war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie and support and conduct national revolutionary wars in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries against imperialism.

We call on all revolutionary Communists to join us in preparing the proletarian revolution against the imperialist war.

We call on all revolutionary Communists to join us in preparing to transform the imperialist war into a civil war, a civil war against the bourgeoisie and for socialism.

We call on all revolutionary Communists to join us in supporting the revolutionary struggle of all

oppressed nations against imperialism's war to redivide the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

We call on all revolutionary Communists to join us in preparing a Conference against imperialist war which will draft a Manifesto to the international proletariat upholding the revolutionary principles of Communism defining the character of the upcoming war and the tasks of the proletariat against the war.

It is our proletarian internationalist duty to work together to accomplish this vital task. The number of revolutionary Communists may be small but it is with them we stand, because they are the only ones who in reality represent the aspirations and hopes of the revolutionary proletariat to live in a world free from war.

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!
WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND
OPPRESSED PEOPLES UNITE!**

L'Union de Lutte Communiste	(Haute Volta)
Línea Bolchevique	(Puerto Rico)
La Voie Ouvrière	(Côte d'Ivoire)
Bolshevik Union	(Canada)
En Avant!	(Togo)
Bolshevik League	(United States)

ON THE SITUATION
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS'
AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENT
AND THE TASKS
OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

VIVE LE MARXISME-LÉNINISME!

After the assassination of Comrade Stalin in March 1953, the international communist movement was plunged into a deep political and ideological crisis. This crisis showed itself openly after 1960 but it existed since the assassination of Comrade Stalin.

The crisis that has reigned since the assassination of Comrade Stalin is not only a terrible blow for the international workers' and socialist movement. This crisis has also had its curative virtues. Lenin said indeed that "The great and progressive significance of all crises, even the gravest, most arduous and painful, lies in the tremendous speed, force and clarity with which they expose and sweep aside rotten phrases, even if well meaning, and rotten institutions even if they are built on the best of intentions."

It is thus with the crisis that has reigned since the assassination of Comrade Stalin: it has "progressive significance" in that it leads the authentic Bolsheviks to engage in firm combat and to split from all the currents of betrayal of the workers' cause as a necessary condition for the unity of the socialist proletariat of all countries.

Our group was born in the battle to re-establish Bolshevism in Senegal. In the beginning of this struggle, the spearhead of our polemic was directed against the Maoists of the L"ML"Dëgg, representatives of national-populism and promoters, like Mao Tse-tung, of "local communism."

The international circumstances of the outbreak of this theoretical-critical struggle against the theory of the "three worlds" and "Mao Tse-tung thought" led our young group to adhere to certain theses of organizations and parties who supposedly opposed the theory of the "three worlds" and 'Mao Tse-tung thought." These same circumstances led us to con-

sider the PLA as a Marxist-Leninist Party and Albania as a socialist country. *These stands were not based on any analysis of the theses of the PLA but on mere "sympathy" that the presumed struggle of the PLA against the theory of "three worlds" and Mao Tse-tung thought then inspired in our young communist group which was still ideologically weak. While in our combat against the Maoist current in our country, we held to a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the points of view of this current, this attitude was lacking in our position on the questions of the international workers' movement. In fact, at the time, it was for us a question of saying not "where to go?" What international line to follow? But "with whom to go?" With the PLA or the CCP? Thus, the foundation of tailism was laid.*

The practice of the international current led by the PLA, however, led us to break with tailism to study the real line of the PLA. The logic by which we had undertaken combat against the Maoist current in Senegal (a struggle for the re-establishment of Bolshevism) inevitably led to the rupture, internationally, with the current led by the PLA as an anti-Bolshevik current. The demagogic proclamations of the PLA on the continuity of its "ideological struggle against revisionism", its attacks "against" Maoism had some effect, while the authentic Bolsheviks had not yet exposed the real nature of this party. In the understanding of the international line of the PLA, the work of the Bolshevik comrades of the other countries helped us greatly. For the first time since the assassination of Comrade Stalin, real internationalists have again raised the banner of Bolshevism and called for a split with the centrists. This combat has been healthy.

The meaning and the scope of the following article exists at three levels: In the Open Letter of August 1979, we had set ourselves the task of analyzing the balance-sheet of the international workers' and socialist movement, in relation to the questions of "Mao Tse-tung thought" notably. This article comes within the framework of this balance-sheet. The rupture with Maoism, to the extent that it is consistent and is not limited to superficial declarations, also lays the bases of the rupture with the international centrist current.

This article also has value as a self-criticism, since our group has contributed to spreading the fraud according to which "the PLA is an authentic Marxist-Leninist party." We are only real communists if we know how to recognize our errors, our ideological inadequacies and waverings, so as to correct them in time, openly and honestly. Lenin teaches us that: "A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfills in practice its obligation towards its class and the working people. FRANKLY ACKNOWLEDGING A MISTAKE. ASCERTAINING THE REASONS FOR IT, ANALYSING THE CONDITIONS THAT HAVE LED UP TO IT, AND THRASHING OUT THE MEANS OF ITS RECTIFICATION — that is the hallmark of a serious party; that is how it should perform its duties, and how it should educate and train its class, and then the masses."²

Finally, this article is a marker in our work of demarcation from all the opportunist currents in the international workers' and socialist movement. By demarcating from these currents, we are contributing to the strengthening of the international Bolshevik

current. A real Bolshevik current cannot be consolidated in the international workers' movement if it does not definitively demarcate itself from the anti-Bolshevik line put forward by the PLA and the CCP.

I

"Workers of all countries, unite!"

It was this call that Marx and Engels put forward in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in 1848. Through this appeal, they pointed out to the international proletariat that:

- the emancipation of the working-class must be the work of the working-class itself;
- the emancipation is not in essence a national problem but takes in the struggle of the proletariat at the international level;
- the struggle of the proletariat of all countries must be organized and co-ordinated internationally for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels concretized this appeal by founding the First International. This international grew up and became strong in Marx' and Engels' struggle against the Proudhonians, Lassallians, Bakuninists, and English trade-unionists. *True internationalism demands of the communists of all countries, an implacable struggle against all the anti-Marxist currents.* Marx and Engels never failed to meet this requirement. Their struggle led to the triumph of Marxism as the sole current representing the interests of the proletariat. Lenin expresses this victory of Marxism by saying: "The First International (1864-72) laid the foundation of an international organization of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital."³

Or again: "The first International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism."⁴

As for the IInd International (1889-1914), it "was an international organization of the proletarian movement whose growth proceeded in breadth, at the cost of a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary strengthening of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International."⁵

Its birth and development corresponded to a relatively peaceful period of development of capitalism, to a period of passage of capitalism from the pre-monopoly stage to the imperialist stage. Undermined by opportunism, the IInd International considered the parliamentary and electoral forms of the struggle as the main ones. The outbreak of the first world war would expose in broad daylight the social-chauvinism of the leaders of the IInd International. They would decree the International to be "a peacetime instrument" and would support the slogan of "defence of the fatherland" in the imperialist war. As was said by Comrade Stalin, the leaders of the IInd International, Kautsky and Co., did not understand or did not want to understand that capitalism had passed to a new stage that corresponds to a new period which is: "one of open class collisions, of revolutionary action by the proletariat, of proletarian revolution, a period when forces are being directly mustered for the overthrow of imperialism and the seizure of power by the proletariat."⁶

Lenin and the Bolsheviks understood that the betrayal of true internationalism by the renegades Kautsky and Co. and the demands of the struggle of

the proletariat in the new period raised the necessity of a new International, in the same way that was raised the "necessity for a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal."^{6A}

The new International had to be the *International of Bolshevism*, the International that would be formed and steeled in the struggle against the traitors to the workers' cause, that is, at that time, the avowed social-chauvinists and the centrists. Lenin and the Bolsheviks waged an implacable struggle to take the class-conscious workers away from the influence of the social-patriots. They would ask the Marxists of all countries to split with the old parties and to construct real communist parties. Lenin said in this regard: "Despite everything, revolutionary Social Democratic elements exist in many countries... to rally these Marxist elements, however small their numbers may be at the outset; to reanimate, in their name, the now forgotten ideal of genuine socialism, and to call upon the workers of all lands to break with the chauvinists and rally about the old banner of Marxism — such is the task of the day."⁷

The task of the day could not be defined any better! If the CCP and the PLA had been real Marxist-Leninist parties which, from the first steps of Khrushchev and Co. in their attack against Bolshevism, had observed this Leninist attitude, the international workers' movement would not have known the dark days gone through since the assassination of Comrade Stalin. The truth is that the CCP and the PLA are in no way parties which defend Bolshevism. The CCP and the PLA have adopted in regards to the Khrushchevite revisionists the same attitude that Kautsky and Co. at the beginning of the imperialist war of 1914-18: the attempt, in the name of "unity," to conciliate the Bolsheviks with the worst enemies of the proletariat (the avowed social-chauvinists) and to prevent their split with the traitors. The line of the CCP and the PLA had the following salient features at that time: proletarian internationalism in words, the petty-bourgeois phrase wrapped in a few general principles, bowing to the Khrushchevite revisionists in deeds. That is precisely a centrist line, identical to the line of the Kautskys at the start of the First World War, for "The 'Center' is a realm of honeyed petty-bourgeois phrases, of internationalism in word and cowardly opportunism and fawning on the social-chauvinists in deed."⁸

Centrism is in reality only a variant of bourgeois ideology; the centrists were not Marxists who were making errors, but conscious advocates of adaptation of the interests of the proletariat to those of the bourgeoisie.

"Centrism must not be regarded as a spatial concept: the Rights, say, sitting on one side, the 'Lefts' on the other, and the Centrists in between. Centrism is a political concept. Its ideology is one of adaptation, of subordination of the interest of the proletariat to the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie within one common party. This ideology is alien and abhorrent to Leninism."⁹

That is why Lenin's struggle to re-establish the principles of proletarian internationalism was vigorously waged against the centrists. That is why

our combat to re-establish Bolshevism must be waged with the same vigour regarding the avowed social-chauvinists as with the centrists. In the struggle against avowed social-chauvinism and centrism, Lenin recalled, in the name of the Marxists of all countries, the principles of authentic socialism that had been trampled on by the renegades of the IInd International. Lenin and the Bolsheviks led the conscious workers of all countries in breaking with the avowed social-chauvinists and the centrists and lining up under the flag of Bolshevism. They founded a new revolutionary International, the IIIrd Communist International.

This attitude of Lenin's of open struggle against avowed social-chauvinism and centrism is completely different from the attitude of the CCP and the PLA regarding Khrushchevite revisionism. The CCP and the PLA not only modestly kept quiet for more than seven years, but they adhered to the theses of Khrushchev.

This attitude is also completely different from that of Hoxha towards Maoist revisionism which he supported and embraced for more than twenty years before... confessing in his opportunist "Reflections." Hoxha was even more "hesitant" than the most hesitant of Christians, it would seem. Today that is the only quality to which he can lay claim. The Maoists are right to treat Hoxha as a renegade, but they have forgotten to state that what Hoxha has "reneged" on, is not Bolshevism (for the good reason that he was never a Bolshevik) but rather "Mao Tse-tung Thought." The convergence of the centrist line of the CCP and the PLA regarding Khrushchevite revisionism cannot be better illustrated than by the evaluation by the counter-revolutionary Jurquet of the revision of the text of the third congress of the PLA.* The Maoists do not reproach the PLA for having supported with them the Khrushchevite revisionism. On the contrary, according to the Maoists, the attitude of the PLA like that of the CCP regarding Khrushchevite revisionism was a "tactical" attitude (sic) understandable for any opportunist. The Maoists reproach the PLA for having reneged on "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and its open social-chauvinist manifestations to promote "Enver Hoxha Thought."

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution was a decisive step in the process of constructing a new international. It confirmed in a striking way the correctness of the line of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party and placed before the eyes of the workers of all countries the necessity of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and opened the path to the grouping of the forces of the left around the Bolshevik Party and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Considering that "the emancipation of the workers is not a local or national task, but rather a social and international task," the Bolshevik Party and the forces of the left of the whole world founded in March 1919 the IIIrd Communist International (the Comintern) "in the goal of organizing the action of the whole proletariat of the various countries, towards one and the same end, namely: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an international Republic of Soviets that will allow the complete

*On this subject, see the article of the PCMLF: "The PLA Re-writes its History" ("Le PTA réécrit son histoire").

abolition of classes and the realization of Socialism, the first stage of Communist society."¹⁰

The Comintern discharged its duty with honour. Facing the betrayal of the objectives of the proletariat by the old parties of the working class, it defended the principles of revolutionary Marxism, cemented the Marxists of all countries in the national communist parties and internationally, and defended the first country of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On March 15, 1943, the Executive Committee of the Comintern adopted a resolution proposing to the various sections the dissolution of the International. The history of the First International shows evidence that the formal existence of an international is not a question of principle, contrary to what is put forward by the semi-Trotskyite organizations such as In Struggle, which, under the pretext of wondering about the reasons for the dissolution of the IIIrd International, attacks the activity of Comrade Stalin and the C.I. What is a question of principle is proletarian internationalism, and the dissolution of the Comintern does not in any way mean the death of proletarian internationalism and liberty for each party to propagate its "national communism." Only the parties at that time which were dominated by opportunism (such as the CCP) but which, because of the authority of the Comintern, did not dare to attack it directly, saw in its dissolution the liberty to propagate their "national communism." In the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the CCP on the dissolution of the C.I." and the "Report of Mao Tse-tung on the questions posed by the dissolution of the C.I.," it appears clearly that the CCP and Mao Tse-tung considered the theses, directives and resolutions of the C.I. as being "interference in the internal affairs of the parties" (sic!). For Mao Tse-tung the dissolution of the C.I. should allow them to give "a stronger national reality" to the CCP (sic!, that is, freedom to adopt "Mao Tse tung Thought" — VML!)

In 1947, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party created the Information Bureau that played an important role in the denunciation of Titoite revisionism. After the assassination of Stalin by the revisionist gang of Khrushchev, the latter dissolved the Information Bureau and attacked head-on the principles of revolutionary communism.

With the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, the ideologues of the bourgeoisie held forth. To them was joined the whole Maoist international cohort which theorizes about the "slippage of the organizational capacity of the proletariat in the USSR" (sic).* The Mao-Trotskyite organizations, such as In Struggle of Canada and PLP/VP in France, are spreading their anti-Bolshevik spite through a so-called "historic study" of revisionism. The adherence of these organizations to Maoism and to Trotskyism is evident in their attacks against Stalin and the Comintern. The attempt to internationally conciliate the different nuances of contemporary opportunism is the permanent practice of these organizations. It is only necessary to look at the stinking contents of conciliation of *International Forum of In Struggle* to be convinced of this. One understands that, wanting to group the different nuances of opportunism, centrist organizations such as In Struggle attack Comrade

Stalin and the Comintern, demanding mainly that, in the questions of demarcation of currents at the international level, the evaluation of the work of a revisionist such as Mao Tse-tung should be covered over (thus In Struggle rejects "the concept of Mao Tse-tung Thought," but only the "concept.") Or else, as was formerly done by the revisionist Mao Tsetung in evaluating the work of Comrade Stalin, they insist that we should judge in terms of percentages of "good" and "bad." The Bolsheviks defend the wholeness of the work of Stalin and the Comintern against Mao-Trotskyite "freedom of criticism." The Bolsheviks do not prevent any opportunist from joining his friends in the "swamp"; on the contrary, they work actively to bring this about. But it is their duty to clearly expose not only the "swamp" but all those who are asking for conciliation with it. The Maoists and the Trotskyites are "free" to "criticize," but what will not be allowed by any Bolshevik, is that they should spew out their anti-Bolshevik spite in the name of Bolshevism.

The organisation In Struggle of Canada recently published a call for an international conference signed by three other organizations. This project follows a Menshevik Appeal sent out at its 3rd Congress "for the political and organizational unity of the international communist movement." The feverish activity of In Struggle to neutralize the struggle of the Bolsheviks against open social-chauvinism and centrism must be publicly denounced by the Bolsheviks of all countries because, if its Menshevik project comes about, the opportunists would continue for a long time yet to ensure their hegemony in the international workers' movement.

II

Many communist militants have always associated the appearance of Khrushchevite revisionism with the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956. The PLA and the CCP have spread this lie for a precise purpose: to cover up their "long term coexistence" with Khrushchevite revisionism since 1953. The revisionist gang of Khrushchev began its anti-Bolshevik campaign right after the assassination of Comrade Stalin. From March 1953 it started to put into doubt the work of Comrade Stalin. In 1952 the Bolshevik Party had foiled the plot of the doctors sold out to the secret services of the international bourgeoisie, especially American and English. The criminal goal of these doctors was to kill, by camouflaged procedures, the main leaders of the CPSU(B). Stalin and the Bolsheviks knew that international imperialism was in the midst of framing a conspiracy against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR with the active complicity of revisionist elements who had infiltrated the Party. Stalin and the Bolsheviks prepared a purge against these revisionist elements. The theoretical basis for the preparation of this purge was Stalin's book: *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*. During the year 1952, the CPSU(B) sent out multiple appeals for an increase of revolutionary vigilance. Stalin at that time never stopped drawing the attention of the Soviet people to the dangers of the restoration of capitalism. He showed each time that although the bourgeoisie was liquidated and socialism established, there still existed the dangers of restoration of capitalism because of the capitalist encirclement. He showed

*Thus speak the petty-bourgeois Maoists of the petty-bourgeois organization called the UCF ML in France.

that an attempt to restore capitalism in the USSR could only be victorious with the active participation of international imperialism. He said: "The final victory of socialism is the full guarantee against attempts at intervention, and that means against restoration, for any serious attempt at restoration can take place only with serious support from outside, only with support of international capital.

"Hence the support of our revolution by the workers of all countries, and still more, the victory of the workers in at least several industries is a necessary condition for fully guaranteeing the first victorious country against attempts at intervention and restoration, a necessary condition for the final victory of Socialism."¹¹

He also said: "Indeed, it would be ridiculous and stupid to close our eyes to the capitalist encirclement and to think that our external enemies, the fascist, for example, will not, if the opportunity arises, make an attempt at a military attack upon the U.S.S.R. Only blind braggarts or masked enemies who desire to lull the vigilance of our people can think like that.

"No less ridiculous would it be to deny that in the event of the slightest success of military intervention, the interventionists would try to destroy the Soviet system in the districts they occupied and restore the bourgeois system.

"Did not Denikin and Kolchak restore the bourgeois system in the districts they occupied? Are the fascists any better than Denikin or Kolchak?

"Only blockheads or masked enemies who with their boastfulness want to conceal their hostility and are striving to demobilize the people can deny the danger of military intervention and attempts at restoration as long as the capitalist encirclement exists.

"Can the victory of Socialism in one country be regarded as final if this country is encircled by capitalism, and if it is not fully guaranteed against the danger of intervention and motivation?

"Clearly, it cannot."¹²

It is not less clear that Khrushchev, Mikoyan and Co. were these "camouflaged enemies" of the dictatorship of the proletariat against whom Stalin was preparing a purge. The profusion of anti-communist points of view about the restoration of capitalism in the USSR should be linked with the notorious inability shown by the CCP and the PLA in the analysis of this phenomenon. The support of the PLA for the plan for restoration of capitalism in the USSR adopted at the 21st congress of the CPSU (See in this regard the "Greeting of Enver Hoxha to the 21st Congress of the CPSU" in the "Information Bulletin of the Central Committee of the PLA," no. 2, Tirana 1959) and the convergence of the Maoist and Khrushchevite points of view on the necessity of "sale of means of production to the peasants" (Mao), for example, give evidence that the PLA and the CCP could not show, from the point of view of revolutionary Marxism, that capitalism had been restored in the USSR. They therefore limited themselves to denouncing, after 1963, the "new tsars of the Kremlin" and other nametags of that type.

As for Khrushchev and his gang, they did not wait for 1963 to attack Bolshevism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR. Already in 1953, right after the assassination of Comrade Stalin, Khrushchev declared that those who foiled the doctors' plot (that is, the Bolsheviks with Stalin at their head) were "criminals" (sic!). Khrushchev consid-

ered that the doctors' plot was a provocation set up by Stalin. He said in his "secret report" that from the assassination of Stalin, they (the revisionists) had undertaken work to "explain succinctly and in a consistent manner that it is inadmissible and alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism to elevate a person (he is speaking of Stalin — VML!), to transform him into a superman." During that period, the real Bolsheviks started to be liquidated in Hungary and Czechoslovakia especially. International imperialism, in concert with the Khrushchev gang, and the revisionists of the other countries among whom were the very silent PLA and CCP, had actively undertaken its plan for restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the liquidation of Bolshevism at the international scale.

The "silence" of the PLA and the CCP was in reality only a camouflaged, ignoble participation in the plan of the destruction of Bolshevism and the plot against Stalin. Hoxha had just recognized, for the first time since 1953, that Stalin had been assassinated by the Khrushchev gang. He said: "I say 'after the assassination' (of Stalin — VML) because Mikoyan himself told me and Comrade Mehmet Shehu, that with Khrushchev and their acolytes, they had decided to stage a 'pokoucherie', to make an attempt to kill Stalin but that later, as Mikoyan said, they gave up this plan. It is notorious that the Khrushchevites were impatiently waiting for Stalin's death. The circumstances of his death are not clear, in any case."¹³

What can be said at the least is that Hoxha and the PLA, which were fraudulently called the "Stalinist shock brigade," hardly contributed to clarify these circumstances. Since "Enver Hoxha Thought" has supplanted "Mao Tse tung Thought" in the international centrist family, Hoxha has grown wings and thinks he can give out any imbecility without being exposed. If Mikoyan informed Hoxha, who falsely glorifies himself with being a disciple of Stalin, before the assassination of the latter, why did he not tell Stalin of this? And if Mikoyan informed Hoxha after the assassination of Stalin, why did he not denounce this assassination immediately in front of the international proletariat? Mikoyan certainly had good reason to confide in Hoxha, to inform him of the secrets of the Khrushchev gang. If Hoxha wants to confess about the assassination of Stalin after his (opportunist) "confessions on China," the authentic Bolsheviks will take no account of this new opportunist confession. The pretension of Hoxha to be a disciple of Stalin is only a fraud. When Trotsky and the other opportunists plotted to have Lenin assassinated by the provisional government, Stalin came to the defence of Lenin before the whole party and foiled the plot of the opportunists. Such was the attitude of Stalin, the faithful disciple of Lenin, a tested Bolshevik militant. As for the PLA, the "Stalinist shock brigade," it had nothing to say against the assassination of Stalin and 27 years later, it has confessed.

III

1956: Khrushchev and his "Secret Speech," Mao and his "Ten Major Relationships," the PLA and its 3rd Congress. The same ideological line, the same struggle: to bury Bolshevism.

At the beginning of the year 1956, Khrushchev and his gang convened the 20th Congress of the CPSU to crown their victory over Bolshevism. It was not enough for them to have physically liquidated the Bolsheviks; they had to bury Bolshevism as an ideological current; they had to "theorize" about this liquidation; they had to attack the work of Stalin. They accomplished this dirty task all through the works of the 20th Congress. The Congress formulated the revisionist thesis about the "triumph of socialism in the peaceful competition with capitalism," stated that imperialist wars are not inevitable in our epoch, rehabilitated the Tito gang that had been denounced by the Information Bureau, etc. Khrushchev, in his report, attacked Marxism-Leninism head-on. The attack against the work and the person of Comrade Stalin was waged with the goal of liquidating real proletarian internationalism, abandoning the line of revolutionary communism followed by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Stalin and allying with international imperialism, mainly American.

When Khrushchev attacked Comrade Stalin, the international bourgeoisie, its Trotskyite agents and all the opportunists exulted. The attack against Stalin and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR even re-awakened the international Trotskyite sect liquidated by the Bolsheviks. What was the attitude of the CCP and the PLA with regard to the attack against Stalin and Bolshevism?

At the time, the CCP reacted by publishing in "Jenmin Jihpao" of 29 November 1956 a declaration in which it is said, "The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union showed a great determination and great firmness in eliminating the cult of Stalin, in revealing the gravity of his errors, and in putting an end to their consequences. The Marxist-Leninists and all those who sympathize with the communist cause throughout the world support the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to correct these errors and hope that the efforts of the Soviet comrades will be crowned with complete success."¹⁴

"Complete success in the liquidation of Bolshevism." Such would be the immediate reaction of the CCP. In his "Ten Major Relationships" of April 1956" of April 1956, Mao would also say: "The Central Committee of our Party asserts that the merits and errors of Stalin are in the proportion of seven to three (. . .) Such an evaluation is quite correct. Stalin committed a certain number of errors on the subject of China. He was at the origin of the 'left' adventurism of Wang Ming, towards the end of the second revolutionary civil war, and of his right opportunism, at the start of the war of resistance against Japan. During the period of the Liberation War, first he did not authorize us to make revolution, stating that a civil war would ruin the Chinese nation. Then, when war broke out, he was skeptical about us. When we had won the war, he suspected that it was a victory of the Tito type and, in 1949 and 1950, he exercised great pressure on us. But we nevertheless consider that the merits and errors of Stalin are in the proportion of seven to three."¹⁵

Mao Tse-tung developed much puerility of this type and lies against Stalin (who had many reasons to consider that the victory of Mao was "of the Tito type"). His evaluation of the work of Stalin in terms of a "proportion of seven to three" served only to allow him to "build a bridge" between Bolshevism

and revisionism, just as he wanted China to be a "bridge" between capitalism and socialism. Mao Tse-tung demanded that special attention should be accorded to the "failings and . . . errors that appeared during the building of socialism in the USSR and which were recently brought to light" and that this experience should be taken advantage of to "save a few detours," thus attacking "without detour" the work of construction of socialism in the USSR led by Comrade Stalin.

As for the PLA, it adhered to the denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the CPUS in the following terms: "The cult of the personality and the leadership practice created by J.V. Stalin marked the open and deformed violation of the Leninist principles of collective leadership in the Party, marked the violation of the Leninist norms of the party. The contempt of J.V. Stalin for the norms of the life of the party, the solution of problems in an individual manner on his part, the contempt for the opinion of the party, even taking severe measures against those who expressed opinions contrary to his own, could not fail to cause, and did cause, great damage, giving rise to serious alterations of the Leninist rules in the life of the party and to violation of revolutionary legality.

"The cult of the personality and the contempt with regard to criticisms and to advice, correctly formulated by the members of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as with regard to the norms of the party, led Comrade Stalin into errors; he did not show the necessary vigilance on the eve of the patriotic war against German Nazism; he did not devote the necessary attention to the further development of Socialist agriculture and to the material well-being of the kolkhoziens; he supported and led into an erroneous line the Yugoslavian affair, etc. In such circumstances Comrade Stalin showed himself one-sided in his ideas and detached from the masses."¹⁶

We could quote at length from Hoxha in his attacks against Stalin at the IIIrd Congress of the PLA (the original documents of which would later be furtively taken out of circulation). And yet the PLA is not ashamed to state today: "The Party of Labour of Albania is the only party that has NEVER treated with the calumnies and inventions of the revisionists against Stalin. It is proud of having courageously FROM THE START prepared itself to take the defence of this great Marxist-Leninist."¹⁷

At its IIIrd Congress, the PLA rehabilitated Tito and did its "self-criticism" for having supported the condemnation of Tito by the Information Bureau; it adhered to all of the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress. Yet the *History (Mis-written) of the Party of Labour of Albania* says that: "All the conclusions and decisions of the IIIrd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania were penetrated with a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist spirit which was, in its essence, the opposite of the revisionist spirit with which were stamped the conclusions and decisions of the XXth Congress of the CPSU."¹⁸

At the 21st congress of the CPSU (1959), it almost came about that Hoxha inaugurated, with Khrushchev, "for the first time in the history of humanity, the epoch of interplanetary voyages, for the conquest of the cosmos (sic! this is Hoxha himself who is speaking). And if this had happened, he

would have had the "special honour" to do it with someone who had "enriched Marxism," for, according to Hoxha: "The theses and the report of Comrade Khrushchev, at the 20th Congress as well as the 21st Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are precious treasures not only for you, but also for all communists, for the whole international communist movement, for they are treasures that enrich our immortal science, Marxism-Leninism."¹⁹

For having thus supported the theses of Khrushchev as being "an enrichment of Marxism-Leninism" in a speech published in a revue, which it cannot be assured was withdrawn from circulation, as was the original edition of its IIIrd Congress, the PLA has good reasons to keep quiet about the 21st congress of the CPSU in the "History of the Party of Labour of Albania." The vile and disgusting methods of the PLA cannot be those of a communist party.

The subsequent positions of the PLA and the CCP would hardly make things any better for them.

Mao Tse-tung said: "When Stalin was criticized in 1956, we were on the one hand happy, but on the other apprehensive. It was completely necessary to remove the lid, to break down faith, to release the pressure and to emancipate thought. But we did not agree with demolishing him with one blow."²⁰

Mao Tse-tung could only be very happy about the attacks against Stalin. It was at that price that one could "remove the lid" and "release the pressure" that was stifling "Mao Tse-tung Thought." It was absolutely necessary, to "emancipate the thought" of Mao Tse-tung, to "break down faith" in Bolshevism. That is the meaning of that phrase. All the rest is pure sophistry. As for the PLA, it would quite simply sink into whining against Khrushchev. Hoxha was "fully in agreement with the fact that the cult of the personality of Stalin had to be criticized as a harmful manifestation in the life of the Party."²¹

But he considered that "the question of Comrade Stalin (was not posed) in a correct and objective way ("impartially," to speak like Mao — VML!), in a Marxist-Leninist spirit."²²

What was "bothering" Hoxha was that Khrushchev "imposed" on him the condemnation of Stalin. "The communist world and the progressive world had imposed on them by Comrade Khrushchev, the condemnation of Comrade Stalin. What could our parties do in these conditions when, suddenly, using the great authority of the Soviet Union, there was imposed on them, en bloc, such a question? The Party of Labour of Albania found itself in a big dilemma."²³

Isn't this something? The "Stalinist shock brigade" disoriented by Khrushchev, unable to resolve "such a question," posed "suddenly" and "en bloc"! The CCP and the PLA were not against the condemnation of Stalin and, with him, of Bolshevism. That goes without saying. Only, they bitterly regretted the discourteous attitude of Khrushchev that forced them to take centrist positions so as not to be exposed quickly.

The objection that has long been advanced by the PLA and the CCP according to which they did not know the "real plans" of Khrushchev, is of no value. What "real plans," other than the destruction of the dictatorship, of the proletariat in the USSR and the liquidation of international Bolshevism could be those of Khrushchev and Co., who put forward and

defended in front of the CCP and the PLA their revisionist theses, and attacked Stalin? As for the rest, this objection is only an empiricist caricature of the type: "no investigation, no right to speak." Either the CCP and the PLA are ignorant about the ABCs of Marxism-Leninism to the point of confusing the revisionist theses of Khrushchev with the Marxist-Leninist theses, or they consider that one can revise the scientific doctrine of the proletariat and continue to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and Bolshevism. In both cases, in all cases, the CCP and the PLA cannot pretend to be Marxist-Leninist parties.

Also without value and which must be rejected is the philistine point of view according to which, if the CCP and the PLA did not attack Khrushchevite revisionism right from its first manifestations, it is because they wanted to preserve the unity of the international communist movement. That is a slave mentality that has absolutely nothing to do with the real care for the unity of the socialist proletariat around the Marxist doctrine. The Bolsheviks do not seek to preserve the unity of a movement rotted away by opportunism. To preserve the unity of the international socialist proletariat, is for them to cut out the revisionist gangrene before it contaminates the whole body. It is in this task, the only truly internationalist task of the epoch, that the PLA and the CCP failed by supporting Khrushchevite revisionism. The attitude of Lenin, as will be remembered, was to split away from the IIrd International that had been rotted by opportunism, all the real communists.

IV

After having consolidated their victory over Bolshevism within the CPSU, Khrushchev and his gang went to attack more systematically the line of international communism. The Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 were important steps in the struggle of the international revisionist alliance against the Leninist-Stalinist line. In these two documents, which were signed and defended stubbornly by the PLA and the CCP, the essentials of the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU were taken up once again. The PLA evaluated these documents as being "a solid base on which the communist and workers' parties should establish their line of action . . ." The centrists of the PLA and the CCP would later criticize the CPSU because, according to them, it was acting "completely contrary to the Moscow Declarations," of which "the revolutionary banner must be held high" (sic! PLA). Later, as an alternative to the line of open collaboration of Khrushchev with American imperialism, the CCP wrote "A document of great international significance" (according to the PLA!); the "Proposal for a General Line". It is clear today for any Marxist-Leninist who has made a conscious split with "Mao Tse-tung Thought" that the theoretical premises of the theory of "Three Worlds" are expressed in the "Proposal for a General Line." The "split" of the CCP and the PLA with the Khrushchev gang took place not on the basis of Bolshevik orthodoxy, but on the basis of chauvinist interests. The absence of a real defence of the Leninist-Stalinist line goes far to explain the fact that there were so few splits in the various communist parties in the world. And the very rare splits

that did take place, did not take place on the basis of Bolshevik orthodoxy. The parties and organizations that were created in the "struggle" of the CCP and the PLA against the Khrushchev gang were created on the basis of "Mao Tse-tung Thought." With the movement to criticize the theory of "three worlds," the same phenomenon repeated itself. History repeats itself! But the centrists of the PLA can be assured that the present farce will end in tragedy for the international centrist current.

V

The Currents at the International Level and the Tasks of the Bolsheviks

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern sent out to communists and proletarians of all countries the warning: "The victory of the imperialists in their struggle against the USSR would not only mean defeat of the proletariat of the USSR, but the most serious defeat of the international proletariat since it has existed. The workers' movement would be set back for tens of years."²⁴

More than twenty years after the victory of the imperialist and revisionist plot against the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the meaning of this warning of the C.I. is especially evident. The movement of the proletariat to break the yoke of capital is today still side-tracked in an impasse by dominant opportunism. The imperialist bourgeoisies of all countries are actively preparing the next butchery for the redivision of the world and the proletariat and oppressed peoples have only "an exposed breast."

It is this situation that creates the urgency of our tasks, the tasks of real Bolsheviks. And we cannot take up these tasks correctly if we do not understand the real nature of the various currents that are manifesting themselves internationally. Lenin dealt with the questions of the demarcation of currents internationally. During the first world war, he distinguished three currents at the international level that manifest themselves still today. He said that: "whoever, ignores reality, refuses to recognize the existence of these three trends, to analyze them, to fight consistently for the one that is really internationalist, is doomed to impotence, helplessness and errors."²⁵

The demarcation of currents at the international level has really taken place only recently. With the movement of criticism of the theory of "three worlds," there was born at the beginning a sort of "Zimmerwald Left" around the Party of Labour of Albania. When the PLA later denounced "Mao Tse-tung Thought," there appeared the first "divergences" in this "Zimmerwald Left." Parties and organizations formally detached themselves to take up the defence of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and others, like the organization In Struggle of Canada, tried vainly to conciliate all the currents in a Menshevik International. These parties and organizations, in spite of everything, remain with the same line as the PLA: the line of the elements of the "center." The Bolshevik tendency, which from the beginning committed itself in the struggle against the theory of "three worlds" and "Mao Tse-tung Thought" was for a certain time fooled by the demagogy of resounding phrases of the PLA and its shameful practice of hiding its real opinions,

before seeing the real nature of this party and the other opportunist parties that it leads internationally. Since then the demarcation of currents at the international level has progressed and the three currents show themselves clearly.

The first current is that of the open social-chauvinists, which has been considerably enlarged since the revisionist betrayal of many workers' parties and the accession to power in the USSR and in the former countries of the socialist camp of the revisionists. The current of open social-chauvinism today includes the Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists and the various varieties of Maoists (especially the defenders of the theory of "three worlds"). Lenin said: "Social-chauvinism is opportunism in its finished form. It is quite ripe for an open, frequently vulgar, alliance with the bourgeoisie and the general staffs."²⁶

In the present situation of active preparation of the war of piracy and pillage by the imperialist bourgeoisies, the open social-chauvinists are openly supporting the war preparations. In the imperialist countries, they call on the proletariat to get ready to "defend the fatherland". In the semi-colonies they support the alignment of their bourgeoisie with such and such imperialist bloc. Social-chauvinism, explains Lenin, is born from opportunism in the workers' movement and is the direct continuation of it. That is why "social-chauvinism and opportunism have the same class basis, namely, the alliance of a small section of privileged workers with 'their' national-bourgeoisie against the working-class masses: the alliance between the lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie against the class the latter is exploiting."²⁷

The economic basis of opportunism and its summated development (social-chauvinism) lies in the superprofits realized by the imperialist powers from the plunder of the colonies and semi-colonies. Its social base is the labour aristocracy and the petty-bourgeoisie. Lenin continues: "Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same political content, namely, class collaboration, repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, repudiation of revolutionary action, unconditional acceptance of bourgeois legality, confidence in the bourgeoisie and lack of confidence in the proletariat. Social-chauvinism is the direct continuation and consummation of British liberal-labour politics, of Millerandism and Bernsteinism."

Social-chauvinism, as it manifests itself today, is the "direct continuation" and the "crowning" of opportunism in the parties that degenerated into revisionist parties after the assassination of Comrade Stalin as well as in a group of Maoist parties and organizations marked from birth by ideological instability and the vacillations of the petty-bourgeoisie between the revolutionary proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The characteristics of social-chauvinism of which Lenin spoke are especially evident today now that the "Eurocommunists" — these open chauvinists — have gone so far as to abandon recognition of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, now that the Maoists have openly renounced revolutionary action with the theory of "three worlds," etc. The ideological convergence of Maoism and Khrushchevite revisionism, as two varieties of modern revisionism, has found expression in Senegal in the signing of a nationalist

and reformist declaration of the Co-ordination de l'Opposition Senegalaise Unie by the Khrushchevites of the Parti Africain de l'indépendance (PAI) and the Ligue Démocratique (LD) as well as the Maoists. The adherence of the Khrushchevites to the current of social-chauvinism is not in doubt. These last few years, certain fractions of the Maoists, with the theory of "three worlds," have also broken with their centrist deceptions and openly display the hideous face of social-chauvinism. The Maoist project of alliance with American imperialism, to serve as a "bridge between the two systems" (sic!), led to the signing of military and economic agreements between China and the USA. The attempts of certain Maoists and semi-Trotskyite organizations (RCP in the USA, PC(R) in Chile, In Struggle in Canada, the Maoists of "Jaay Doolé Bi-le Prolétaire" in Senegal, etc.) to draw attention to the social-imperialist clique of Deng, to camouflage the responsibility of Mao in this situation, are quite simply ridiculous. The project of alliance with American imperialism and transformation of China into an imperialist power was a project of Mao Tse-tung right from his accession to the leadership of the CCP.

In almost all the countries the social-chauvinist current has its representatives. Here in Senegal, the representatives of social-chauvinism are the Khrushchevites of the PAI and the LD as well as the various Maoist fractions. These declared enemies of Bolshevism all have the same social-chauvinist line: defense of the interests of their national bourgeoisie. The betrayal of the interests of the proletariat and the defense of the interests of their national bourgeoisie by these social-chauvinists manifests itself mainly in their many attempts to construct "popular parties"; it manifests itself in their open alliance with the liberal and reformist bourgeois forces (the COSU for the whole of the social-chauvinists and the grouping around the journal "And Sopi" for the revisionists of the PAI); it showed itself recently in the most gross manner in the nebulous theorizing of the Maoist on fascism and their call for an "anti-fascist front" with the liberal bourgeoisie. The Maoists thus show very clearly what will be their policy in the coming imperialist war: the call to the workers to line up behind "their" bourgeoisie aligned with an imperialist bloc.

The second current is that of the "center" or, as Lenin said, the current of the "swamp." Lenin said that this was "the international type of pseudo-Marxist who vacillates between opportunism and radicalism, but is in reality only a fig-leaf for opportunism."²⁹

At the start of the first world war, its representative was Kautsky. Its social base is the same as that of open social-chauvinism. The international centrist current includes, besides a throng of Maoist and semi-Trotskyite organizations, the parties grouped around the PLA which constitutes the most important international centrist grouping. In order not to display openly its social-chauvinism, this current "demarcates itself" from the open social-chauvinists. It is in this sense that the proclamations of the centrist grouping internationally led by the PLA against "Mao Tse tung Thought" and the theory of "three worlds" should be understood. It would be wrong to think that the centrists differ on all points with the open social-chauvinists. On the contrary, the centrists are social-chauvinists; they are cam-

ouflaged social-chauvinists and that is why they are especially dangerous. Centrism leads inevitably to declare social-chauvinism as the outcome of the attempt to conciliate the interests of the proletariat with those of the bourgeoisie. The evolution of Kautsky bears witness to this. The evolution of Maoism also bears witness to this. The centrist line of the PLA shows up especially in its positions regarding the imperialist war in preparation. The attitude of the centrists of the PLA regarding the imminent imperialist war is exactly that described by Lenin when speaking of Kautsky: the invention of contemptible evasions to escape the obligation of preparing the masses for revolutionary actions to transform the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war. Among these evasions is the one consisting in declaring, contrary to the point of view of revolutionary communism on the inevitability of wars of piracy and plunder under imperialism, that "security in Europe will be realized thanks to the efforts of all the European peoples and countries who cherish peace. . . . The peoples of Europe will realize real peace and security through strengthening their national independence and sovereignty, their independent development and the defence capacity of their country."³⁰

The subterfuge which consists in speaking of "peoples" cannot hide the complete betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the war by the PLA. Who is it at the heads of the countries of Europe if not precisely the imperialist bourgeoisies who are all preparing the imperialist war? It is the question of the strengthening of the "national independence" and "sovereignty" of whom, if not of the imperialist bourgeoisies of these countries?

In an article in *Albania Today*, no. 2 (45), 1979, the PLA states: "The Marxist-Leninist communists are against that road of the triumph of the revolution which goes through imperialist war, because such a war and more so in present-day conditions of a thermo-nuclear war would be fraught with devastating consequences for the peoples, for the present and future of mankind."³¹

The accusation brought by the PLA against China in this article, is to want to "initiate the revolution through the imperialist world war"! The elementary truth that escapes the philistines of the PLA is that the social-imperialist clique of Deng, as much as the PLA, has no intention of "initiating the revolution" by any path whatsoever. What the Chinese social-imperialists and the international Maoist cohort want precisely, is to snuff out the revolution. We have a dramatic proof of that here in Senegal where the Maoists, in desperation, latch onto the scattered fragments of the reformist bourgeois parties and weave all sorts of anti-worker alliances. China wants war: of that there is no doubt. And this must be understood in the sense that China, as an imperialist power, wants a new division of the world and only in that sense. China wants, and is preparing the imperialist war of plunder for the redivision of the world: that is the only way to look at the problem. Instead of looking at the problem in that manner and that manner only, the PLA goes into hysterical statements about "the road of the triumph of the revolution that goes through imperialist war" and the threat of explosion of an "atomic bomb" and other platitudes! The revolutionary proletariat will proceed with its work and will certainly not let itself be

intimidated by the "atomic bomb" whose explosion is promised by the PLA.

What does it mean that "the communists are against that road of the triumph of the revolution that goes through imperialist war..."? What the PLA is desperately trying to make believe is that there exist supposed communists who are inciting imperialist war at the cost of destroying "humanity." What butchers these communists are! In truth, just like the Chinese social-imperialists, the social-pacifists of the PLA slander communism. For communists are not against the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The point of view of revolutionary communism on imperialist war has been known for a long time. The communists maintain that war is the continuation of politics by other means (violence). Imperialist war is the continuation of the politics of capital, for the unceasing redivision of the world between the various imperialist powers. To redistribute the already-divided world, the imperialist powers resort to war. This seems to be admitted by everybody, including the social-pacifists of the PLA who, through a series of the most ridiculous sophisms, in fact renounce the point of view of revolutionary communism on imperialist war and the obligations that flow from them for any communist. What results from the objective fact that "imperialism is war"? The result is that, under the regime of imperialism, whether war breaks out or not, does not depend on the subjective will, the "good" or "evil intentions" of the political representatives of the bourgeoisie. It also does not depend on the subjective will of communists, whether it breaks out or not. It especially does not depend on the will of the social-pacifists of the PLA whether or not it breaks out. So the question that arises is: what attitude to take regarding the imperialist war in preparation? To this question, communists answer in the only possible revolutionary manner: starting right away, prepare the masses of the proletariat in each country to turn the rifle against "their" own bourgeoisie; prepare the proletariat of each country to transform the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war. This is all the more obligatory since imperialist war in general creates a revolutionary situation. And it is the duty of communists (their absolute duty) to prepare the proletariat to take advantage of any revolutionary situation. To "forget" this and to fulminate against "the end justifying the means" is to totally abandon Marxism and to adhere to vulgar petty-bourgeois phrases and centrist evasions. In these days of active preparation of war by the imperialist bourgeoisies, the real communists will tirelessly recall the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. Without letting themselves be troubled by any reactionary or pacifist gossip about "ends and means," they will raise the banner of Bolshevism and devote themselves to their tasks of active preparation of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples for the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war.

The Bolshevik forces, in the summer of 1980, held a Conference against imperialist war which issued an Appeal whose goals our group completely adheres to. The centrists manifest their social-pacifism either by observing silence on this Appeal or by mandating the old hands of opportunism such as Patrick Kessel in France to "inform on" the conference (with the

grossest lies). All that Kessel the salesman has found to say about the Conference is that it emphasized that the imperialist war is imminent. According to the social-pacifists, that is a Maoist point of view.

The centrists very poorly hide their social-pacifism by attacking the point of view of the imminence of the imperialist war. For, among the arguments secretly spread by the centrists, there is the one according to which it is possible that the proletarian revolution will triumph before the imperialist war and that consequently, to state the imminent character of the imperialist war is to negate the possibility of immediate proletarian revolution. In spite of its radical appearance, this argument is totally pacifist. Marxists reason in terms of *tendency* and not in terms of possibility, since *anything* is possible. The problem is not to know if it is possible that the proletarian revolution will triumph before the war (furthermore, this viewpoint is here quite simply Trotskyite). The question that a communist asks is: what is the tendency of the evolution of the world situation? Is the world situation, especially considering the domination of opportunism in the international workers' movement, moving towards the timely outbreak of the proletarian revolution before the war, or of the interimperialist war before the proletarian revolution? Only a Trotskyite and Maoist or a braggart who wants to hide his hostility to the proletarian revolution can today defend the first point of view. On the other hand, all the activity of the imperialist bourgeoisies shows that they are preparing to face each other in interimperialist war in the near future. Should we then put forward Maoist phrases like "revolution will prevent war," or do propaganda on the questions of the war in the *clearest terms* to prepare *starting now* the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war? "Starting now" we say, because the question of the war cannot be seen in terms of vague distant perspectives: as Lenin said, the guns may go off of themselves. One cannot do *consistent work* regarding the imperialist war in preparation if one rejects the point of view of the imminence of this war. To reject this point of view leads necessarily to the development of social-pacifist theses like those of the PLA, which intends to "stay the hand of the imperialists" (sic.) by a "peace" movement.

The centrists today swear by their internationalism. But all the opportunists swear they are internationalists and he is not a Marxist who judges them by the label they give themselves, rather than by their politics. Lenin said: "Only lazy people do not swear by internationalism these days. Even the chauvinist defencists, even Plekhanov and Potresov, even Kerensky, call themselves internationalists. It becomes the duty of the proletarian party all the more urgently, therefore, to clearly, precisely and definitely counterpose internationalism in deed to internationalism in word."³²

Besides its social-pacifism, the betrayal of real internationalism by the PLA shows up in its disgusting practices aiming to neutralize the polemics of the communists who are struggling in their country against petty-bourgeois parties such as the P"CR"V. Wherever real internationalists want to provoke and sustain splits of real communists with the petty-bourgeois organizations, the PLA has incited "unity" ... in the name of Albanian national interests. It is clear that the support of the PLA for the petty-

bourgeois parties such as the P"CR"V (Upper Volta) and the P"C"D (Dahomey) has a direct relation with the anti-Bolshevik understanding according to which, as soon as supposed communists exist in a country, they can "create the party" independently of whether they have rallied the workers' vanguard to communism. The P"CR"V, the P"C"D and now the P"C"T (Togo) have put forward this putschist conception after notice of the "brother parties" (sic!) including the PLA. The PLA has set up a whole international network of saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries responsible for doing publicity for the national interests of the Albanians. They support (in the corridors) such a vile and sinister salesman as Patrick Kessel in France, whose library brings foreign exchange to Albania.

To the Maoist theory of "three worlds," the PLA counterposes its theory of "two superpowers." It is of public notoriety that the putting forward of this theory of the "two superpowers" has led many organizations to totally abandon the ground of the struggle against the bourgeoisie of their country and thus leads directly to social-chauvinism. The theory of "three worlds" put forward by the Maoist social-chauvinists is only the consistent continuation of the theory of the "two superpowers." To the "three worlds" of the Maoists, Hoxha and the PLA counterpose their "two worlds": the "two superpowers" on one hand, and the "peoples" and bourgeois political personalities who have "good intentions regarding Albania" on the other hand. The revolutionary communists do not support the imperialist (sic) "small fish" against the imperialist "big sharks." They mobilize the masses of the proletariat of all countries against the imperialist system. Imperialism is a universal system of exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and labouring masses in which one cannot isolate a "small fish" to protect against a "big shark." With its theory of "two superpowers," the PLA only promotes, under Marxist-sounding verbiage, its own variant of revisionism. And the whole line of the PLA on the questions of the revolution in the imperialist countries, the colonies and semi-colonies is thus built: deceits, under pseudo-revolutionary verbiage, of a totally opportunist point of view. The intoxicating speeches of Enver Hoxha to the Congresses of the PLA and the "inflammatory" articles in *Albania Today* on the revolution in general cannot fail to have a soothing effect on petty-bourgeois aroused by imperialist exploitation. But to any real communist who takes the trouble to study the content of these speeches and articles, it will be clear that the PLA debases the Marxist doctrine. The tactics of the PLA are unchanging: many phrases full of "good intentions" on the peoples in general and, in passing, a few references to the proletariat; an eager diatribe against the "reactionary bourgeois" and a hand held out to certain bourgeois political leaders considered to be "reasonable men who are well-intentioned towards Albania," etc.

The third current is that of the true internationalists. After the accession to power in the USSR of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Bolsheviks were physically liquidated. Bolshevism was banished to the last word. And this plot against Bolshevism was the work just as well of the Khrushchevites as the social-chauvinists of the CCP and the PLA. It is only the last few years that the Bolshevik current has started to be reborn. The "essential distinctive char-

acter" of this current is, as Lenin said, the "complete rupture with social-chauvinism as well as with the 'center.'" The international Bolshevik current today is the current of open polemics and of a split with the open social-chauvinists and the "center." It does not reduce internationalism to an empty phrase. It works for the effective unity of the socialist proletariat of all countries, rid of the dead weight of social-chauvinism and centrism. It works for the unification of all revolutionary communists in a Bolshevik International. It works actively, with all its strength, to prepare the proletariat and the oppressed peoples for the transformation of the imminent imperialist war. To the social-chauvinists' internationalism in words, they counterpose internationalism in deeds. The opportunists are not against internationalism "in principle" but what they want, is the international unity of the opportunists based on salon diplomacy and bourgeois politicking. To this "internationalism" the real communists counterpose internationalism in deeds, in the most resolute manner.

The future of the proletarian revolution rests in the strength of the Bolshevik current as the single current representing the interests of the proletariat. The Bolsheviks are today numerically weak. But what counts for them above all else, is the faithful expression of the ideas, conforming in all questions to the Leninist-Stalinist teachings, active propaganda and the call to all conscious workers to line up "under the old banner of Bolshevism." To forge the international unity of the revolutionary communists who, "in spite of everything exist in many countries," by working for their definitive split with open social-chauvinism and the centrists: such is the task of the hour. The real communists cannot succeed in their tasks if they do not split with all the anti-Marxist currents.

The real Bolsheviks — however few in number they may be — must not despair in face of the temporary domination of opportunism. Lenin teaches us that we should neither despair, nor fear a split: "But we revolutionaries cannot fall into despair. We are not afraid of a split. On the contrary, we recognize the necessity of a split, we explain to the masses why a split is inevitable and necessary, we call for work against the old party and for revolutionary mass struggle."³³

LONG LIVE BOLSHEVISM!

Produced for *International Correspondence*
January 1981

NOTES

1. Lenin, "Social-Chauvinist Policy Behind a Cover of International Phrases," LCW 21:429.
2. Lenin, "Left-Wing' Communism — An Infantile Disorder," LCW 31:57.
3. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History," LCW 29:306.
4. Ibid., p. 307.
5. Ibid., p. 306.
6. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, FLP, Peking, p. 98.
- 6a. Ibid., p. 98.
7. Lenin, "Socialism and War," LCW 21:328.
8. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," LCW 24:76.
9. Stalin, "Industrialization of the Country and the Right Deviation in the CPSU(B)," SW 11:293.
10. First Article of the Statutes of the C.I. (Our translation — ed.).
11. Stalin, "Problems of Leninism", 1937, p. 134, quoted in *Lines of Demarcation* no. 15, p. 131.
12. Stalin "Letter from Comrade Ivanov..." in *ibid.*, p. 131.
13. E.

Hoxha, *Avec Staline* — Souvenirs, ed. 8 Nëntori, p. 32 (Our translation — ed.). 14. "Jenminjih Pao," 29 November 1956 (Our translation from French — ed.). 15. Mao Tse-tung "On the Ten Major Relationships," MSW 5, p. 328 (Our translation from French — ed.). 16. Report to the IIIrd Congress of the PLA as quoted in *Lines of Demarcation* no. 15, pp. 71-2. 17. Ramiz Alia: "Stalin and His Work, a Battle Flag for all Revolutionaries" in *Albania Today* no. 1 (50), p. 3 (Our translation from French — ed.). 18. History of the Party of Labour of Albania, Tirana, 1971, quoted in *Lines of Demarcation* no. 15, p. 65. 19. "Greetings of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" in *Bulletin d'Information du Comité Central du PTA*, no. 2, Tirana, 1959 (Our translation from French — ed.). 20. Mao Tse-tung "Talks at Chengtu: On the Problem of Stalin," in *Chairman Mao Speaks*, ed. Stuart Schram, p. 101, quoted in *Lines of Demarcation* no. 15, p. 1. 21. Hoxha, Vol. 2, p. 909 (Our translation from French — ed.). 22. *Ibid.* 23. *Ibid.*, p. 910. 24. *International Correspondence*, 1928, no. 149, p. 1705 (Our translation — ed.). Lenin, "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," LCW 24:75. 25. Lenin, "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International," LCW 22:113. 26. *Ibid.*, p. 112. 27. *Ibid.* 28. *Ibid.* 29. *Ibid.*, p. 108. 30. *Albania Today*, no. 6 (1972) (Our translation from French — ed.). 31. "The Marxist-Leninist Stand of the Party of Labour of Albania on the Problems of War and Peace," *Albania Today*, no. 2, 1979, p. 4. 32. Lenin, "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," LCW 24:74. 33. Lenin, "To Franz Koritschorer," LCW 35:239.

UPPER-VOLTA

BREAK WITH CENTRISM

L'Union de Lutte Communiste

INTRODUCTION

“Centrism must not be regarded as a spatial concept: the Rights, say, sitting on one side, the 'Lefts' on the other, and the Centrists in between. Centrism is a political concept. Its ideology is one of adaptation, of subordination of the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie within one common party. This ideology is alien and abhorrent to Leninism.”¹

Lenin emphasized precisely that “the 'Center' is a realm of honeyed petty-bourgeois phrases, of internationalism in word and cowardly opportunism and fawning on the social-chauvinists in deed.”²

Indeed, “in the history of the international communist movement, wherever there has been a decisive struggle against revisionism, there emerges a stratum of 'centrists' who try to take up the middle, who try to conciliate Marxism-Leninism with revisionism, with opportunism, and with social-chauvinism. This is always a stratum of petty-bourgeois, along with the labour aristocracy who vacillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie but whose objective function is to serve the bourgeoisie.”³

We are precisely in that period when the decisive struggle against social-chauvinism and especially centrism within the ICM (International Communist Movement) has become sharper. In their preparations for a new world war, the imperialists create a situation which brings out in all clarity the various class tendencies. Thus, the centrists are brought by the force of events to come forward in the light of day, dragging behind them their pacifist illusions of betrayal of the international proletariat.

In our beginnings, we were strongly marked by centrist ideology. This is the result of the sad hegemony that, for too many long years, has been exercised by the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and the PLA (Party of Labour of Albania), through "Mao Tse-tung Thought" on the international revolutionary movement. Our theoretical base of study was constituted by the works of Mao, Hoxha, the CCP and the PLA; hardly at all did we consult the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the educators of the world proletariat. So marked were we with the theses of the CCP and the PLA, that a real ideological and political servility had appeared in us in regard to these two revisionist parties. It was in the struggle that we had undertaken against the O"C"V, which was preparing to self-proclaim itself a "communist" party, that we had to go back to the conceptions of Lenin and Stalin to discover the revolutionary principles of communist struggle. However, in spite of a certain number of correct analyses that we had done until then in LE PROLETAIRE, we had not yet undertaken a truly radical demarcation from "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and the conceptions of the PLA on all levels. It is true that, contrary to the support that we had for Mao and his conceptions in LE PROLETAIRE No. 0 (September 1978), we took another position during the 1st Congress of the ULC by condemning "the thought of Mao" as a variant of modern revisionism (See LE PROLETAIRE No. 3). In any case, this change in our stand does not signify a real rupture with centrism; as proof of this, all that is needed is to point to the fact that, at this same Congress, a position of support for the PLA as "an authentic Marxist-Leninist party" was adopted. It goes without saying that it is mainly the weight of centrism that has greatly hindered the full growth of our organization, at the ideological and political level, as well as the organizational. In LE PROLETAIRE No. 4, we had started a serious break with centrism by condemning the opportunist action of the PLA in recognizing the P"CR"V. Even before the PLA had done this, we had started ask ourselves questions about certain positions and theses of the PLA; the action that it took only stimulated our reflections about it. By studying the problem of imperialist war in the light of the principles of Bolshevism, we were able to confound the PLA in its centrism and we did not fail to brand, although succinctly, the social-pacifist theses of the PLA, theses which are basically centrist (see LE PROLETAIRE, Special Issue, August 1980). Today it is quite clear to us that within the ICM, the struggle of the communists must mainly bear on the centrism of the PLA, which still benefits from enormous possibilities of continuing to dupe the Albanian proletariat as well as the world proletariat. Starting with this present issue of our journal LE PROLETAIRE, we will undertake a systematic criticism of the opportunist theses of the PLA, which have been taken up by its International whose representatives in Africa are the P"C"D, the P"CR"V and the P"C"T at the present time.

Our radical, and not formal demarcation from centrism is one of the conditions for the ideological and organizational rectification of the ULC. The Bolshevization of the ULC necessarily proceeds by the radical and complete rupture and break with centrism. For this purpose, we must study and assimilate the experience of struggle of Lenin, Stalin, and the Bolsheviks in general against social-chauvinism

and centrism in particular. As in the time of Lenin, the communist struggle against social-chauvinism and centrism is one of the conditions to consistently organize the Proletarian Revolution.

It was in the struggle against these varieties of opportunism that Lenin created Bolshevism, in his own party, as well as later within the Communist International. Analysing the situation that had arisen within the IInd International because of the First World War, Lenin wrote: "the international socialist and working-class movement in every country has evolved three trends . . . 1) The social-chauvinists, i.e. socialists in word and chauvinist in deed, people who recognize 'defence of the fatherland' in an imperialist war. . . 2) The second trend, known as the 'Center,' consists of people who vacillate between the social-chauvinists and the true internationalists.

The 'Center' all vow and declare that they are Marxists and internationalists, that they are for peace, for bringing every kind of 'pressure' to bear upon the governments, for 'demanding' in every way that their own government should 'ascertain the will of the people for peace,' that they are for all sorts of peace campaigns, for peace without annexations, etc., — and for peace with the social-chauvinists. The 'center' is for 'unity,' the Center is opposed to a split. 3) The third trend, that of the true internationalists. . ."⁴

Describing the three tendencies thus discerned, Lenin emphasized: "The social-chauvinists are our class enemies, they are bourgeois within the working-class movement. They represent a stratum, or groups, or sections of the working class which objectively have been bribed by the bourgeoisie . . . and which help their own bourgeoisie to plunder and oppress small and weak peoples and to fight for the division of the capitalist spoils.

"The 'center' consists of routine-worshippers . . . Historically and economically speaking, they are not a separate stratum but represent only a transition from a past phase of the working-class movement — the phase between 1871 and 1914 . . . to a new phase that became objectively essential with the outbreak of the first imperialist world war, which inaugurated the era of social revolution."⁵

Being the true internationalist tendency, its essential distinctive character is "its complete break with both social-chauvinism and 'Centrism,' and its gallant revolutionary struggle against its own imperialist government and its own imperialist bourgeoisie. . . . It wages a ruthless struggle against honeyed social-pacifist phrases. . ."⁶

Such are the political considerations that allowed Lenin to ascertain the correct tactics of struggle against the renegades of the IInd International, which opposed the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war of the proletariat in the imperialist countries and into national-revolutionary war in the dominated countries. However, it must not be thought that Lenin's struggle against centrism started in 1914. This struggle had already been undertaken in Russia for the foundation and development of Bolshevism. Stalin attests clearly to this fact in his article entitled "Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism." In this text Stalin exposes and castigates the base slanders of a semi-Trotskyite who claims that Lenin spared the centrists in his political struggle. Stalin shows clearly that the constant opposition between the conceptions of Lenin and centrism on all questions is an axiom of Bolshevism.

In reality, since 1903, Lenin placed the emphasis on the ideological basis of centrism. Just after the second Congress of the RSDLP, Lenin said that "on a number of issues involving the practical application of our principles the Center joined forces with the anti-Iskra-ists displaying a much greater kinship with them than with us, a much greater leaning in practice towards the opportunist than towards the revolutionary wing of Social-Democracy. Those who were Iskra-ists in name (that is, the centrists — ULC) but were ashamed to be Iskra-ists revealed their true nature, and the struggle that inevitably ensued caused no little acrimony, which obscured from the less thoughtful and more impressionable the significance of the shades of principle disclosed in that struggle."⁷

The typical representative of the 'Center' was Trotsky; concerning this, Lenin stated: "The liquidators do have their own physiognomy, a liberal, not a Marxism one . . . Trotsky, however, has never had any 'physiognomy' at all; the only thing he does have is a habit of changing sides, of skipping from the liberals to the Marxists and back again, of mouthing scraps of catchwords and bombastic parrot phrases . . . Actually, under cover of high-sounding, empty and obscure phrases that confuse the non-class-conscious workers, Trotsky is defending the liquidators. . . ."⁸

As can be seen, Trotskyism was a centrist current that was not spared by Lenin, and Stalin implacably continued this just struggle until the crushing of this opportunist current which, in the years up to 1927 had completely transformed itself into a counter-revolutionary current. Warning the young working-class generation of that time as to the nature of Trotskyism, Lenin stated: "The old participants in the Marxist movement in Russia know Trotsky very well, and there is no need to discuss him for their benefit. But the younger generation of workers do not know him, and it is therefore necessary to discuss him, for he is typical . . . In the days of the old Iskra (1901-1903), these waverers, who flitted from the Economists to the Iskrists and back again, were dubbed 'Tushino turncoats.' . . . The only ground the 'Tushino turncoats' have for claiming that they stand above groups is that they 'borrow' their ideas from one group one day and from another the next day. Trotsky was an ardent Iskrist in 1901-03. . . . At the end of 1903, Trotsky was an ardent Menshevik, i.e. he deserted from the Iskrists to the Economists . . . In 1904-05, he deserted the Mensheviks and occupied a vacillating position, now co-operating with Martynov (the Economist), now proclaiming his absurdly Left 'permanent revolution' theory. . . . In the period of disintegration, after long 'non-factional' vacillation, he again went to the right, and in August 1912 he entered into a bloc with the liquidators. He has now deserted them again, although in substance he reiterates their shoddy ideas. Such types are characteristic of the flotsam of past historical formations, of the time when the mass working-class movement in Russia was dormant. . . ."⁹

Lenin's struggle against centrism in Russia was also directed against the centrists of the IInd International who called Lenin and the Bolsheviks 'splitters' and 'disorganizers.' These accusations did not at all hinder the intransigent and revolutionary struggle of Lenin against opportunism. This struggle took on new strength during the First World War. Charac-

terizing this war and the opportunism that emerged within the Second International, Lenin defined the revolutionary slogan of the proletariat in this way: "The present war is imperialist in character. This war is the outcome of conditions in an epoch in which capitalism has reached the highest stage in its development. . . . At the bottom of genuinely national wars, such as took place especially between 1789 and 1871, was a long process of national movements, of a struggle against absolutism and feudalism, the overthrow of national oppression, and the formation of states on a national basis, as a prerequisite of capitalist development. The national ideology created by that epoch left a deep impress on the mass of the petty-bourgeoisie and a section of the proletariat. This is now being utilized in a totally different and imperialist epoch by the sophists of the bourgeoisie and by the traitors to socialism who are following in their wake, so as to split the workers, and divert them from their class aims and from the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. . . . The conversion of the present imperialist war into a civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan, one that follows from the experience of the Commune, and outlined in the Basle Resolution (1912); it has been dictated by all the conditions of an imperialist war between highly developed bourgeois countries."¹⁰

The slogan of transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war of the proletariat and the demand of self-determination of the oppressed nations and the colonies constituted the fundamental points of contradiction between the revolutionary internationalists and the opportunists of all hues. While combatting the open betrayal of the social-chauvinists, Lenin concentrated his struggle on the hidden opportunism of centrism, whose leader was Kautsky. In numerous letters that he addressed to consistent internationalists, Lenin in 1914 methodically prepared a radical struggle against the renegades of the IInd International; he wrote: "In my opinion, what is now most important is to wage a consistent and organized struggle against chauvinism which has won over all the bourgeoisie and the majority of the opportunist socialists (and those who accept opportunism, such as Mr. Kautsky)."¹¹

"The opportunists are a great evil. The German 'center,' headed by Kautsky, is an insidious evil, based on hypocrisy, that obstructs the eyes, spirit and consciousness of the workers and is more dangerous than anything else. Our task at present consists in waging an absolute and explicit struggle against international opportunism and those who cover up for it (Kautsky)."¹²

Lenin applied himself to showing the correctness of the slogan of transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war of the proletariat. He wrote: "Pacifism, the preaching of peace in the abstract, is one of the means of duping the working class. Under capitalism, particularly in its imperialist stage, wars are inevitable . . . At the present time, the propaganda of peace unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action can only sow illusions and demoralize the proletariat, for it makes the proletariat believe that the bourgeoisie is humane, and turns it into a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of a so-called democratic peace being possible without a series of revolutions is profoundly erroneous."¹³

Regarding the counter-revolutionary liquidation of the IInd International by the social-chauvinists and centrists, Lenin made the following important remarks: "To the class-conscious workers, socialism is a serious conviction, not a convenient screen to conceal petty-bourgeois conciliatory and nationalist-oppositional strivings. By the collapse of the International they understand the disgraceful treachery to their convictions which was displayed by most of the official Social-Democratic parties, treachery to the most solemn declarations in their speeches at the Stuttgart and Basle international congresses, and in the resolutions of these congresses, etc."¹⁴

"The opportunists have long been preparing the ground for this collapse by denying the socialist revolution and substituting bourgeois reformism in its stead, by rejecting the class struggle with its inevitable conversion at certain moments into civil war and by preaching class collaboration; by preaching bourgeois chauvinism under the guise of patriotism and the defence of the fatherland, and ignoring or rejecting the fundamental truth of socialism, long ago set forth in the Communist Manifesto, that the workmen have no country; by confining themselves in the struggle against militarism to a sentimental, philistine point of view, instead of recognizing the need for a revolutionary war by the proletarians of all countries, against the bourgeoisie of all countries; by making a fetish of the necessary utilization of bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois legality. . . ."¹⁵

Thus Lenin was sufficiently convinced that "the aims of socialism at the present time cannot be fulfilled, and real international unity of the workers cannot be achieved, without a decisive break with opportunism. . . ."¹⁶

Lenin's implacable revolutionary struggle led to the constitution in 1919 of the IIIrd Communist International. But already in 1914, Lenin wrote: "The IInd International is dead, slain by opportunism. Down with opportunism and long live the IIIrd International, freed of renegades and also opportunism." It is by consistently basing themselves on the teachings of this experience that the real Bolsheviks will expose and combat social-chauvinism and centrism in our time.

The CCP (Chinese Communist Party) with Mao Tse-tung, the PLA (Party of Labour of Albania) with Enver Hoxha were for many years considered the authorities of Marxism-Leninism, starting from their open polemics with the Khrushchevite revisionists in the sixties. Even more, what was called "Mao Tse-tung Thought" was presented as "the Marxism-Leninism of a new epoch" (sic). The influence of Mao's CCP and Hoxha's PLA and their actions within the international revolutionary movement, especially within the ICM, were very harmful; the seriousness of these facts can be measured by the great ideological disorder and political confusion which are today rotting the ICM.

The revisionist XXth Congress of the CPSU, held in 1956, was a tragedy for the ICM. This XXth Congress blessed the victory of the Khrushchevite renegades who transformed the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Stalin into a counter-revolutionary party, thereby laying the base for the restoration (which is today complete) of capitalism in the USSR through the liquidation of the revolutionary gains of the proletariat and peoples of that country. To do this, the Khrushchevite revisionists hatched scurrilous ma-

noeuvers against the real communists of the party and the worst is the plot they organized to assassinate Stalin in 1953. What did the CCP and the PLA do regarding this tragedy? They kept quiet until the sixties. They adopted the attitude that consists formally defending Stalin while linking up with the Khrushchevites. The open polemics that they later waged against the Khrushchevites did not in the least consist of a consistent defence of Marxism-Leninism that Stalin applied and deepened.

In reality Mao's CCP and Hoxha's PLA, like Trotsky in the RSDLP, like Kautsky in the IInd International, occupied the position of the "Center." The CCP under the leadership of Teng Hsiao-ping has today completely become one of the components of the political forces of the international imperialist bourgeoisie. The evolution of this party has been natural because any supposedly communist party or organization that does not radically break with social-nationalism and centrism ends up by joining the bourgeoisie. As for the PLA, which is now without the economic aid of the CCP, it is tightening its political and especially economic ties with the bourgeoisie in power in western Europe and especially in France.

In the present article we will take up certain aspects of the history of the CCP and the PLA, it being understood that from now on we will proceed in our publications with the constant criticism of the revisionist theses that they have spread in the ICM.

I — "MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT" IS ALIEN AND INIMICAL TO MARXISM-LENINISM

The polemic against the CCP really started around the "theory of three worlds." The declared social-chauvinist organizations purely and simply adhered to this counter-revolutionary theory. As for the centrists of the type of the PLA, they pretended to reject this theory through inconsistent criticisms. The communist point of view is that the "theory of three worlds" is a social-chauvinist theory, a component of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" which is only a collection of concepts which are alien and inimical to Marxism-Leninism. "Mao Tse-tung Thought" is the theoretical base on which the CCP guided itself during most of its life. Let us examine certain aspects of this "thought."

1) The eclecticism of Mao Tse-tung

Dialectical and historical materialism constitutes the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism which is the powerful arm of the proletariat in its struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society; it also constitutes the scientific philosophy of the world. Dialectics provides the only scientific method of cognition that allows a correct analysis of the process of transformation of nature and society; it is a question of considering phenomena in their inter-relatedness, their reciprocal influence, their movement and their transformation. It is this method that allows the Party of the vanguard of the proletariat to define its strategy and tactics of struggle, based consistently on Marxism-Leninism.

When we analyse the philosophical texts of Mao (texts that the Maoists present as being an enrichment of Marxism-Leninism), we discover that Mao in fact revised dialectical materialism with his one-

sided and therefore subjective, conception of dialectics. Although Mao in his texts often cites Marx, Engels and Lenin, it is nevertheless clear that Mao, in his texts, ignored the fact that for dialectical materialism "the difference between the relative and the absolute is itself relative . . . there is an absolute within the relative."¹⁷

For Mao, the relative is only relative and excludes the absolute, and vice-versa. In his article entitled "On Contradiction," Mao writes that "the law of contradiction in things, that is the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics."¹⁸

From this quotation it can be seen that Mao reduces dialectics exclusively to the knowledge of the self-motion of phenomena. Lenin says that "the splitting of a single whole and the cognition of its contradictory parts . . . is the essence (one of the 'essentials', one of the principal, if not the principal, characteristics or features) of dialectics."¹⁹

Dialectics is the teaching which shows how opposites can be and how they happen to be (how they become) identical — under what conditions they are identical, becoming transformed into one another — why the human mind should grasp these opposites not as dead, rigid, but as living, conditional, mobile, becoming transformed into one another."²⁰

We can well see that Lenin does not reduce dialectics to the exclusive knowledge of the unity of opposites in a phenomenon, that is, its self-movement. "In the proper sense," says Lenin, "dialectics is the study of the contradiction in the very essence of objects." This essence cannot be reduced only to the recognition of contradictory tendencies, mutually excluding themselves in a phenomenon. Lenin emphasizes: "The unity . . . of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute. Just as development and motion are absolute."²¹ This quotation shows us in a complete way that the law of unity and struggle of opposites is the core, the essence of the method of dialectical materialism. Mao often uses epigrammatic formulas that open the door to anti-dialectical deviations. It is thus that, pretending to struggle against unilateral conceptions, he takes up the following idea: "Listen to both sides and you will be enlightened, heed only one side and you will be benighted."²²

It is clear that such a formula has nothing to do with what Lenin said regarding one-sided study: "To really know an object, it is necessary to embrace and study it in all its aspects, connections, and 'mediations.' We will never reach this completely, but the necessity to consider all the aspects keeps us from errors and sluggishness."²³

The Maoists generally present the analysis of "the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" resulting from the thesis of "one divides into two" as being "a major deepening of Marxism-Leninism" by Mao. It must rather be said that these are revisionist conceptions of revisionism deepened with dialectical materialism. With his thesis of "one divides into two," Mao interprets socialism as a social regime which engenders "its own contradictions necessitating Revolution." When one knows that it is the class antagonism that leads to revolution, one deducts from this that Mao in practice negated the tasks of socialism that have as their aim the suppression of classes. The thesis of the "continuation of the Revolution under social-

ism" makes all sorts of qualitative changes identical as to their essence. For Mao, it turns out that the passage from capitalism to socialism through the proletarian revolution is of the same qualitative nature as the passage from socialism to communism or, better yet, the withering away of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the abolition of classes corresponds to a revolution; this is obviously a vision that is basically erroneous and contrary to the Marxist-Leninist conception. What is striking in the writings of Mao is his facility in twisting dialectical materialism to justify his opportunist conceptions. Let us take several examples: — "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end."²⁴

Mao continues, saying, "contradiction within the Communist Party is resolved by the method of criticism and self-criticism."²⁵

It is from these unilateral considerations of the contradictions within the party that he established his thesis of "unity-criticism-unity" and "coexistence of several lines within the party." This conception is squarely opposed to the Bolshevik conception according to which "proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists, social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, social-patriots and social-pacifists. The party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements."²⁶

For Mao the unity of opposites is in practice absolute. In the following quotation, Mao clearly expresses his conception according to which in a socialist regime there is supposedly a contradictory unity between the working class and the bourgeoisie; he says that "the struggle between the working-class and the national bourgeoisie is in general part of the struggle among the people. In our country, the bourgeoisie has a double character. . . . In the period of the socialist revolution, it exploits the working class and draws the profits from this, but at the same time, it supports the Constitution and is disposed to accept the socialist transformation." In sum, Mao pronounces himself against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against real socialist transformations; Mao does promotion of "reactionary socialism."

Mao's philosophical speculations serve a precise political goal: the subordination of the interests of the proletariat to those of the bourgeoisie. Mao preaches coexistence between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat under his "socialism," saying, "Why should we allow the extended coexistence of the democratic parties of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie with the Party of the working class? Because we have no reason not to apply the policy of long-term coexistence of all political parties which sincerely work toward the unity of the people for the cause of socialism."

Of course Mao cannot see the reason for which the bourgeoisie would be destroyed as a class under scientific socialism since Mao advocated "the integration of capitalism with socialism," that is, his "reactionary socialism."

From the preceding analyses one will easily understand why the CCP could not affirm itself as an authentic Communist Party that the Chinese prole-

tariat needed to really build socialism in China. The CCP never created within itself a Bolshevik ideological, political, and organizational unity. It was always divided into fractions. The famous cultural revolution was only one of the episodes of the rivalry and struggle between these different fractions. Today it is the fraction led by Teng Hsiao Ping that has taken the upper hand over the fraction that Mao led. Under the domination of Mao's fraction, the CCP still practiced centrism; today this party has passed totally into the camp of the counter-revolution by launching a general and frontal offensive against the Chinese proletariat, and the proletariat and peoples of the world.

2) "Mao Tse-tung Thought" is Social-Nationalism and Populism

Regarding the revolution in the semi-colonial countries, Mao writes: "In a semi-colonial country such as China, the relationship between the principal contradiction and the non-principal contradictions presents a complicated picture. . . . The contradiction between imperialism and the country concerned becomes the principal contradiction, while all the contradictions among the various classes within the country (including what was the principal contradiction between the feudal system and the great masses of the people) are temporarily relegated to a secondary and subordinate position."²⁷

For Mao, in the semi-colonies, the internal class contradictions temporarily recede to the benefit of the "holy national alliance" against imperialism. Mao puts forward the thesis of national ideology that is proper to the bourgeoisie. In sum, for Mao the proletarian question has been subordinated to the national question. And so Mao trips over his feet for he writes that "the historical development of China in the present epoch will create the corresponding structure. We shall see, for a prolonged period, a corresponding form of State, an original form of organization of power that is absolutely necessary and absolutely legitimate for us and which, at the same time, will differ from the Russian system: a state of new democracy . . . A state of the alliance of several democratic classes" which are: "the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie."²⁸

Radically dissociating the struggle against imperialism from the class struggle in the semi-colonies, Mao could only reject the Leninist thesis of the Democratic Revolution through the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class and peasantry in the colonies and dependent countries, under the leadership of the vanguard of the proletariat. Mao quite simply substitutes the principle of nationalism for that of the class struggle.

Mao was also a fervent populist defender of the peasantry. To a large extent he expressed his populist conception by the place that he accorded to the peasantry in the revolution. He considered the peasantry as an autonomous force and as the decisive force in the Democratic Revolution, even the socialist revolution. Mao at all times preached the independence of the peasant movement. Thus he advocates the slogan of "All power to the peasant Unions." The communist point of view is that, whatever may be the dynamism of the peasant movement, it cannot claim to ensure a consistent leadership of the revo-

lutionary movement. This is the same erroneous vision of Mao that led him to elaborate his populist thesis of "surrounding the cities from the countryside, then taking the cities."²⁹ Mao extended his thesis to the international level to say that it is on the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that the world revolutionary cause depends. Criticizing a similar thesis, Lenin said: "Comrade Roy goes too far by maintaining that the fate of the West depends exclusively on the degree of development and the forces of the revolutionary movement in the eastern countries."³⁰

This first sketch of a critical analysis of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" already fully justifies our position according to which this "thought" is a variant of modern revisionism. We will make a point of continuing the criticism of this "thought" in our coming publications. Furthermore, we will analyse the opportunist point of view that could make an amalgam of the CCP and the IIIrd International under the pretext that the CCP was a member of it; that is, for the holders of this point of view, to say that CCP was not a real communist party would be equivalent to an attack on the IIIrd International.

3) The P"CR"V on its Knees to Mao's Eclecticism

Six months of discussions for nothing! In the special number of Bug-Parga (organ of the P"CR"V) for June 1980, the central committee of this petty-bourgeois party writes: "the group from which our party came, the OCV, stated that their doctrine was founded on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought. For our honest and significant contribution, our party considers that the best path consists in dealing with the question in the light of the Marxist doctrine and its own experience. Being given the importance of the question, the central committee has made it the business of the whole party. Thus it has organized discussions in all the base organizations of the party. The synthesis of these discussions, which lasted for almost six months, was submitted to the National Conference of the Party meeting last December which adopted the first document."³¹ This passage contains the admission that OCV was created on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought, that is, on the base of social-nationalism. The collection of theses that OCV had elaborated attest to this (as we have already shown in *Le Prolétaire* no. 1 and no. 2). The P"CR"V today claims not to be influenced by social-nationalism, except on certain points. Let us note in passing in the same issue of Bug-Parga a high-sounding, empty phrase that the P"CR"V likes to put in its organ; it writes that "in their revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation, the proletariat and the peoples have always at the same time struggled against revisionism and opportunism."³² The struggle against revisionism can only be waged consistently by the vanguard party of the proletariat that has a mission to lead the revolutionary movement. To tell the truth, the P"CR"V writes words without mastery of the precise contents of these words; that is one of the reasons it makes the struggle against revisionism the business of the peoples. Let us continue: "For the Marxists-Leninists, the insurrection must be based on the vanguard class, that is, the working-class. This class is concentrated in the factories and shops

of the cities. It cannot be denied that in certain conditions in the course of the struggle, the Party will have to move its base and its activities to the countryside. But such an option cannot be of a strategical order, but rather tactical. But Mao makes this a general strategy of the revolution."³³ It must be said at the beginning that the CP does not base itself exclusively on the working class for the revolutionary insurrection. It is in basing itself on the uprising of the oppressed masses in general and especially on the working class that the revolutionary party will be able to lead the revolutionary insurrection and bring it to the goal of the revolution. The party cannot manage to prepare and lead the revolutionary insurrection unless it manages to penetrate into the masses through its work of political education and organization. Taking the example of the semi-colonial countries, the Communist Party must work to build the revolutionary alliance between the working class and the peasantry. Through its thesis of "circling the cities from the countryside," Mao in practice rejects this alliance to base himself only on the peasant movement. In practice, this is the same thesis taken up by the P"CR"V, which says that "it cannot be denied that in certain conditions in the course of the struggle, the party will have to move its base and its activities to the countryside." The P"CR"V insinuates by this that in the conditions of strong repression in the cities, the Party will have to abandon the workers' movement to base itself only on the peasant movement, with the ultimate perspective of liberating the cities (that is, the workers who will be there) through a peasant insurrection. That is the false criticism that the P"CR"V makes of Mao's populist thesis. One can see clearly that the P"CR"V openly allies legalism with its populism. It is this type of false criticism that the six months of discussions within the P"CR"V have led. Another task that the P"CR"V has set itself but which it could not really accomplish, is the consistent criticism of Mao's eclecticism. The P"CR"V writes that "concerning the law of dialectic on the transformation of opposites into one another, Mao writes: 'In other words, each of the two contradictory aspects of a phenomenon tend to transform themselves in certain circumstances into its opposite, to take the position occupied by its opposite.' And he continues, 'You see: through revolution, the proletariat, from a dominated class, transforms itself into a dominant class, and the bourgeoisie which was dominant until then, transforms itself into a dominated class, each taking the place occupied by its adversary.'"

This is the simplistic and mechanical conception of the transformation of opposites into one another that leads to the notion of a simple inversion of place and role between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But what happens in reality is a destruction (emphasis by the P"CR"V) of the former contradictory unity, which gives way to a qualitatively new contradictory unity. In effect, the overthrown bourgeoisie does not become an exploited class, and the proletariat in power does not become an exploiting class; so that contrary to capitalist society it is not the relations of exploiters to exploited which exist in the new contradictory unity in socialist society."³⁴ These six months of discussion in the P"CR"V on the mechanical materialism of Mao have only contributed to bringing out the profound theoretical misery of the P"CR"V.

The P"CR"V reveals itself to be even more mechanical than Mao. The P"CR"V could not understand that the two quotations from Mao that it has reproduced are theoretically correct because all Mao did was to faithfully plagiarize the law of dialectical materialism on the transformation of opposites into one another in certain conditions. Theoretically, therefore, the two quotations are correct. But one of the characteristics of Mao is to deviate from theoretically correct principles for opportunist political purposes. It is thus that in certain of his texts, while recognizing that in the conditions of socialism there cannot be any contradictory unity between the working class and the bourgeoisie, he nevertheless advocates the thesis of co-existence between the two classes under "socialism" that can only be "reactionary socialism." What the P"CR"V has absolutely not understood is quite simply that the law of the unity of opposites is conditional and transitory while the struggle of opposites is absolute. These laws, applied to the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, will allow us to expose the P"CR"V's total incomprehension of dialectical materialism. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie are engendered by the capitalist mode of production. These two classes are in a unity of opposites under capitalism because they are tied to the capitalist mode of production. Without these two classes the capitalist mode of production is impossible. Those are the very particular conditions in which that contradictory unity exists. But at the same time, these two classes are opposed to one another and mutually exclude one another because their situation and life conditions differ radically and wage against each other a struggle without mercy; this struggle is absolute until the destruction of the bourgeoisie with the destruction of the bourgeoisie as a class. When the proletariat, through revolution, takes power from the hands of the bourgeoisie, it achieves the transformation of opposites into one another on the basis of a new situation; but this transformation does not mean that the two opposites remain in unity, the conditions having changed. In taking power, the working class starts to exercise its revolutionary dictatorship over the bourgeoisie; the construction of socialism by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie has as its goal to destroy that exploiting class and to eliminate all the antagonism inherited from capitalism to allow a gradual transition from socialism to communism. It can be seen therefore that the working class and the bourgeoisie are not linked in a socialist society by a contradictory unity as the P"CR"V states.

Dialectical and historical materialism being the theoretical base of Marxism-Leninism, it is not surprising that, ignoring this base, the P"CR"V is still wallowing in "Mao Tse-tung Thought."

II — The PLA is a Centrist Party

After the rupture of its relations with the CCP, the PLA today presents itself as one of the foremost "socialist" mystifiers. Enver Hoxha, as Secretary-General of the PLA, poses as a "disciple of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin." Since this rupture between the PLA and the CCP, Hoxha has been publishing a great many books trying to show that the PLA has always held to Marxism-Leninism in its theoretical and practical activities. The PLA and Hoxha have surrounded themselves with a group of supposedly

communist parties that vie with one another in servility to it. This is especially the case with the P"CR"V that sets as a line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists, support for the PLA and its helmsman Hoxha. Was the PLA, and is the PLA, this "great Communist Party" that Hoxha and his friends like to make out?

1) The Basis of the Creation of the PLA

At its creation, the PLA was called the CPA (Communist Party of Albania). The CPA was not created on the basis of Bolshevik principles. Contrary to the Leninist principal according to which the Communist party is built from the top down, that is, from starting from the constitution of an ideological and political core of professional revolutionaries playing the role of the leading centre, the CPA was created according to the wishes of Enver Hoxha from the bottom up. These wishes are the explanation that this method was dictated by the situation that prevailed within the Albanian communist movement. The formation of the CPA was not founded on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin in their struggle for the definitive formation of Bolshevik Party in 1912. Therefore, contrary to these teachings, the CPA was the result of the "fusion" of different groups that claimed to be Marxist-Leninist and that continued in fact to keep their own shape. Marxism-Leninism had already penetrated into Albania at a time when the revolutionary USSR of Stalin and the Communist International still existed, and thanks to the aid of the latter. All these favourable circumstances for real Bolshevik work for the creation of the party of the vanguard of the proletariat in Albania were not taken advantage of. In the Albanian communist movement there still predominated the opportunist theses of Titoism. The influence of Titoism for a long time deeply marked the CPA; this was the influence of social-nationalism.

The CPA was created in 1941; Albania was, in this period of the Second World War, occupied by the fascist Italian and German troops. Thus it was that national sentiments motivated the groups claiming to be communist to group themselves together to found the CPA, which was not created as a party of the proletarian revolution, but as a petty-bourgeois party for the national liberation of Albania. This fact is made explicit in the works of the CPA. From 1941 to 1948 the CPA had neither a program nor statutes. In fact, the first Congress of the CPA held in 1948 (four years after the liberation of Albania) pointed out that:

"a) Our party until now has not had statutes approved by the masses of the party. This failure has contributed to disorienting it in questions of organization....

"b) Our party still does not have its own program approved by the masses of the party... Influenced by the Yugoslav leadership, we thought, although we did not say so, that the program of the Front is also the program of the Party. Thus we underestimated the leading role of the party by hiding its program in the shadow of the program of the Front. . . .

"c) We trampled underfoot the fundamental principle on which the party is based, the leading principal of its organizational structure, democratic centralism. . . ." ³⁵ As was stated, the CPA remained from 1941 to 1948 without a program, without statutes and without functioning on the basis of democratic

centralism. The CPA had in fact fused with the National United Front during the national liberation struggle, whose program of political independence it had adopted. It results from this that the CPA was born as a petty-bourgeois party during the course of the national liberation struggle. Until 1948, the CPA lived in clandestinity, while claiming to exercise power after the liberation of Albania. It was during its first congress in 1948 that the CPA took the name of PLA and came out of its clandestinity after the meeting between Stalin and a delegation of the CPA in 1947. In "With Stalin" Hoxha writes: "'The overwhelming majority of our people,' I told Comrade Stalin among other things in reply to his questions, 'is comprised of poor peasants and next come the middle peasants. We have a working class small in numbers, then we have quite a large number of craftsmen and townspeople engaged in petty commerce, and a minority of intellectuals. All these masses of working people responded to the call of our Communist Party, were mobilized in the war for the liberation of the homeland and now are closely linked with the Party and the People's power. . . . Our Communist Party was founded as a party of the working class which would be led by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and would express and defend the interests of the proletariat and the broad working masses, in the first place, of the Albanian peasantry, which constituted the majority of our population.'" ³⁶

In reply to the words of the Albanian delegation, Stalin made the suggestion that the CPA should take the name of PLA, since the members of peasant origin constituted a majority. When the delegation told him that the CPA, which claimed to be the sole leading force of the Albanian state, was in a semi-clandestine condition, Stalin made the following observation: "For a party to be in power and remain illegal or consider itself illegal, doesn't make sense." ³⁷ Hoxha's revelations in his book bring out that in reality, from 1941 to 1947 at least, the CPA was rather oriented toward the non-Bolshevik Party of the Tитоites from whom the leaders of the PLA were receiving advice. We understand Stalin's suggestion about changing the name of the CPA because this party was not a real communist party in its composition and in the opportunist conception of its leaders about the role of a real communist party. The CPA was a party of labour (that is, of working people in general) and not the vanguard party of the proletariat. The semi-clandestine situation in which the CPA found itself is an additional indication that the Albanian state created on the liberation of the country was not a state of the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class and peasantry but a state of the joint dictatorship of several classes according to Mao's formula. As can be seen, the CPA had not raised the proletariat's own banner in the national liberation struggle; it had merged with the United National Front and it is in reality the "national liberation councils" that exercised power at the liberation of the country, with the CPA remaining in clandestinity. A Democratic Front was created later, replacing the United National Front; this new Front today plays the same role that was played by the United National Front. It can be especially seen that it is the Democratic Front which presents candidates in the elections for the renewal of the assemblies of the representatives of the people. Enver Hoxha presents himself in the elections as a candidate of the Democratic

Front and not of the PLA; this practice is contrary to that of the Bolshevik Party of the time of Lenin and Stalin.

Can it be thought that after the meeting of 1947 between Stalin and the Albanian delegation led by Hoxha, the PLA followed the path of Bolshevization? The development of the PLA convinces us that such was not the path it followed.

2) The PLA and the Khrushchevite Revisionists

It was in 1953 that Comrade Joseph Stalin was assassinated by the renegades of the Nikita Khrushchev gang. Three years later was held the XXth Congress of the CPSU which saw the victory of the counter-revolutionary line of the Khrushchevites. Concerning the assassination of Stalin, Hoxha today declares that he was aware of the plot that was being hatched for this purpose. He writes that "all this villainy emerged soon after the death, or to be more precise, after the murder of Stalin, because Mikoyan himself told me and Comrade Mehmet Shehu that they, together with Khrushchev and their associates, had decided to carry out a 'pokushenie', i.e. to make an attempt on Stalin's life."³⁸ Having been aware of this criminal plot, and even after its accomplishment, Hoxha and the PLA preferred to keep quiet. The least that can be said is that they were accomplices in this assassination. This complicity cannot be erased by sonorous and empty phrases that Hoxha and the PLA today put forward, supposedly in "tribute to the memory of J. Stalin." Stalin was assassinated because he defended Marxism-Leninism in an implacable manner and because through his work he brought his contribution to the deepening of the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat. Before his assassination, Stalin had launched a great offensive against the revisionists who were developing opportunist theses within the party. Stalin did not have the necessary time to accomplish his revolutionary tasks, especially the completion of his celebrated work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," in which he castigated the opportunist conceptions negating the inevitability of imperialist wars under capitalism. Stalin was ideologically and politically preparing the terrain for the purge of the renegades, when he was assassinated. The silence observed by Hoxha and the PLA shows well and truly that they were hostile to the great ideological and political struggle that Stalin was waging. This is attested to by the following declaration of the Central Committee of the PLA in May 1956: "Although the IIIrd Congress of the PLA did not denounce the anti-Marxist theses of the XXth Congress, its conclusions and decisions were nevertheless penetrated with a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist spirit. . . . At the time our party could not publicly take a stand against the theses of the XXth Congress, because such an attitude would only have played into the hands of the enemies of communism, who had launched a furious attack against Marxism-Leninism and the socialist camp. On the other hand, the PLA was not absolutely convinced that Khrushchev and his group had really betrayed Marxism-Leninism."³⁹ It is a cause for deep indignation to see such opportunism from a party that claims to be Marxist-Leninist, and to have always been Marxist-Leninist. It is the same argument that the PLA still presents today to justify its long honeymoon with Mao's CCP. Let us look at this! The PLA

claims to have always had a revolutionary line and it is this same party which was not convinced that, with the assassination of Stalin (of which it was aware) and the theses that triumphed at the XXth Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev's gang had yet clearly revealed its betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. In reality the PLA explicitly adhered to the Khrushchevite revisionist conclusions and supported the Khrushchev gang until 1960. In 1959 the PLA still presented Khrushchev as being a great revolutionary who had enriched Marxism-Leninism with his theses. In 1960 Hoxha still stated that "we are fully agreed on the fact that it was necessary to criticize the cult of the personality of Stalin as a harmful manifestation in the life of the Party. In our opinion, the XXth Congress and especially the secret report of Comrade Khrushchev did not pose the question of Comrade Stalin in a correct and objective way, in a Marxist-Leninist spirit."⁴⁰ This centrist attitude of the PLA especially had as its goal to safeguard the economic aid that the USSR was bringing to Albania. If the PLA later took a position of radical opposition in regard to the Khrushchev gang it is because the latter was strengthening his pressure on the PLA in the perspective of making Albania a semi-colony as are today the other countries of Eastern Europe. It is thus easy to understand that the struggle undertaken by the PLA against the Khrushchevites was not based on Marxism-Leninism, but was motivated by national sentiments, all the more because the Khrushchevites had halted their economic aid. As will be seen, it is the same nationalist motivations that would lead the PLA to break with the CCP.

3) The PLA and the CCP: From the Honeymoon to the Split

The relations between the PLA and the CCP had strengthened themselves after 1956, to listen to Enver Hoxha in "Imperialism and the Revolution." This strengthening was based on the convergence of the centrist attitudes of the PLA and the CCP regarding the Khrushchevite revisionists. It was on this convergence that their long honeymoon was based, until the split between the two parties. To try to mask the centrism of the PLA, Hoxha states that the CCP and Mao Tse-tung were an enigma: "They were an enigma because many attitudes, whether general ones or the personal attitudes of Chinese leaders towards a series of major political, ideological, military, and organizational problems, vacillated, at times to the right, at times to the left."⁴¹ So today Hoxha writes that the PLA had become aware of the centrist line of the CCP but that the latter remained an enigma. Not only did the PLA keep quiet on this fact, better yet it collaborated very closely with the CCP to spread within the ICM all sorts of opportunist theses. During long years the PLA preached that "China is socialist" and that "Mao Tse-tung Thought is an enrichment of Marxism-Leninism," before stating today that China has never been socialist and that "Mao Tse-tung Thought" is revisionist. During the Seventh Congress of the PLA, in November 1976, its Central Committee was still saying: "The historic victories that the Chinese people have won in its glorious revolution and in the building of socialism, the creation of new people's China and the great prestige that it enjoys in the world are directly tied to the name, the teachings and the leadership of the great revolutionary that was Comrade Mao Tse-

tung. The work of this eminent Marxist-Leninist represents a contribution to the enrichment of the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat. The Albanian communists and people will always remember with respect Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who was a great friend of our party and our people."⁴² This praise can be explained by the fact that on one hand the PLA is not itself a communist party and, on the other hand, because Albania was receiving a lot of economic aid from China under Mao. In all these works, Hoxha uses the same opportunist argument to justify the previous attitude of the PLA in regard to the CCP; he tries to accredit the thesis, which is essentially opportunist, according to which the PLA supposedly always adopted revolutionary positions and that it did not hide its disagreements with the CCP from the latter. Even if this were the case (which it is not) this position is alien to the teaching of Lenin and Stalin who always waged an open and public struggle against anything that altered the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat. How does Hoxha explain the support of the PLA for the CCP? It is the repetition of the explanation that he gave regarding the support that the PLA had given to the gang of Khrushchevite revisionists until 1960: the PLA was not convinced that Khrushchev and his clique had betrayed Marxism-Leninism. Also, for China and Mao Hoxha writes that "the chaotic development of the cultural revolution and its results further strengthened the opinion, still not fully crystallized, that Marxism-Leninism was not known and was not being applied in China, that in essence, the Communist Party of China and Mao Tse-tung did not hold Marxist-Leninist views. . . ."⁴³ The PLA took seven years (1953-1960) to convince itself that the Khrushchev gang was revisionist; the PLA beat its own record by taking 22 years (1956-1978) for its opinion to crystallize according to which China was never socialist and that "Mao Tse-tung Thought" is anti-Marxist. So here is a party (the PLA) that was created in 1941, which pretends to have always had a Marxist-Leninist line and which takes 22 years to discover that a country that it called socialist and that "a thought" that it considered an enrichment of Marxism-Leninism are not such; conclusion: SUCH A PARTY IS ONLY DOING MYSTIFICATION: THIS PARTY CANNOT BE A REAL COMMUNIST PARTY: THIS IS THE SOLE EXAMPLE OF THE PLA IN THE ANNALS OF THE HISTORY OF THE ICM, AS FAR AS MYSTIFICATION IS CONCERNED.

In spite of its opportunist change of clothing today, the PLA indulges in inconsistent criticisms of "Mao Tse-tung Thought"; the PLA has not healed itself of its opportunism. The split of July 1977 between the PLA and the CCP is due uniquely to the fact of the cut of China's economic aid to Albania with the accession to power of the fraction of Teng Hsiao-ping. In effect, given the resistance that the PLA shows regarding the much stronger pressure of the Teng Hsiao-ping clique to place Albania more under Chinese tutelage, Teng and his gang take sanctions against Hoxha and the PLA by the cutting of Chinese aid. Here in fact is the basic source of the split between the PLA and the CCP. This split forced the PLA to also attack Mao for the simple reason that if they did not do so, they would have been forced to defend the work of Mao by explaining more profoundly how the theoretical and practical activities of Mao constitute an enrichment of "Marxism-Leninism."

4) THE PLA AND THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN THE COUNTRIES UNDER IMPERIALIST DEPENDENCY

The PLA rejects the Bolshevik conception of the Revolution for the state of the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class and peasantry in these countries. In 1957, under the prodding of the Khrushchevites, the PLA said: "The states that have liberated themselves from the imperialist yoke. Egypt, Syria, etc. . . . are bourgeois states but not imperialist states. They practice a policy of safeguarding their national independence and of struggle against imperialism and colonialism. . . . Thus they are called non-aligned states."⁴⁴ Thus the PLA considered that in practice, the Democratic Revolution led by the proletariat is of no use in such countries; that is the reason it said: "a great role can be played by the national-patriotic forces by all the elements of the nation prepared to struggle for national independence against imperialism. In the present conditions the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries is progressive."⁴⁵ It is following this opportunist line of subordination of the class interests of the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie, that the PLA was led to write that "certain African states are led by realistic leaders, who want to consolidate the unity of the African peoples and countries against imperialism and neo-colonialism, against any intervention in their internal affairs, and are taking steps in that direction. Of course, they cannot fail to enjoy the support of all forces in the world that are progressive and that cherish liberty."⁴⁶

It is this type of support that the PLA brings to various reactionary bourgeois cliques in several countries and most especially in Iran. It is widely known that the PLA presents the uncompleted revolution (for lack of revolutionary ideological and political leadership that only the vanguard party of the proletariat can guarantee) of Iran, as having brought about a fundamental change of the situation in that country in favour of the proletariat and labouring masses. Thus the PLA fiercely supports Khomeini's Islamic Republic and it calls on "the Moslem peoples" to support and be inspired by the Iranian revolution under the leadership of the mullahs. This counter-revolutionary position is contrary to the following teaching of Lenin: "As for the more backward states and nations, where relations of a feudal, patriarchal or patriarchal-peasant type predominate, we must be especially mindful. . . of the necessity to struggle against the clergy and other reactionary and medieval elements who have influence in the related countries."⁴⁷ Lenin also emphasized "the necessity to struggle against pan-Islamism and other similar currents, which are trying to join the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with the strengthening of the positions of the Khans, landlords, mullahs, etc. . . ."⁴⁸ The PLA says that: "The Albanian people consider as opportune and correct the firm attitude of the Iranian people and Ayatollah Khomeini against American imperialism and its threats of aggression, our support is total, independent of the fact that we, as consistent Marxist-Leninists and materialists, do not subscribe to the religious philosophy of Khomeini. The question of religion is an internal question that relates to the conscience of each man and each people. . . ."⁴⁹

In putting forward this explanation, the PLA tries to mask the fact that the mullahs with Khomeini at the head have proclaimed Islam the state religion, from which comes the title of the Islamic Republic of Iran; also the PLA wants to ignore that the interests of American imperialism remain almost economically and politically intact in Iran. The opportunist interpretation of the private character of religion has already been combatted by Lenin in these terms: "Religion must be declared a private affair. In these words socialists usually express their attitude towards religion. But the meaning of these words should be accurately defined to prevent any misunderstanding. We demand that religion be held a private affair so far as our part is concerned..."⁵⁰ Has the PLA ever denounced the Islamization of the Iranian state? Of course not. The PLA rather intends to strengthen its ties with the Iranian bourgeoisie, among others, for the economic interests of Albania. For the PLA, the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat is subordinated to the national interests of Albania.

5) ALBANIA AND THE IMPERIALIST WAR IN PREPARATION

The theses that the PLA is developing on this question clearly illustrate the inconsistent criticisms that it makes of the counter-revolutionary theory of "three worlds." First of all, for the PLA, the USA and the USSR, which it calls superpowers, are the main enemies of the people of the world and it is also these two "superpowers" which are the source of a new world war. The concept of "superpowers" can be identified with what the three-worldists call the "first world." Lenin teaches the proletariat that imperialist wars are caused by the large imperialist powers which come into conflict over the redivision of colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. This analysis remains correct, contrary to the thesis of the PLA about the "superpowers," a thesis that covers the other large imperialist powers which also aspire to world hegemony. It is not by chance that the PLA continues to do its analyses based on the concept of superpower, because it is from this that it deduces the nationalist tasks that the world proletariat should supposedly assume, as did the renegade Kautsky in his time with the aid of his famous thesis on "ultra-imperialism."

On the other problems of the imperialist war, the PLA remains faithful to the revisionist theses contained in the "Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist countries," which states, among other things, that "war or peaceful co-existence: such is today the essential problem of world politics... The Communist parties consider the struggle for peace as their primary task..."⁵¹ Of course, for these revisionists, we are no longer in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, but "in the epoch of world peace, that must be safeguarded at any cost." This conception preaches the abandonment of the revolutionary path by the proletariat and the peoples; it is to preach bourgeois pacifism; it is to betray the fundamental interests of the proletariat. It is this line of shameful capitulation that the PLA puts forward in its theses such as: "To preach the inevitability of a new world war means to mistrust the revolutionary democratic and peace-loving forces of the people, means to paralyze their will and efforts to secure peace, means to encourage and

incite the armaments race to leave the imperialist warmongers a free hand to unleash war."⁵² The PLA pretends to recognize the inevitability of imperialist war as long as capitalism exists, while negating this Leninist analysis. The PLA says: "American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, in spite of their efforts to avoid a direct confrontation that would, they know, lead to their end, are nevertheless heading, because of their thirst for hegemony, domination and exploitation, towards an imperialist world war."⁵³ What is the political meaning of such an analysis? It is quite simply that the PLA tries to corrupt the proletariat by inculcating in it confidence in "the humanitarian spirit of the imperialist bourgeoisies," and making it a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the imperialists. For the PLA, American and Russian imperialism in particular, are making "efforts to avoid a direct confrontation, that is, war; so it is logical that the PLA should call on the proletariat and the peoples to act on the "will to peace" of the imperialists, in the sense of reinforcing "this will," so as to guarantee "peace," for the PLA fears that evil demons will arrive to detour the imperialists from the path of "peace." After having seen the "will for peace" of the imperialists, the PLA tries to "balance" this reactionary opinion with the Leninist point of view according to which the imperialist bourgeoisies provoke world conflicts "because of their thirst for hegemony, domination, and exploitation..." To try to conciliate the reactionary point of view and the revolutionary point of view is of course the essence of centrism. Foto Cami, writing in the name of the PLA, says that "the only correct Marxist-Leninist course towards unjust imperialist wars, hence also towards a new world war, is that of preventing them."⁵⁴ It seems that for the PLA, there are "unjust imperialist wars" and "just imperialist wars," otherwise we do not see the necessity to speak of "unjust imperialist war" since in essence any imperialist war is an unjust war. Let us continue! For the PLA, to prevent imperialist wars is that: "imperialism and the war mongers must be weakened through the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war."⁵⁵ The PLA is without question promoting reformist and social-nationalist positions. In effect, Lenin, Stalin and the Communist International teach us that to prevent imperialist war is to prepare proletarian revolution and not to harbour pacifist illusions like: war can be prevented by the weakening of imperialism. Contrary to the social-nationalist thesis of the PLA of "transforming the imperialist war into a liberation war" that the proletariat should wage, Lenin teaches the proletariat the only correct tactic, which is the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Lenin wrote that "whoever wants a lasting and democratic peace must stand for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie."⁵⁶

In putting its faith "in the efforts of the imperialists to avoid war," the PLA only takes up its own absurd position that it had already expressed in 1960: "the Party of Labour of Albania considers that there is no call to be pessimistic in spite of the difficulties which we are facing to establish peace in the world, realize disarmament and solve the other interna-

tional problems."⁵⁷ Taking up this thesis again, the PLA supports it by theses that the imperialists want to avoid war because a nuclear holocaust would destroy them as well. These petty-bourgeois theses of despair have already been combatted by Lenin: "If the present war is provoking among the reactionary Christian socialists and whimpering petty-bourgeois only fright and horror, revulsion for any use of arms, for blood, death, etc. . . . It is our duty to say: capitalist society has always been and always will be a horror without end. And if now, the present war, the most reactionary of all wars, is preparing for this society an end full of horror, we have no reason to fall into despair. Now, speaking objectively, to 'demand' disarmament, or more precisely, to dream of disarmament is exactly to fall into despair at an epoch when, before the eyes of the whole world, the bourgeoisie itself is preparing the only really legitimate and revolutionary war, namely the civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie."⁵⁸

The PLA gives the proletariat the following advice: "If the proletariat wants to struggle against imperialist war, it must take exactly the path opposed to that one."⁵⁹ In other words: counterpose social peace to imperialist war. That is the petty-bourgeois pacifism in which the PLA is swimming; the tasks of the proletariat are not to prepare itself to overthrow the bourgeoisie, but to preach peace to the bourgeoisie.

Regarding the counter-revolutionary theory of "three worlds," the PLA does not reject it in practice; the only difference with the CCP is that the PLA uses this theory in the service of its vulgar pacifism. We have already showed how "the first world," which is that supposedly formed by the United States and the Soviet Union, for the CCP, corresponds to the "two superpowers" for the PLA. It is this common view of the international situation that makes the PLA write: "The division we communists make of the world today, on the basis of the Leninist class criterion, does not hinder us from fighting the superpowers and supporting all the peoples and states that are seeking liberation and have contradictions with the superpowers."⁶⁰ The PLA, in short, calls on the proletariat and the peoples, and the bourgeoisies which "have contradictions with the superpowers" to unite to "impose" peace on the "superpowers" to safeguard their independence. The CCP openly preaches social-nationalism. As for the PLA, it tries to hide behind its opportunism. The proletariat must combat all these "false friends" of socialism, because "the basic class significance of today's social-nationalism is exactly the same. The fundamental idea of opportunism is an alliance or a drawing together (sometimes an agreement, bloc, or the like) between the bourgeoisie and its antipode. The fundamental ideal of social-nationalism is exactly the same."

The PLA is a real centrist party that the Bolshevik organizations must expose completely and combat without fail for the consistent defense of Marxism-Leninism.

CONCLUSION

The vast grouping of petty-bourgeois parties and organizations which the CCP and the PLA had surrounded themselves with, has today fallen apart, following the split between the CCP and the PLA. The break-up has led to the constitution of two

groups: that which is mobilized around "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and that constituted by the opportunist international led by the PLA. The first group has become more and more dispersed, undermined by its internal contradictions: its characteristic is open social-chauvinism. The opportunist international of the PLA is characterized by its centrism. Starting in 1977, the PLA fabricated a certain number of new petty-bourgeois parties such as the P"C"D, the P"CR"V, and the P"C"T to use as a sounding board for its mystifying propaganda. Thus, the PLA put forward its anti-Bolshevik experience, making the determination of the "correct line" the essential principle for the creation of "Communist Parties." Once supposedly revolutionary intellectuals group themselves together and determine the "correct line," they are thereby proclaiming themselves "vanguard parties of the proletariat." That is the magical principle that has presided over the formation of the parties of the "cartel" led by the PLA. These parties that surround the PLA and promote it are honoured with its blessing. Certain organizations are trying by all conceivable means to win the favour of the PLA: such is the case with "Combat Communiste" (a French opportunist organization) that patiently waits in the ante-chamber hoping to one day receive the nod of the PLA, to the detriment of the P"CO"F, which is presently the "French section" of Hoxha's centrist international.

Facing the various reactionary and opportunist "socialist" currents, the intransigent struggle waged by the Bolshevik Union of Canada, the Bolshevik League of the United States, Linea Bolchevique of Puerto Rico, La Voie Ouvrière of Côte d'Ivoire, En Avant! of Togo, Vive le Marxisme-Léninisme of Sénégal and the ULC, for the defence and restoration of Bolshevism in the ICM is developing with more vigour. The contribution of the Bolshevik Union to this struggle is of great importance; for that reason, it especially is the target of various organizations of the petty-bourgeois democracy. It is also one of the reasons for which the BU is denigrated by Patrick Kessel, which has put his magazine called "Bulletin International" in the service of the unconditional defense of the PLA. In no. 35 of "Bulletin International" he writes that "the B.U. of Canada devotes the greater part of its journal International Correspondence (No. 2, Autumn, 1980) to a conference recently organized under its auspices and mainly dedicated to imperialist war, a conference that calls for another larger conference on this subject. Participating at this first conference were: the Union de Lutte Communiste (Upper Volta), Linea Bolchevique (Puerto Rico), La Voie Ouvrière (Ivory Coast), BU (Canada), En Avant! (Togo), Bolshevik League (United States). What can already be pointed out is that all these organizations and groups are developing very exactly (and by referring to them) the positions of the BU of Canada, especially as concerns the attacks against the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha. What may vary perhaps, is the abundance of names and the degree of their grossness. One wonders where the excesses will stop, after the especially low exercise indulged in by La Voie Ouvrière (Ivory Coast). If this conference had limited itself to restating what everyone knows, in accordance with Lenin and Stalin, that the very existence of imperialism makes war inevitable, there would not be a lot to add to this initiative, except to emphasize that the thesis

of the three-worldists about imminent war is once again on the agenda. The essence of the problem is elsewhere. It is necessary, for the BU of Canada, to show that the PLA is 'centrist' just like a whole series of parties and organizations (including us — more than 20 pages of attacks in *Lines of Demarcation* no. 15) This having been shown, the tasks of the 'real' revolutionaries is to provoke splits in these parties and organizations, or at least to call for those splits. And the privileged field of action of the BU of Canada — as witness the presence of three African groups at this conference — is indeed Africa where groups seem to be created spontaneously as a counter-fire to other parties or organizations. The field of recruitment of the BU of Canada being France, where there are numerous African students, it is normal that the BU of Canada should attack us most especially, and the *Bulletin International*."

Kessel fumes, because our various organizations are pursuing a common struggle against centrism. It takes offence from our defence of the Leninist principles that require of Bolsheviks a struggle without mercy against centrism and a rupture, a split with social-chauvinism and centrism. It attacks the International Conference on the war that our organizations have held, without showing how the conclusions of this conference are contrary to the analyses and conclusions that Lenin, Stalin and the Communist International made of imperialist wars. That vile opportunist Kessel runs after the PLA so that the latter will supply his library with Albanian books. Apart from his servility regarding the PLA, Kessel collaborates with the French police, and he clearly calls on it to step up its vigilance regarding the BU which supposedly recruits revolutionaries from within the African student milieu in France. This police denunciations, which does not correspond to reality, nevertheless shows us how far Kessel will go to reach his goals: to obtain the favour of the PLA and to continue to develop his commercial activities through his library. It is necessary that the police and counter-revolutionary activities of Kessel should be firmly denounced and combatted by the revolutionary and progressive organizations.

Bolshevism will of necessity vanquish opportunism and once more find all its vigour among the world proletariat.

Extracted from *Le Proletaire*
journal of ULC
No. 5 January 1981

Notes

1. Stalin, "Industrialization of the Country and the Right Deviation in the CPSU(B)," Works 11:293.
2. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," LCW 24:76.
3. Bolshevik Union of Canada, *Lines of Demarcation* no. 14, pp. 196-97.
4. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," LCW 24:75-6-7.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-7.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-8.
7. Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," LCW 7:336.
8. Lenin, "The Break-up of the 'August' Bloc," LCW 20:159-60.
9. Lenin, "Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity," LCW 20:346-47.
10. Lenin, "The Conference of RSDLP

- Groups Abroad," LCW 21:159-60.11. Lenin, LCW 21.
12. *Ibid.* 13. Lenin, "The Conference of RSDLP Groups Abroad," 21:162-63.
14. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," LCW 21:207.
15. Lenin, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy," LCW 21:31-2.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
17. Lenin, "On the Question of Dialectics," LCW 38:360.
18. Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction," MSW 1:311.
19. Lenin, "On the Question of Dialectics," LCW 38:359.
20. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's Science of Logic," LCW 38:109.
21. Lenin, "On the Question of Dialectics," LCW 38:360.
22. Quoted in MSW 1:324.
23. Lenin, LCW 32 (Our translation from French — ed.).
24. Mao, MSW 1:317.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
26. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, FLP, p. 113.
27. Mao, MSW 1:331.
28. Mao, "La Dictature Démocratique du peuple," p. 13 (Our trans. — ed.).
29. MSW IV.
30. Lenin, "Speech to the Second Congress of the C.I.," (Our trans. from French — ed.).
31. "Bug-Parga," Special Issue, June 1980, pp. 1-2 (Our trans. — ed.).
32. *Ibid.*, p. 1
33. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
35. PLA: "Concerning the Building and the Life of the Party," Tirana 1974, pp. 71-72 (Our trans. from French — ed.).
36. E. Hoxha, "With Stalin," Tirana 1979, pp. 59-60.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
39. E. Hoxha, vol. II, p. 508 (Our trans. from French — ed.).
40. *Ibid.*, p. 909.
41. E. Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana 1979, p. 386.
42. E. Hoxha, *Rapport présenté au VIIe Congrès du PTA*, NBE p. 173 (Our trans. — ed.).
43. E. Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana 1979, p. 393.
44. E. Hoxha, Works, Vol. II, p. 695 (Our trans. from French — ed.).
45. *Ibid.*, p. 695.
46. *Albania Today*, no. 4 (41), 1978, p. 72.
47. Lenin, Vol. 21 (Our trans. — ed.).
48. *Ibid.* 49. ATA no. 364, 30/12/79, p. 2 (Our trans. from French — ed.).
50. Lenin, "Socialism and Religion," LCW 10:84.
51. Documents — Novembre 1957 (Our tr. — ed.).
52. *Albania Today*, no. 2 (45), 1979, p. 4.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 6 (Our trans. from French — ed.).
54. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
55. E. Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*.
56. Lenin, "Socialism and War," LCW 21:316.
57. *New Albania*, Supplement to No. 575, p. 3 (Our trans. from French — ed.).
58. Lenin, "Socialism and War," LCW 21 (Our trans. from French — ed.).
59. *Albania Today*, No. 6, 1978 (Our trans. from French — ed.).
60. E. Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 269.

To Struggle against Opportunism,
and Especially Centrism,
Is to Struggle for the Real
Application of the Revolutionary
Slogan "Transform the Imperialist
War into a Civil War against
the Bourgeoisie

EN AVANT!

Since the assassination of the eminent Bolshevik, J. Stalin, the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, revisionism, right opportunism has deeply rotted the workers' movement of all countries. The latter is in fact marked by three currents (social-chauvinism, centrism, and Bolshevism) whose outlines are becoming clearer and clearer with the deepening of the crisis which is shaking the world capitalist system and the imminence of a new imperialist war for the redivision of the world.

Thus, many corrupt, lapsed and neurotic elements, many supposedly Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, struck with panic, are seeking shelter under the wing of the bourgeoisie, openly betraying the proletariat. Others, more deceptive, are seeking to hide their bankruptcy and their collaboration with the bourgeoisie, with imperialism and corrupt elements, behind resounding, arch-revolutionary phrases.

This may seem new to some, but in reality, on the eve of the first imperialist war, the Bolsheviks led by their prestigious leader, V.I. Lenin, had to face an identical situation that Lenin explains in these terms: "The experience of the war, like the experience of any crisis in history, of any great calamity and any sudden turn in human life, stuns and breaks some people, *but enlightens and tempers others*. Taken by and large, and considering the history of the world as a whole, the number and strength of the second kind of people have — with the exception of individual cases of the decline and fall of one state or another — proved greater than those of the former kind."¹

The relevance of these words of Lenin is being verified each day with the emergence and strengthening of Bolshevik organizations or organizations on the path of Bolshevization whose "number and

strength" will be "greater than those of the former kind," that is, the social-chauvinist and centrist rabble that infests the International Workers' Movement. It is in this sense that must be understood the success of the Summer 1980 International Conference on War that brought together six Bolshevik organizations from Latin America, America, and Africa.

In the present article we shall try to examine these three currents that cut across the workers' movement at the present time, concentrating our attention especially on centrism through two typical examples: the PLA and In Struggle!

Social-Chauvinism

This current is constituted by the Socialist International, the direct heir of the Kautskyite 2nd International, the Titoists, the Russian revisionists with their open or concealed followers (Eurocommunists, Trotskyites...) as well as the Chinese revisionists with a whole panoply of sects of followers who do not hesitate to tear away at each other. Social-chauvinism is characterized by open collusion with imperialism. The social-chauvinists, Lenin teaches us, are "socialists in words and chauvinists in deeds; friends of the working class in words, but in deeds lackeys of 'their own' national bourgeoisie, individuals who help to deceive the people..."²

Thus, it is the duty of all revolutionary communists to forcefully combat this current that is composed of class enemies who have gone, with arms and baggage, to the camp of the bourgeoisie. Social-chauvinism "is an opportunism which has matured to such a degree that the *continued* existence of this bourgeois abscess within the socialist parties has become impossible."³

And "the existence of such a trend within the Social-Democratic workers' parties cannot be tolerated."⁴

For, "Socialist parties (Communists — E.A.) are not debating clubs, but organizations of the fighting proletariat; when a number of battalions have gone over to the enemy, they must be named and branded as traitors."⁵ In any case, the most dangerous opportunist current at the present time is indeed centrism which aims to kill Marxism "with kindness," to "smother it in an embrace." In fact "Undisguised opportunism, which immediately repels the working masses, is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean, which uses Marxist catchwords to justify opportunist practice, and tries to prove, with a series of sophisms, that revolutionary action is premature, etc."⁶

Centrism

For more than two decades, this current has cemented itself, and imposed itself through demagogic slogans of "anti-revisionist struggle." The leader of this current was incontestably the CCP, flanked by its lieutenant, the PLA. Since the passage of the CCP to social-chauvinism, and consequently into the camp of the bourgeoisie, its lieutenant of yesterday, the PLA, has become the "helmsman" of international centrism.

1. The PLA, leader of international centrism

The PLA is a "hypocrite of the first order and a virtuoso in the art of prostituting Marxism." Thanks to its hypocrisy and its virtuosity, the PLA, together with the CCP of Mao, succeeded for more than twenty years in subordinating the "lefts" to the "rights" by draping themselves in the "Marxist" mantle.

This disguise was indispensable in order to better combat the theory of the liberating movement of the proletariat (Marxism-Leninism). Why? Because "the development of science is providing more and more material that proves that Marx was right. This makes it necessary to fight against him hypocritically — not to oppose the principles of Marxism openly, but to, pretend to accept Marxism, while emasculating it by sophistry and turning it into a holy "icon" that is harmless to the bourgeoisie."⁷

1. How the PLA rallied to Khrushchevite social-chauvinism, that is, to the bourgeoisie

"In word, socialism and the revolutionary spirit for the people, the masses, the workers; in deed, Sudekumism, (Khrushchevism — E.A.) adhering to the bourgeoisie in any grave crisis."⁸

These words of Lenin sum up with clarity the politics of the PLA regarding revisionism, social-chauvinism, especially Russian. Even a succinct examination of certain characteristic facts, such as the IIIrd Congress of the PLA, the XXth congress of the CPSU as well as the attitude of the PLA to the Warsaw Pact, are broadly sufficient to expose the collaboration between the centrists of the PLA and the social-chauvinists of the CPSU.

i.i. The XXth Congress of the CPSU and Its Albanian version, the IIIrd Congress of the PLA

We do not have the intention, in the framework of this article, of proceeding with a systematic analysis of the documents of these two congresses. We will limit ourselves instead, for the moment, to bringing out the main revisionist, social-chauvinist theses of the XXth Congress of the CPSU and the obvious adherence of the IIIrd congress of the PLA to these theses.

The XXth congress of the CPSU was the consecration of a bourgeois coup d'état against the dictatorship of the proletariat, a coup d'état that started through the development of revisionist theses — firmly combatted by Stalin, especially in *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* — and that continued in the Kremlin doctors' plot and the assassination of Stalin. Thus, this congress was from beginning to end a counter-revolutionary congress whose theses laid the whole basis for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR.

iii. The Struggle of the PLA and the CPSU Against Stalin and Bolshevism

Khrushchev and his revisionist gang understood that the best way to reach their reactionary goal of restoration of capitalism in the USSR was first of all to attack the memory and the work of the incontestable leader of Bolshevism after Lenin, that is J. Stalin. It is these considerations that were at the

basis of the elaboration of the famous secret report of Khrushchev, a report loaded with the most vile calumnies against J. Stalin. Thus was posed the most important question of principle that is, the defence of the work and the memory of Stalin, the great teacher of the international proletariat. How did the PLA and E. Hoxha resolve this question of principle? Well, they joined the camp of the Khrushchevite revisionists and world reaction to calumny Stalin, liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, destroy the Bolshevik Party, restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Thus, at the IIIrd congress of the PLA, in May 1956, that is three months after the XXth (revisionist) Congress of the CPSU, E. Hoxha stated: "Our party, our people, support the struggle against 'the cult of the personality'."⁹

Then the IIIrd Congress continued: "The cult of the personality and the leadership practice created by J.V. Stalin marked the open and deformed violation of the Leninist principles of collective leadership in the Party, marked the violation of the Leninist norms of the party. The contempt of J.V. Stalin for the norms of the life of the party, the solution of problems in an individual manner on this part, the contempt for the opinion of the party, even taking severe measures against those who expressed opinions contrary to his own, could not fail to cause, and did cause, great damage, giving rise to serious alterations of the Leninist rules in the life of the party and to violation of revolutionary legality.

"The cult of the personality and the contempt with regard to criticisms and to advice correctly formulated by the members of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as with regard to the norms of the party, led Comrade Stalin into errors: he did not show the necessary vigilance on the eve of the patriotic war against German Nazism; he did not devote the necessary attention to the further development of socialist agriculture and to the material well-being of the kolkhoziens; he supported and led into an erroneous line the Yugoslavian affair, etc. In such circumstances, Comrade Stalin showed himself one-sided in his ideas and detached himself from the masses.

"The cult of the personality and the violation of the norms of the life of the party served as the most favourable ground from which the enemies of the party and the Soviet state drew advantage, such as the agent of imperialism, Beria, who for a long time acted, under a mask, to the detriment of the party and the socialist state."¹⁰

However, this apple is just too bitter to be swallowed by the class-conscious proletariat of the entire world, which from the bottom of its heart cherishes the work and the memory of J. Stalin. That is why the PLA beats a retreat on tip-toe. Like a thief after a crime, it is desperately trying to get rid of the compromising evidence of its third congress, which was a revisionist congress just like the XXth congress of the Khrushchevites. The efforts of the Albanian revisionists are in vain. Their IIIrd Congress remains one of the many ropes that they themselves have woven and which the Albanian proletariat will sooner or later use to hang them.

To our knowledge, the PLA has never questioned the theses of its IIIrd congress and consequently its calumnies against Stalin. Thus, the crocodile tears

shed by the Albanian revisionist leader E. Hoxha, in his book *With Stalin* are pure demagoguery, pure Jesuitism. E. Hoxha thus displays his opportunism which consists in conciliating two extreme mutually exclusive positions: after having covered Stalin with the lowest calumnies in 1956, at the IIIrd Congress of the PLA, he starts, in 1979, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Stalin, to sing his praises.

In reality, if the PLA and E. Hoxha have taken to playing the role of the "center," that is, of the "swamp" on this question (as moreover on many others!), it is because they are trying to make of Stalin and consequently of Marxism-Leninism, inoffensive holy "icons" for the bourgeoisie. From which comes the mystic tone that this defence of Stalin takes in places: "On the occasion of the century of his birth (Stalin's — E.A.) we remember with devotion the man who helped us."¹¹

More, E. Hoxha does not hesitate to lower the work of J. Stalin to the level of vulgar talismans: "More than once it has occurred that, in piercing the hearts of the sons and daughters of our people, the enemy's bullets, at the same time, pierced the works of Stalin which they guarded in their bosoms as a much cherished treasure."¹²

The importance of his book *With Stalin* is that for the first time, E. Hoxha publicly admits his complicity in the assassination of Stalin, an assassination that he "kept like a precious treasure in his breast" since 1953, that is, for more than 26 years. Here is the confession of Hoxha: "All this villainy emerged soon after the death, or to be more precise, after the murder of Stalin (emphasis by E.A.). I say after the murder of Stalin, because Mikoyan himself told me and Comrade Mehmet Shehu that they, together with Khrushchev and their associates, had decided to carry out a 'pekushenist', i.e. to make an attempt on Stalin's life, but later, as Mikoyan told us, they gave up this plan. It is a known fact that the Khrushchevites could barely wait for Stalin to die. The circumstances of his death are not clear... The question of the doctors was hushed up, because had it been investigated later, had it been gone into thoroughly, it would have brought to light a great deal of dirty linen, many crimes and plots that the concealed revisionists with Khrushchev and Mikoyan at the head, had been perpetrating. This could be the explanation also for the sudden deaths within a very short time of Gottwald, Bierut, Foster, Dimitrov and some others, all from curable illnesses, about which I have written in my unpublished memoirs 'The Khrushchevites and Us'. This could prove to be the true reason for the sudden death of Stalin too."¹³

This is a striking proof that the centrists of the PLA have for a long time known about the attempts at assassination and the actual assassination of Stalin, but they kept all of this secret, in "unpublished memoirs," so as not to interfere with the dirty work of restoration of capitalism in the USSR undertaken by their revisionist friends of the Khrushchev type. E. Hoxha covered the gang of assassins, Khrushchev and his acolytes, as long as necessary, for the complete liquidation of socialism. For E. Hoxha, as long as the main instigators of the plots and crimes were alive, the rule of behavior was: "silence is golden." Once Mikoyan and Khrushchev were dead and buried, E. Hoxha could point to their tombs with his finger, shouting: "Assassin, criminal...!" This will

not whitewash him, far from it!

E. Hoxha covered the Russian social-chauvinists (Khrushchev, Mikoyan...) as long as he could, as long as no voice was raised to shed any light, to say the truth to the proletariat of the whole world about this assassination plotted by world imperialism. It took the publication by the Bolshevik Union of Canada, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Stalin, of a special issue where it reveals publicly and for the first time that it was really an assassination that prematurely ended the life of Stalin, for the leader of the Albanian revisionists to agree to publish his memoirs, to make a confession. That is what the "defence" of Stalin by the PLA and E. Hoxha amounts to, dust thrown in the eyes!!

1.1.2 Peaceful coexistence as seen through the revisionist XXth congress of the CPSU and the IIIrd Congress of the PLA

The XXth congress of the CPSU revised from top to bottom, deformed the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between "the two systems of property (capitalist, or private property, and communist, adopted for the time being in the RSFSR (USSR — E.A.) only)."14

In fact, the policy of peaceful coexistence elaborated by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party that he led, is in conformity with the fundamental interests of the world proletarian revolution and answers the imperative needs of socialist construction in the first state of the Soviets. Lenin showed clearly that the right of existence of the Republic of Soviets in the midst of the capitalist powers was won through great struggle: "Without having gained an international victory, which we consider the only sure victory, we are in a position of having won conditions enabling us to exist side by side with capitalist powers, who are now compelled to enter into trade relations with us."

In this policy of Lenin's, there is no place for headiness, for, if the capitalists are obliged to accept the existence of a socialist state at their side, they will take advantage of the least occasion to put this existence into doubt: "Today too, we do not underestimate the danger and do not deny the possibility of future military intervention by the capitalist countries. It is essential for us to maintain our military preparedness."16

It could not be otherwise. "For the capitalists are stupid, greedy people. They have made a number of such stupid, greedy attempts at intervention and one has to fear repetitions until the workers and peasants of all countries thoroughly reeducate their own capitalists."17

Thus, in this country of the Soviets, where the capitalists, these stupid and greedy people, have received a severe re-education from the proletariat and peasantry, a new policy, guided by proletarian principles, has replaced the former policy of aggression and plunder. This new policy is in favour of peace and the establishment of commercial relations with the capitalist states. It aims at the consolidation of the power of the Soviets and the healing of the wounds caused by the war and the rapid building of the economy by taking advantage of the technique of the advanced countries: "The granting of concessions under reasonable terms is desirable also for us, as one of the means of attracting into

Russia, during the period of the coexistence side by side of socialist and capitalist states, the technical help of the countries which are more advanced in this respect."18

Economic relations between "the two systems of property," contrary to the petty-bourgeois prejudices having nothing to do with Marxism, are inevitable and indispensable to the existence and the development of the "new world" which is still weak. In these clear, incisive terms, Lenin counterposes to the petty-bourgeois conceptions, the proletarian conceptions: "A socialist republic surrounded by imperialist powers could not, from this point of view, conclude any economic treaties, and could not exist at all, without flying to the moon."19

This Leninist conception of peaceful co-existence is diametrically opposed to bourgeois pacifism or to the social-pacifism advocated by the XXth congress of the CPSU and taken up by the IIIrd congress of the PLA. It is the total abandonment of the preparation of the proletariat for the social revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for a reformist policy, making believe that capitalism will be erased from the surface of the earth through the "economic competition" between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp. The IIIrd congress of the PLA said precisely the following: "The questions of principle which were posed at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning the development of the present international situation have a great historic importance for humanity and constitute a precious treasure which has been added to Marxism-Leninism in the concrete circumstances of the present international situation. The Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of the two systems, of the socialist system and the capitalist system, has always guided the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union. The Communists affirm that the socialist system will triumph over the capitalist system in peaceful competition and the triumph of communism is inevitable. . . "20

This is so much anti-Marxist nonsense that has already been refuted by the Leninist conception as being part of petty-bourgeois conceptions that do not realize that "the opinions of the communists are not in agreement with the pacifist opinions of the states with which we are undertaking talks." Here is what Lenin says on the subject: "By the pacifist section of that camp (or some other well-chosen polite expression) we should make it clear that we mean the petty-bourgeois, pacifist, and semi-pacifist democrats of the II and II½ International type, and the Keynes type, etc. One of our main, if not principal, political tasks at Genoa is to single out this wing of the bourgeois camp from the rest of the camp, try to flatter that wing, make it known that we consider possible and desirable not only a trade, but a political agreement with them (as one of the few chances of capitalism's peaceful evolution toward the new order, which we, Communists, do not greatly believe in, but which we agree and consider our duty to help try out, as representatives of one power in face of a hostile majority of other powers)."21

Thus, as we see, the social-chauvinists and their centrist acolytes of the PLA, who believe in the "peaceful evolution of capitalism toward the new order," are only prostituting communism by calling themselves communists. That is another proof of the obvious rallying of the PLA to the bourgeoisie.

1.1.3 Concerning imperialist wars

On this cardinal question, the PLA at its IIIrd congress, as at the present time, approves entirely the revisionist theses of the XXth congress of the CPSU. The IIIrd congress of the PLA said in effect: "Another thesis of great importance of principle, that the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has just added to Marxism-Leninism is the question of the possibility of preventing wars in the present epoch. This question which constantly preoccupies humanity, has received a correct and scientific reply from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Wars in our era need not be fatal and inevitable: 'in the question of knowing whether or not war will take place, great importance is attached to relation of class forces, of political forces, at the level of organization, and to the conscious will of men.' *The Marxist-Leninist theses according to which wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists, were formulated in the epoch when imperialism was a single world system and when the social and political forces opposed to the war were still quite weak.*"²²

This rejection of Leninist theses on the inevitability of wars as long as imperialism lasts is presented by the sophists of the PLA as a "creative deepening of Marxism-Leninism," in "the present era." In short, for the Khrushchevites and the PLA, the Leninist analysis is no longer in style in "the present era." Such individuals "are incurable, they are the servants of imperialism, the agents of bourgeois influence, of bourgeois lies, and bourgeois degeneration in the workers' movement."²³

In fact, is not the famous "present era" that the bourgeois liars speak of, that of capitalism which has reached "the highest stage" of its development and entered into its phase of decay? Thus, do not these words of Lenin remain relevant in spite of the lies of the social-chauvinists and centrists, especially the PLA: If we are to speak seriously on this matter of war guilt, the guilty ones are the capitalists of all countries. Hand over to us all your landed proprietors owning more than a hundred hectares and capitalists having a capital of more than 100,000 francs, and we shall educate them to useful labour and make them break with the shameful, base and bloody role of exploiters and instigators of wars for the participation of colonies. Wars will then soon become absolutely impossible."²⁴

This hard reality makes the bourgeois and their agents shake, who cherish as the apple of their eye their "shameful, base and bloody role of exploiters and instigators of wars for the partition of the colonies." That is why the revisionists, open or disguised, the servants of imperialism, spread their pacifist, defeatist theses among the proletariat to keep it at the mercy of the exploiters and war-makers.

As for the idea that the Marxist-Leninist theses on the inevitability of imperialist war are outdated because they "were formulated in the epoch when imperialism was a single world system," such an idea is absurd, it is an absurdity. In fact the words of Lenin that we have just quoted were written on 21 February 1920, that is, well after the triumph of the Socialist Revolution in Russia; consequently, to say, as does the PLA, that "imperialism was a single world system," is quite simply to recite twaddle. It is to ignore the historical significance of the Great

October Socialist Revolution of 1917 that broke the vast chain of the imperialist system at its weakest link which was Tsarist Russia.

For the further misfortune of these "salon socialists," Stalin recalls in 1952: "... the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force. It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as absolute, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and against another world war. That is not true."²⁵

Another proof of the rallying of the PLA to social-chauvinism. As Lenin teaches us: "Unity with the social-chauvinists is betrayal of the revolution, betrayal of the proletariat, betrayal of socialism, desertion to the bourgeoisie, because it is "unity" with the *national bourgeoisie* of 'one's own' country against the unity of the international revolutionary proletariat, is unity with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

The war of 1914-18 has definitely proved this. Let anyone who does not understand this remain in the Yellow Berne International of traitor-socialists."²⁶

1.1.4 Peaceful transition to socialism or bourgeois parliamentarism

Taking up as its own the revisionist theses of the XXth Congress of the CPSU the IIIrd Congress of the PLA states: "The theses on the forms of the transition of various countries to socialism, based on the celebrated theses of the great Lenin, open up before the peoples and the working class of all countries dazzling perspectives for the transition to socialism by various paths. *The question of the transition to socialism, by means of civil war or without civil war, is equally a great beacon-light and a very precious aid for the parties of the working class and the working peoples, to take power in hand, to realize the social transformations, to transform the bourgeois parliament, where the bourgeoisie is not able to resort to violence and use force, into a vehicle of the real popular will, to assure the passage of the main means of production into the hands of the people.*"²⁷

What shame! That is the level to which opportunist corruption has lowered Marxism-Leninism! That is the extent to which the scoundrels of the PLA drag through the mud the name of Lenin, the eminent Bolshevik, great educator of the world proletariat. This is quite simply a gross prostitution of Marxism-Leninism. These revisionist theses of the PLA and the Khrushchevites are the opposite of the theory of the liberating movement of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism.

In fact, drawing the lessons of the Paris Commune, Marx showed that the proletariat could not use the mechanism of the state (including the bourgeois parliament) and that *the proletariat had to smash it: "In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat."*²⁸

Also, in his letter of 12 April 1871 to Kugelmann, Marx writes: "If you re-read the last chapter of my *18 Brumaire* you will see that I express there the

following idea: the next revolutionary uprising in France will not, as has happened until now, pass the military-bureaucratic apparatus from one hand to another, but will rather have to smash it. And that is the prerequisite condition for any real popular revolution on the continent. This is moreover what is being tried by our heroic Parisian comrades. . . . History knows no other example of such magnitude! *If they succumb, it will be only for having been 'too kind'* (emphasis by E.A.). They should have marched immediately on Versailles, after first Vinoy, then the reactionary fraction of the Paris national guard had themselves left the field open. Because of scruples of conscience, the right moment slipped away. They did not want to unleash civil war, as if that mischievous rogue Thiers had not already unleashed it in trying to disarm Paris!"²⁹

Then, F. Engels, in his article "Dell' Autorità" ("On the Principle of Authority") writes the following: "Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is without doubt the most authoritarian thing there is. It is the act by which one part of the population imposes its will on the other part by means of rifles, bayonettes and cannon (emphasis by E.A.), that is, by extraordinarily authoritarian means. And the victorious party must, if it wishes not to have fought in vain, ensure the continuity of its domination thanks to the fear that its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Could the Paris Commune have lasted more than one day if it had not used against the bourgeoisie, the authority of the people in arms? Are we not right, on the contrary to blame the Commune for having too little used this authority?"

It is also important to recall these words of Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* concerning universal suffrage to further illuminate the bourgeois foundation of the theses of the PLA and the CPSU. ". . . the possessing class rules directly by means of universal suffrage. . . Universal suffrage is thus the guide of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state (still less socialism — E.A.)"

In the same way, Lenin waged a struggle without mercy against the opportunists, the reformists of all kinds who, after the overthrow of Tsarism in Russia, sought to hinder the march of the revolution, satisfied as they were with the triumph of the bourgeois revolution. Thus, against the parliamentarism of these sad individuals of whom the PLA and the whole revisionist rag-tag are today the legitimate heirs, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party counterposed revolutionary, triumphant Marxism. Here is what Lenin says: "As long as the bourgeois parliaments of all countries, bound up by the ties of capitalism and private property, accord nowhere and never any support for the revolutionary movement, the Soviets propagate the flame of the revolution, earnestly telling the people 'Struggle! Take everything into your hands! Organize yourselves!' . . . Bourgeois society is the same war, the same butchery; it is what provoked and envenomed the conflict between the Constituent Assembly and the Soviets. All those who reproach us that formerly we defended the Constituent Assembly and now we are fighting it, have no real ideas in their heads, which are only full of pompous phrases, because, formerly, in comparison with Tsarism and the Kerenski Republic, the Constituent Assembly was for us a step forward. But

as the Soviets grew up, these revolutionary organizations of the whole people became, of course, more important than all the parliaments of the world, and I have emphasized this fact still in the month of April. The Soviets, breaking the regime of the property of the bourgeois and the pomiestchiks, contributing to the final revolution, sweeping away all the vestiges of the bourgeois regime, pushed us onto the path of leading the people to reconstruct all of its life. We have already begun this great reconstruction, and we have done well to begin it. Of course, the socialist revolution cannot be presented to the people from the start in a clean, pressed suit, in a word, irreproachable; it must of necessity be followed by a civil war, sabotage, resistance. *He who wants to say the contrary is either a liar, or a person who has no contact with life.*"³²

This important question of the social revolution was also judiciously set forth in the Letter of Invitation to the First Congress of the Communist International in the following terms: "2. The task of the proletariat consists in taking over state power. The taking of state power means the destruction of the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie (including parliament — E.A.) and the organization of a new apparatus of proletarian power. 3. The new apparatus of power must represent the dictatorship of the working class and in certain places also that of the small peasants and agricultural labourers, that is, it must be the instrument of the systematic overthrow of the exploiting class and that of its expropriation. Not false democracy — that hypocritical form of domination of the financial oligarchy — with its purely formal equality, but proletarian democracy, with the possibility to realize the liberty of the labouring masses; not parliamentarism, but the self-management of these masses by their elected organisms; not the capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the administration of the country and in the activity of socialist construction — that is what the proletarian type of state must be. The power of the workers' councils or workers' organizations is its concrete form."³³

Thus, the PLA and the opportunists of all hues are liars when they want to assure the proletariat of the possibility "of the passage to socialism" "without civil war." We should denounce without hesitation the great fraud of the PLA which tries to make out that this anti-Marxist "theory" is "based on the celebrated theses of the great Lenin." This is a revision of the Marxist doctrine to come to the aid of the capitalist class in their work of corruption of the proletariat.

1.2. *Beyond the XXth and IIIrd Congresses of the CPSU and PLA, still the same perfect agreement between the Russian and Albanian revisionists*

Collaboration, cordial agreement between the opportunists of the PLA and the Russian social-chauvinists does not cease either at the XXth congress of the CPSU or at the IIIrd congress of the PLA. As proof we have Hoxha's greeting to the XXIst Congress of the CPSU where, among other things, it is said: "This congress is an event of great historical significance not only for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, but also for all the communist and workers' parties of the world, for

the international workers' movement, for all of progressive humanity. . . The works and decisions of this historic congress . . . will strengthen still more the confidence of the workers of all countries the final victory of socialism and communism in the world. *The 21st Congress will at the same time be a great earthquake for the capitalist world, which will be reduced to a mass of ruins and will go to its final destruction . . .* These successes and victories bear witness in the clearest way how correct were the historic decisions of the 20th Congress of your Marxist-Leninist Party. The brilliant results obtained . . . show the correctness of the Leninist line followed by the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee, having at the head our dear comrade Nikita Sergeyevitch Khrushchev . . . A crushing blow has been struck at the forces of darkness and there is no force in the world able to prevent the triumphant march of our camp towards communism, where, with mathematical certitude, we are guided by the glorious Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin . . . The theses and the report of Comrade Khrushchev, at the 20th Congress (including the calumnies against Comrade Stalin — E.A.) as well as at the 21st extraordinary Congress of the CPSU, are precious treasures not only for you, but also for all the communists of the world, for the international communist movement, because they are treasures that enrich our immortal science — Marxism-Leninism. . . ”³⁴

Linking actions to words, E. Hoxha received, with great pomp and in great popular rejoicing, his “dear comrade Nikita Sergeyevitch Khrushchev” in May 1959. On that occasion, the Russian cuckoo and the Albanian rooster did not fail to once again eulogize each other. E. Hoxha publicly paid tribute to the “eminent guide of the Communist Party and government of the USSR, a true disciple of the great Lenin, a remarkable leader of the international communist movement and great friend of the Albanian people.”³⁵ In response to this praise, Khrushchev made an honorary citizen of the city of Tirana, stated: “The relations between Albania and the USSR, between the Party of Labour of Albania and the CP of the USSR are excellent. We have never had differences in our evaluation of internal problems and international questions, for we are unanimous in the evaluation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine (read revisionism — E.A.)”³⁶

The same tenor and the same praises of the PLA toward the Khrushchevite revisionists prevailed at the meeting of the 81 “communist” and “workers” parties in Moscow on 16 November 1960: “Our success, the strength of our camp, have as their foundation the colossal moral, political, economic, cultural and military strength of the Soviet Union . . . This success constitutes for the other countries of the socialist camp an inestimable contribution that in turn helps them to win great successes . . . The draft declaration correctly emphasizes that the immense and inexhaustible strength of the socialist camp, with the Soviet Union at the head constitutes the decisive factor in the triumph of peace in the world.”³⁷

The PLA, Co-founder of the Warsaw Pact, the Military bloc controlled by Russian imperialism

The overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet

Union after the assassination of Stalin had as their consequence the liquidation of the socialist camp and the socialist market. From that time on, the contradiction between the socialist camp (of the time of Lenin and Stalin) and the imperialist camp was converted into an inter-imperialist contradiction between the two imperialist blocs for the redivision of the world.

The western bloc was constituted 4 April 1949 in Washington, under the name of NATO, against the socialist camp led by the great Soviet Union of Stalin. On 14 May 1955, the Khrushchevite revisionists, coveting the zones of influence (colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries) of the western bloc, in their turn created, with the help of their satellites (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia) the Warsaw Pact that was as aggressive as NATO. That was the clearest proof of the “rallying” of the PLA to Khrushchevism and consequently to imperialism. Well may Hoxha beat his breast, mumbling: “At the time of the signing of the Warsaw Pact (1955 — E.A.), that is, after the death of Stalin and before the Budapest meeting, towards the month of February 1956, when the revisionist points of view of the Khrushchev group had not yet emerged into the light. . . .”³⁸ “. . . this changes absolutely nothing. Even supposing that we concede to Hoxha the honesty that he claims for his opportunism, it nevertheless remains true that “honest opportunism is the most dangerous kind of opportunism.”³⁹ And that Hoxha has contributed, in an “honest” way to consolidate the revisionist camp, especially at the military level. Hoxha and the PLA “have mistaken the moon for green cheese,” revisionism for Marxism-Leninism. Thus, these pretentious statements from Hoxha: “We Albanian communists have successfully applied the teachings of Stalin, in the first place, in order to have a strong steel-like Party, always loyal to Marxism-Leninism, stern against the class enemies, and have taken great care to preserve the unity of thought and action in the party and to strengthen the unity of the party with the people . . . We will never be deceived by the flattery and tricks of enemies, whether international or external. . . .”⁴⁰ . . . such pretentious statements, we say, can only amaze “people whose unparalleled naivete borders on a deep desire to perpetuate the hypocrisy of other times.”⁴¹

On the other hand, if the PLA and Hoxha had mistaken the “revisionist nature of the Khrushchev group” in 1955, the question arises whether their ignorance of Khrushchevite revisionism remained as complete in 1957 during the unanimous adoption of the Moscow Declaration by 12 “Communist” and “workers” Parties of the “socialist” countries including the PLA. This Declaration supports the Warsaw Pact without reserve: “it is indispensable to maintain and strengthen the organization of the Warsaw Pact which has a defensive character and contributes to the security of the peoples of Europe and to the consolidation of peace in the world.”⁴²

It is the same with the Moscow Declaration of 1960. And if evil spirits, such as Kessel and his sect Combat Communiste, come to the defence of their centrist idol on the pretext that the “valiant” PLA, which is “always faithful to Marxism-Leninism,” fought in vain to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, but that it was crushed by the numbers of the revisionists, we will tell them that: 1. The two

declarations, that of November 1957 and that of November 1960, were adopted unanimously and the Albanian delegate did not have a knife at his throat when he voted! 2. The PLA has become the most eager defender of the Moscow Declarations against the Soviet social-chauvinists and others who have gone beyond the stage of hypocrisy for openly anti-Marxist, imperialist politics. It was E. Hoxha himself who said: "At Budapest, they (the Khrushchevite revisionists and others) would seek to consecrate the orientation that was given there, as the general orientation of the world communist movement, supposedly sanctioned by a conference grouping all the communist parties of the world. With such an international, so-called Marxist-Leninist document, they think they will be able not only to dupe the peoples and hide from them the great betrayal that they are in the midst of committing, but also to get rid of the Moscow declarations of 1957 and 1960, which hamper them in their anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary path."⁴³

Conciliation with social-chauvinism being the guiding line of the policy of the "center," the PLA remained in the Warsaw Pact until 1968. It is true that the PLA was virtually "thrown out of bounds" by its revisionist friends starting in 1961, but that is not of importance. What is important, is that Albania's rupture with the Warsaw Pact has nothing to do with divergences in principle. This is simply proof that in the opportunist swamp, there is not always complete agreement; there are many spats, which sometimes lead to a divorce. That is what happened between the CPSU and the PLA, between Hoxha and his "dear comrade N. S. Khrushchev." Two major facts were at the bottom of this dispute: 1. In 1960 Moscow decided on an economic blockade against Albania which was thus deprived of all deliveries of cereals and of credits planned under its third five-year plan. Moscow recalled its specialists, abolished grants to Albanian students and demanded repayments of old credits. 2. With the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Russian imperialists displayed in the light of day their imperialist aims whose next victim could well be Albania.

The aggression of the forces of the Warsaw Pact against Czechoslovakia was thus the straw that broke the camel's back. This aggression shook the bourgeois nationalists of the PLA who saw in the Warsaw Pact not an instrument of protection but rather an effective weapon in the hands of the Russian imperialists to transform Albania overnight into a Russian semi-colony. It is interesting to examine the reasons put forward by the PLA to justify this discord: "On the other hand, the People's Republic of Albania, by denouncing the aggressive Treaty from which it had been *de facto* excluded by the revisionist members of the pact, strengthens its positions and avoids a possible danger of aggression. . . . We consider that the existence of the Treaty of Warsaw plays no positive role in the defence of our country (however the PLA believed in it for 13 years! — E.A.), but on the contrary, this Treaty presented a danger which will continue to exist even after we have revoked it."⁴⁴

All of this cavilling show clearly the limiting nationalism and the duplicity of the policy of these supposed communists of the PLA. One can lie quickly in the shadow of an imperialist military bloc as long as it protects or at least does not menace one's

"own" fatherland; and then start to "shake heaven and earth" when the "shadow" threatens to strangle you. What cretinism!

Worse, the PLA, after its "rupture" with the imperialist bloc led by Russian imperialism, commenced a rapprochement with NATO, bringing it as a token of its "honesty" this dispute with the Khrushchevites. Listen to the entreaties of Hoxha: "In this conjuncture, the revocation of the Treaty of Warsaw by the People's Republic of Albania takes on special importance. When we have revoked this Treaty, the member countries of NATO will not be able to eventually justify themselves by saying that 'we are attacking Albania because it is a member of the Warsaw Pact'."⁴⁵

This direct appeal for good will with NATO on the part of Albania exposes the demagogy of E. Hoxha when he says: "Socialist Albania left this treaty; so the Khrushchevite revisionists considered us traitors to socialism, while this act was to the taste of the capitalist states which hoped to see us move towards them. But both parties were left waiting."⁴⁶

The reality was and remains other than the lies of E. Hoxha. The Soviet aggression by the forces of the Warsaw Pact as intermediaries, against Czechoslovakia and the threat felt at the same time by Albania, Roumania and Yugoslavia, brought the three countries together on the basis of bourgeoisie nationalism. During this time, the supposed ideological divergences were put out of sight. There was even some question at the time of a tripartite agreement for military defence: Rumania — Albania — Yugoslavia.

"Many contacts took place. Bucharest notified Washington, which solemnly declared that an attack against Rumania would not be tolerated by the United States, while Tirana obtained a similar declaration from the Chinese. The three capitals (Tirana, Belgrade, Bucharest) consulted among each other for a suitable strategy and an exchange of information. The Albanian daily *Zeri i Popullit* announced that, in case of intervention against Yugoslavia or Rumania, the Albanian people would stay at their side. For its part, the daily of the Yugoslavian Party, *Borba*, emphasized that the ideological quarrel between Tirana and Belgrade had to give way to common interests 'for the safeguarding of their national sovereignty'."⁴⁷

The PLA said at its Vth congress in 1971: "In spite of the known ideological differences, we are in favour of the continuous improvement of state relations in all the domains where there are common interests."⁴⁸

It is clear as spring water that the only care of E. Hoxha and the PLA is the defence of nationalist interests to the detriment of the fundamental interests of the international proletariat. This hideous face of the Albanian revisionists must be exposed before the eyes of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples so as to take them from the influence of opportunism, especially from centrism and to group them under the banner of Bolshevism.

2. *The Centrist tandem CCP-PLA, propagator of bourgeois, chauvinist ideas among the world proletariat under cover of the "struggle against modern revisionism."*

The CCP had taken, in the sixties, the leadership of what was named the "anti-revisionist struggle" and which was in fact the constitution of interna-

tional centrism facing the social-chauvinist current led by the Khrushchevites. Following this, in the seventies, with the systematization of the policy of open collaboration with the bourgeoisie of western Europe through the "theory of three worlds," the CCP of Mao left the centrist current to join that of social-chauvinism. The analysis that follows concerns the policy of the CCP in the "centrist epoch." That specification having been made, we shall continue.

Facing the greater and greater threat to their "national sovereignty" from Russian imperialism, the social-nationalists of the PLA and the CCP tightened their links "not like internationalists but like nationalists; not in a proletarian but in a bourgeois way, not in a revolutionary direction but in the direction of ultra-opportunism."⁴⁹

In May 1961, the Khrushchevite revisionists having brutally denounced the bilateral accords of military co-operation and completely suspended all shipments of arms to the Albanian centrists, the Chinese opportunists took up the succession. From May 1961, a first credit of 125 million dollars was allotted to Albania, followed by a first contingent of Chinese technical co-operant. This was the first material basis of the Albanian-Chinese alliance, the ideological and political basis being social-reformism and bourgeois nationalism.

2.1 The PLA and the CCP, eager defenders of the revisionist declarations of 1957 and 1960

The two declarations adopted by the Moscow conferences constitute the platforms sealing the agreement between two varieties (at least) of opportunism: social-chauvinism and centrism. Through these platforms, the "communist" and "workers" parties repudiated the socialist revolution, substituting for it bourgeois reformism, repudiating "the class struggle and the necessity to transform it, the case arising, into civil war"; "they preached bourgeois chauvinism in the colour of patriotism and defence of the fatherland"; they adopted "in the struggle against militarism a sentimental, petty-bourgeois point of view, instead of admitting the necessity of a revolutionary war of the proletarians of all countries against the bourgeoisie of all countries"; these "communists" and "workers," finally, made "a fetish of the necessary utilization of bourgeois parliamentarianism and bourgeois legality, and forgetting that illegal forms of organization and agitation are imperative at times of crises."⁵⁰

In short, the Moscow conferences, like the XXth Congress of the CPSU, were the consecration of the liquidation of the socialist camp and the bankruptcy of the "International Communist Movement." The essential theses of these two conferences were only a repetition of the revisionist theses of the XXth Congress of the CPSU ratified by the IIIrd Congress of the PLA, as we have already seen. We shall return in detail to these anti-Marxist theses contained in these Moscow Declarations later. For now, we will point out certain characteristic facts of the defence of these declarations by the PLA and the CCP against the Khrushchevite revisionists especially.

In 1961, in a document entitled *Letter of the Central Committee of the PLA addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in reply to the calumnious letter of the lea-*

dership of the CP of the SU of 24 August 1961, we read the following: "

"The line that the Party of Labour of Albania has followed and is following in a consistent manner for all questions coincides fully with the principles and conclusions of the two present common documents of the international communist movement, the Moscow Declarations of the years 1957 and 1960, that our party has scrupulously applied and taken as the base of all its work. . .

In any case, life and daily practice have proved that certain Soviet leaders, with N. Khrushchev at the head, quickly forgot about not only the principles of the Declaration of 1960 on the subject of numerous important questions on international policy, of tactics and strategy of the international communist and workers' movement, but also began to trample on the fundamental principles of relations between brother parties, such as the principles of equality and reciprocal consultation. . . .

The disagreements can only be settled on condition of applying faithfully the Moscow Declarations of the years 1957 and 1960, of putting into practice the established norms of a common agreement on the subject of relations between brother parties, of following with devotion the teachings of Marxism-Leninism . . . The Party of Labour of Albania has not been, and can never be in agreement with such an opportunist way of making use of the principle of peaceful coexistence, which is contrary to the Declarations of the communist and workers' parties of the years 1957 and 1960."⁵¹

Also, in 1962, the PLA, in an article entitled "Hold High the Revolutionary Banner of the Moscow Declarations and Protect Them from the Attacks of the Modern Revisionists," states: "These two documents contain a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis . . .

"They constitute a solid base on which the Communist and Workers' Parties should establish their line of action in their struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy, in their struggle to suppress the exploitation of man by man and to establish socialism and communism throughout the world."⁵²

As for the CCP, in a document entitled: "D'où viennent les divergences? Réponse à Maurice Thorez et d'autres camarades," ("Where do the divergences come from? Reply to Maurice Thorez and other comrades"), it writes: "We know that the Moscow Conference of communist and workers' parties, held in 1957 . . . elaborated the Moscow Declaration. This declaration is the common program of the international communist movement. All the brother parties have declared its acceptance . . . They (Maurice Thorez and the others — E.A.) rejected the scientific conclusion of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 on the subject of imperialism, the source of modern wars, which states: "As long as imperialism exists, wars of aggression will have a favourable terrain . . . They (read 'the Khrushchevite revisionists' — E.A.) went against the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between the two different social systems, as it is found in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, and interpreted peaceful coexistence as being nothing other than ideological struggle and economic competition. . . .

"It is however necessary to point out that the Chinese Communist Party was the very initiator of the Conference of 1960 of the representatives of the Communist and workers' parties of the entire world,

and we spent much effort in its convocation. . . .

"In defence of the principles regulating relations between brother parties, principles defined in the two Moscow Declarations, and in the interest of unity facing the enemy, the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party at this congress (XXIIInd Congress of the CPSU) categorically manifested its disapproval against this way of acting that can only afflict us and rejoice the enemy."⁵³

In short, the PLA and the CCP touched off a mock-revolt against Russian social-chauvinism, because their concern was not to declare war on opportunism; far from it. They simply reproached the Russian revisionists for "trampling on the common program of the international communist movement" that was the Moscow Declarations; an anti-Marxist program accepted by "all varieties" of opportunism, destined to put to sleep the working masses and to liquidate their liberating struggle. The CCP and the PLA, besides the defence of their nationalist interests, reproach the Khrushchevites especially for their lack of tact in the art of prostituting socialism and their too obvious collusion with the Titoists and American imperialism. Camouflaged renegades, the CCP and the PLA consider themselves more able to maintain the "preservation of the opportunists' influence (i.e. the bourgeoisie's) over the masses, preservation of the proletariat's submission to the opportunists (i.e. the bourgeoisie)!"⁵⁴ than the open renegades were doing, that is, the Khrushchevites.

2.2 Opportunist exploitation by the PLA and the CCP of the destruction of the socialist camp to promote social-reformism in the international workers' movement

Stalin had asserted that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union would mean the darkest day for the international proletariat. The facts have proved the correctness of this warning of this eminent educator of the international proletariat.

For more than two decades, social-nationalism, social-patriotism, social-reformism, in sum all the varieties of opportunism, have exercised almost complete domination over revolutionary communism.

"At night all cats are grey," says the proverb. Thus, with the help of this "darkest day for the international proletariat," the social-reformists of the PLA and the CCP fraudulently passed themselves off for authentic Marxist-Leninists. In reality, these supposed representatives of the revolutionary proletariat "are in fact only propagators of bourgeois and chauvinist ideas among the proletariat."

One of the first frauds of the CCP and the PLA, with the aid of their Russian social-chauvinist allies in particular, consisted in putting into the ranks of the socialist countries a whole rag-tag collection of countries that were far from socialism.

Thus, the renegade Khrushchev, in his report to the XXth Congress of the CPSU, declared: "The People's Republic of China whose economy before the victory of the revolution was very backward and had a semi-feudal and semi-colonial character, shows many traits of originality in socialist construction. . . . Leadership of the vast work of socialist transformation exercised by the Chinese communist party, by the communist parties of the other countries of people's democracy taking into account the originality and the particular traits of each country—that is creative Marxism in action."⁵⁵

Even the revisionist clique of Tito, excluded from the socialist camp as a patented agent of American imperialism in particular, has a place of honour in this report approved by the C'CP and the PLA, whether at their congress or in the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960. In this report Khrushchev said:

"In the people's federated republic of Yugoslavia, where power belongs to the workers and where society is founded on social property in the means of production, original and concrete forms of management of the economy and organization of the administrative apparatus are established in the course of socialist construction."⁵⁶

The C'CP, for its part, was not lacking in eulogies in regards to the "great Marxist-Leninists" of Albania and others. Thus, in its report to the IXth Congress of the Chinese 'communist' party in 1969, Lin Piao stated:

"The proletariat and the oppressed nations and peoples of the world have always supported each other in their revolutionary struggle. The Party of Labour of Albania and the other brother parties and groups which are authentically Marxist-Leninist have supported our Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Chairman Mao directed the whole party in a resolute struggle, waged in concert with the Party of Labour of Albania, having at its head the great Marxist-Leninist Enver Hoxha, and with the Marxist-Leninists of the entire world."⁵⁷

As for the PLA, it passes for the biggest apologist of the "socialist" countries. This is what it said at its VIth Congress in 1971: "Great People's Republic of China and Albania, the countries which consistently pursue the Marxist-Leninist line and are building socialism, constitute an important factor in the revolutionary movement, an example of inspiration and encouragement for its extension, and an unshakable base of the support for the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. . . . The role of the People's Republic of China, this powerful bastion of the revolution and socialism, is especially great in the growth and strengthening of the revolutionary movement everywhere in the world. . . . Our party and people are bound by a powerful friendship and socialist solidarity with the Vietnamese people, with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Just as we support their efforts for the building of socialism, we give all our support and backing for their determined opposition to imperialist aggression. . . . The People's Republic of Albania, just as in the past, is for the furthest development and strengthening of the friendly relations with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interests of the building of socialism in our two countries. . . . The Party and Government have devoted special attention to our countries' relations with the neighbouring countries. Friendly relations are developing normally between Albania and Roumania, which is to the mutual advantage of the two countries and meets the interests of our peoples and of socialism."⁵⁸

This monstrous falsification of socialism by the centrists and their social-chauvinist allies shows clearly that, among these philistines, Marxism has been transformed into Khrushchevism, Maoism and Hoxhism under cover of "creative enrichments of Marxism-Leninism." E. Hoxha has clearly expressed

it in his greeting to the 21st Congress of the CPSU in these terms: "The theses and report of Comrade Khrushchev, to the 20th as well as the 21st extraordinary Congress of the CPSU, are precious treasures . . . that enrich our immortal science—Marxism-Leninism."⁵⁹

In this order of ideas, the same E. Hoxha says, in his report to the VIIth Congress, concerning Mao Tse-tung Thought:

"The historic victories which the Chinese people have attained in their glorious revolution . . . are directly linked with the name, teachings and guidance of the great revolutionary, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The work of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist represents a contribution to the enrichment of the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat."⁶⁰

So it is not surprising that, since the opportunists have established their hegemony over the workers' movement, the distribution of the classics of Marxism-Leninism have given way to the distribution of their supposed "enrichments of our immortal science—Marxism-Leninism." The works of Mao, the speeches and interviews of E. Hoxha, the writings of F. Fannon, of K. N'Krumah, A. Cabral, Che Guevara, Kim Il Sung . . . are widely distributed and are even distributed like hot-cakes. Thus, socialism is greatly debased. The right of the proletariat to revolution has been sold for "a mess of pottage." In theory as in practice, it is collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

2.3 The PLA and the C'P'P elaborate the theory of "three worlds" to sabotage the emancipatory struggle of the proletariat

In spite of the desperate efforts of the PLA to place responsibility for this reactionary theory on the Chinese revisionists alone, it is well and truly the product of modern revisionism, whether it be Khrushchevite, Titoite, Maoist, or Hoxhaite. In fact, the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960, signed by the CPSU, the C'P'P and the PLA, already contained in embryo the theory of "three worlds" and its twin sisters: "non-alignment" and "neutrality." . . .

The Declaration of 1957 stated:

"While they establish their independent states, the peoples of Africa are emerging into the arena of history as a young force, more and more independent and peace-loving."

The theory of "three worlds" does not at all diverge from this policy which consists in ignoring the reality of semi-colonization and in supporting all the reactionary powers in the semi-colonies and dependent countries, on the pretext that they "defend their independence and struggle for economic sovereignty against the 'superpowers.'"

This "young force, more and more independent" was to be baptized "third world" by the Chinese revisionists and "non-aligned countries" by the PLA. Already in 1946, Mao had given a foretaste of his sadly famous theory of "three worlds" in these terms:

"The vast intermediate zone is composed of two parts. One part consists of the independent and those striving for independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America; it may be called the first intermediate zone.

"The second part consists of the whole of Western Europe, Oceania, Canada, and other capitalist countries; it may be called the second intermediate zone.

" . . . Despite the different political beliefs among the peoples and the different social systems in various countries, there is not a single country or people in the world today which is not subjected to the aggression and threats of US imperialism. . . . The socialist countries should vigorously support the anti-US struggle in the intermediate zone and energetically expand the united front against US imperialism so as to isolate it to the greatest extent and deal it the heaviest blows."⁶¹

It was from this epoch that the premises of the reactionary theory of "three worlds" were put forward. The two "intermediate zones" of yesterday today constitute, in the "theory of three worlds," the "third world" and the "second world," while the number 1 enemy of that time, American imperialism, acquires the status of a steadfast ally in the struggle against Russian imperialism, the "hegemonic superpower," the "war-monger" . . .

As for the PLA, it was the same theory, the same opportunist practice. In fact Hoxha said in 1957: "The states that liberated themselves from the imperialist yoke, Egypt, Syria, etc., are bourgeois states, they are not imperialist states. They practice a policy of safeguarding their national independence and of struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The struggle against colonialism and imperialism brings them close to the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole, but these states are not socialist, they do not belong to the socialist camp. Thus, they are called non-aligned states."⁶²

There was nothing contradictory between the line of the PLA and that of the Khrushchevites, Titoites and Maoists. It was thus in 1957, the PLA went into raptures at the Bandung Conference which gave birth to the "non-aligned movement," a conference at which a Chinese delegation of more than 130 persons participated. The PLA, through the words of E. Hoxha, said the following: "The conference of countries of Asia and Africa which was held at Bandung set its general orientation on international relations. They are against colonialism, for the safeguarding of peace, for peaceful coexistence and co-operation between states with different social systems. Objectively, their attitude is against imperialism."⁶³

That Hoxha took the opposite course from what he said in 1957, at the VIIth Congress of the PLA in 1976, is a sign of the times. It is also proof that "individuals (Hoxha and the PLA—E.A.) unconsciously drift from the social-chauvinist to the 'Centrist' position, and vice-versa."⁶⁴

However, the PLA is far from out of the swamp of bourgeois reformism. It spreads the illusion according to which it is possible to put an end to imperialist plunder and exploitation and establish justice and equality between nations in the framework of the imperialist system, without revolution, without socialism. In fact Hoxha stated with the greatest seriousness to the VIIth Congress of the PLA: ". . . they (the "superpowers and international capital") are starting to get excited and are not hesitating to threaten war against the peoples and countries that want to establish their sovereignty over their natural resources and which are struggling for justice and equality in trade and world economic relations.

"But this plunder and fierce exploitation cannot go on forever. Economic decolonization is already on the agenda and nothing can stop this new revolu-

tionary process that has appeared on the world scene. The peoples have the undeniable right to establish their complete sovereignty over their natural resources and to nationalize them. Nothing can manage to prevent the realization of this objective, no matter how long and how sharp are the resistance and the counter-offensive of the imperialists and other exploiters. Nothing can stop the struggle of the peoples for equality in international trade and for the realization of the revenues drawn from the sale of their raw materials, for the development of their industry and culture, for the amelioration of their living conditions."

(Is this not the very image of what the present Chinese social-chauvinists and all the bourgeois reformists call the "new international economic order" or the "north-south dialogue"? — E.A.) Hoxha continues:

"The struggle of the peoples for economic independence is directed against the superpowers, against the monopolies of the imperialist states, against the multinational corporations."⁶⁵

Marx decried the pseudo-Marxist defenders of the policy of class collaboration in the following terms:

"I have sown dragon's teeth and reaped a harvest of fleas."

Lenin, in his turn, fought against the point of view of these "stinking corpses" in these words: "The most varied reforms can and must be demanded of the bourgeois governments, but one cannot, without sinking to Manilovism and reformism, demand that people and classes entangled by the thousands of threads of imperialist capital should tear those threads."⁶⁶

All the efforts of the PLA aim precisely at hiding from the proletariat and the exploited masses of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the thousands of threads that attach their bourgeoisies to imperialism. Worse, the PLA presents the struggle "of these people and these classes" to increase their share of the profits from the imperialist exploitation of their peoples, as a "new revolutionary process that has appeared on the world scene."

And so it is only with "the amusing naivete of a 'drawing-room' socialist who carelessly uses words without at all understanding their serious significance, giving no thought whatever to the fact that words commit one to deeds"⁶⁷, that Hoxha can state in all seriousness: "It is not right to lump all states together or classify them in 'three worlds' and advocate an alliance of these "three worlds" against one member of the "first world," Soviet social-imperialism. When we, as Marxist-Leninists, speak of the world and its different states, we judge them according to dialectical and historical materialism and not arbitrarily, therefore we are against the division which the revisionist theory of 'three worlds' makes."⁶⁸

"There are small capitalist states," states Hoxha, "and there are also powerful ones. According to the law of the jungle, which is in effect in the relations between capitalist states and revisionist states, the "large fish" devour the small, thus the "small fish" must struggle for his existence, and it is precisely in this struggle that the contradictions appear."⁶⁹

What difference is there between Hoxha's "large fish" and the "first-world powers" of the theoreticians

of "three worlds"? What difference is there between Hoxha's "small fish" and Mao's "second world" and "third world"?

Hoxha continues his sophism:

"Our republic seeks to utilize the contradictions in the interest of the revolution (be careful! — E.A.) and it supports the struggle against the 'large fish' (by allying with the 'small fish' — E.A.) so as to weaken it (by shoring up the 'small fish' — E.A.), to aid the revolutionary movement of the working class and the struggle of the peoples for liberty, independence and social progress."⁷⁰

How can one put forward such reactionary nonsense and claim to be constructing socialism? What has this in common with socialism when one calls on the proletarians of the imperialist countries, the supposed "small fish," not to profit from the difficulties of "their" bourgeoisies to overthrow them, but on the contrary to help them in their struggle against the "large fish"? At best one is a vulgar social-patriot and social-reformist and at "worst" a bourgeois nationalist.

As Lenin said regarding Plekhanov, an opportunist of the same type as Hoxha, "... such people are renouncing an independent proletarian policy because they subordinate the proletariat of all belligerent countries to the *absolutely bourgeois* task of safeguarding the imperialist governments against defeat (that is, the 'small fish' — E.A.)."⁷¹

Now, "the only policy of actual, not verbal disruption of the 'class truce,' of acceptance of the class struggle, is for the proletariat to take advantage of the difficulties experienced by its government and its bourgeoisie in order to overthrow them."⁷²

It is clear that Hoxha and the PLA, far from thinking about a "policy of real rupture" of the "sacred union" with the "small fish," hold onto them with all their might. Worse, they attack violently whoever dares to put forward at all, a semblance of criticism towards any of these cherished "small fish." Listen to Hoxha: "This situation of the 'non-aligned' movement was borne out by the Colombo Conference. With difficulty it managed to cover up the divergences and the opposing political aims which individual countries and groups of participating states are pursuing. This time nobody spoke out against or openly attacked the United States of America and the Soviet Union by name and opposed their aggressive and warmongering policy and activity. *However they did find it opportune and advantageous to attack France!*"⁷³

This poor little fish!

The stinking opportunism of the PLA leads it to brush aside, at the level of the "small fish" as well as everywhere else, any idea of a transformation by the proletariat of an eventual imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. In place of this revolutionary slogan, the PLA and E. Hoxha call the proletariat to the "holy union" with the bourgeoisie for the "liberation of the (bourgeois) fatherland." Thus Hoxha writes: "Marxism-Leninism teaches us that imperialism and the war-mongers must be weakened through the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. *If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war.*"⁷⁴

E. Hoxha and the PLA must have received this "teaching" on imperialist war from social-patriotism,

from bourgeois nationalism, but not from Marxism-Leninism!

In fact Lenin says:

"He (Plekhanov or E. Hoxha — E.A.) sophistically confuses the period of imperialism (i.e. one in which, as Marxists hold, the objective conditions are ripe for the collapse of capitalism, and there are masses of socialist proletarians), and the period of bourgeois-democratic national movements; in other words, he confuses a period in which the destruction of bourgeois fatherlands by an international revolution of the proletariat is imminent, and the period of their inception and consolidation."⁷⁵

Farther, Lenin states that: "Socialists must take advantage of the struggle between the robbers to overthrow all of them."⁷⁶

Furthermore, the Basle manifesto, with a view to the first imperialist war, pointed out the tasks and teachings, of which the first three are: (1) that war will create an economic and political crisis; (2) that the workers will regard their participation in war as a crime, and as criminal any "shooting each other down for the profit of the capitalists, for the sake of dynastic honour and of diplomatic secret treaties", and that war evokes "indignation and revolt" in the workers; (3) that it is the duty of socialists to take advantage of this crisis and of the workers' temper so as to "rouse the people and hasten the downfall of capitalism" (and not to liberate the imperialist fatherland — E.A.).⁷⁷

But you are wrong, Hoxha and the PLA will tell us, because the next war in preparation, far from being a simple imperialist war, will rather be a fascist war that the "revolutionaries" and the "proletariat" will have to "transform into a liberation war." Thus, according to Hoxha and the PLA, the "superpowers," the "big fish" are in fact countries where fascism is in power; these countries are the "number one enemies of the peoples of the world." Listen to Hoxha regarding the Russian imperialists:

"This is how the ground was prepared for the destruction of socialism in the Soviet Union, for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of a state of the 'entire people,' which in fact would be nothing but a dictatorial state of the fascist type, as it is now. . . . You must destroy the dictatorial fascist regime which is hidden behind deceptive slogans. You must know that those who are leading you are fascists, chauvinists and imperialists."⁷⁸

As for American imperialism, Hoxha describes it in the following way: "All these are the ugly features of savage US imperialism . . . the inspirer of racism and the arch-gendarme of international reaction."⁷⁹

As we have emphasized in EN AVANT no. 1 of August 1980: "The C'P and the PLA claim that Russia is social-fascist and the PLA adds that the United States is also fascist. But all of this more resembles a sentimental profession of faith than anything else. The PLA and the C'P who are prostituting Marxism-Leninism are neither one of them adducing any scientific argumentation to prove what they assert."⁸⁰

In the same issue of EN AVANT, we also cited the scientific definition that Comrade Stalin gives of fascism and of the fascist war. "The second world war is basically different in nature from the preceding one. It must not be forgotten that before attacking the allied countries, the main fascist states—

Germany, Japan and Italy—had destroyed the last vestiges of bourgeois democratic liberties among themselves. They set up a regime of cruelty and terror; trampled on the principle of the sovereignty and free development of the small countries; stated that the policy of conquest of the lands of others was their policy, and they loudly proclaimed that they sought hegemony and the spreading of the fascist regime to the whole world. Furthermore, by invading Czechoslovakia and the central regions of China, the states of the axis showed that they were ready to put into execution their threat to enslave all the peoples who cherish liberty. Thus, contrary to the first, the Second World War, the war against the states of the axis from the beginning took on the character of a liberating, anti-fascist war, one of whose tasks was also the re-establishment of democratic liberties."⁸¹

But as we have seen until now, Marxist-Leninist science is not to the liking of the Albanian centrists who are acting not in an internationalist spirit but in a nationalist and arch-opportunist spirit.

Here are a few more characteristic facts, in case there are still readers whom we have not yet convinced of the direct participation of Hoxha and the PLA in the elaboration of the "theory of three worlds."

In fact, Hoxha and the PLA aided and encouraged their Chinese comrades in their policy of collaboration with the countries of the "second world" or the "small fish," especially Japan:

"Diplomatic relations between them are still not being established, and neither are they carrying on active and well-publicized trade, which would cause the Americans not only economic but also political worries. I don't believe that the Japanese bourgeoisie wants to live forever under the Americans' yoke. Nor is it in the economic or political interests of Japan to have relations with Chiang Kai-shek and company and not with China."⁸²

Thus, when Hoxha today feigns indignation after the signing of the treaty between China and Japan, even seeing in it the threat of the "yellow peril," this is both hypocritical and racist, and consequently, anti-Marxist. Let us look at this!

"This is the context in which the treaty it signed with Japan must be seen, that is, its alliance with one hegemonic power against another hegemonic power, the Soviet Union. Like the alliance with US imperialism and the capitalist bourgeoisie, this treaty too, under the present conditions, spells no good for the Chinese people and the other peoples. On the contrary, it incites war, it has a racist character."⁸³

There was the same complicity, the same "comprehension" on the part of the centrists of the PLA in the rapprochement and the alliance between China and the United States. Thus, as the bourgeois press was reporting this rapprochement, Hoxha became indignant, claimed discretion, and tried to trivialize the event to dupe the masses:

"Naturally, the bourgeois news agencies are making a mountain out of a molehill, wanting to prove that 'something big is going on in China'. Reaction will continue to apply and propagate this tactic, because it needs to confuse public opinion. But the fact is that this event has the importance not of a normal sports activity, but of a new political event."⁸⁴

Worse, this "new political event," that is, the rapprochement between China and American imperialism, did not prevent Hoxha in his reports to the

Vith and VIIth congresses of the PLA from giving praise and flattery to Mao's C'CP and the "Great People's China": "We are proud of having as our allies and friends the 700 million strong Chinese people, the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China, with their great leader, the most respected friend of the Albanian people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the head. The great Albanian-Chinese revolutionary friendship, the unity, and the all-round fraternal collaboration between Albania and China, based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on proletarian internationalism, forged in the joint struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries, have withstood all the tests and have brought our two countries great successes and victories."⁸⁵

Still imperturbable in his opportunism, Hoxha thus declared to the VIIth congress of the PLA, "The close friendship and co-operation between our two people, two parties and two countries have been forged and tempered in the great class struggle against imperialism and revisionism . . . in the common struggle for the construction of socialism and the triumph of the cause of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people are loyal friends and allies of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. . . . No slander or concoction of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda can cast any shadow over the Marxist-Leninist character and the vitality of the Albanian-Chinese friendship. . . . The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the smashing of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-ping, have created a revolutionary situation and have consolidated the positions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China."⁸⁶

The essence of the "reserves" of the PLA and of Hoxha about the policy of collaboration of the C'CP and Mao regarding American, English imperialism . . . can be reduced to the lack of proportion, of tact, as well as the precipitation on the part of the Chinese revisionists. In effect, the repugnant opportunism of the C'CP that broke with the centrist policy to go into open social-chauvinism, seriously disturbed their friends of the "center," especially the PLA and Hoxha. Thus the latter complains in his "Reflections": "In their work the Chinese comrades have the habit of sometimes going beyond the bounds which the situations and moments require, are sometimes hasty, overdo things, and then draw back. We have observed these tactics in the stand of the Chinese towards the Soviet revisionists. We hope that such tactics will not be practised in their stand towards the Americans, the British, etc., too. (good counsel among friends, right? — E.A.) So, for example, in my opinion, it was not in order that Chou En-lai should immediately welcome the American table-tennis players. Someone else could have welcomed them and this thing should have been done only if some important objective had to be achieved rapidly. We do not know whether this was the aim. Let us wait and see.

"Well, we understand, but many people throughout the world will not understand this step of China's so quickly (the turnabout having been too brusque, the demagogy may not have any more hold over the masses! — E.A.) and the enemies will deliberately try to ensure a distorted understanding of it, if China

does not show caution, but is hasty in the implementation of tactics and does not take care that everything serves the strategy and interests of the revolution."⁸⁷

When Hoxha today castigates his Chinese friends for their open alliance with American imperialism, is this not simply a sign of the times, pure demagogy? What credibility can reasonably be given to Hoxha when he states: "While supporting the liberation struggles of the peoples and the revolution, we can by no means rely on one imperialism to fight the other, we cannot support one capitalist world power to fight another capitalist world power (except that Albania supports the 'small fish' against the 'large fish' — E.A.)"⁸⁸

What the Chinese revisionists were and are aiming at, is to make China a "great" imperialist power with the economic and technological aid of the United States and Western Europe. This plan was also elaborated a long time ago by the Chinese with the active support of the PLA and Hoxha. Here is how: "It seems to me that the policy of the Chinese government does not show the necessary dynamism and breadth of view, which the moments, the circumstances, and China's potential and importance in the international arena require. It appears sluggish, somewhat hesitant, isolated and limited to certain given fields and specific problems. This policy lacks that initiative and regionalization which a great socialist power should have in the development of world events."⁸⁹

These are irrefutable facts against which the whining of the PLA about the "aims of China to become a superpower" are useless! Proof is sufficient that, in spite of their "legitimate nuances" and "partial divergences," the PLA and the C'CP are guided by the same political line and the same ideology, namely bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism. It is this ideology that cemented the Albanian-Chinese friendship for almost 20 years. The present "dispute" is essentially due to the fact that, because of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the increasing risks of an imperialist war, the Albanian and Chinese opportunists do not agree on which imperialist bloc to support against the other. The Chinese point to Russian imperialism as being the "biggest war-monger" against whom all the others must be united: the United States, the "second world" and the "third world." As for the Albanians, they advocate other combinations. For them, the "number 1 enemy of the peoples of the world" is the pair made up of the "two hegemonist superpowers," the "big fish": the United States and Russia. It is against them that all the "small fish" must be united.

But, in reality, the PLA is really on the side of Russian imperialism and its military bloc, the Warsaw Pact; but it does not dare to admit this openly, because if it did so it would lose its halo as "anti-revisionist," "anti-Khrushchevite," as the "only country victoriously building socialism" and other nonsense dear to the petty-bourgeois socialists of the P'CD, the P'CRV, the P'CT, the P'COF, Combat Communiste, and others. Thus the PLA prefers to indirectly support Russian imperialism, through the interposed satellites of the latter, such as Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba, the Sandinistas. . . . Once again, there exists divergences between opportunists, but these have always been only divergences of form!

Why have we devoted so much time to the criti-

cism of centrism and especially its leader, the PLA? It is because: "We are convinced that the author of the leading article in the journal *Die Internationale* was perfectly right in stating that the Kautskian 'Center' (Hoxhaist Center—E.A.) is doing more harm to Marxism than avowed social-chauvinism."⁹⁰

II

How In Struggle Immolates Stalin, the Comintern and Bolshevism on the Altar of the Unity of International Centrism

In going through its main publications and especially its appeal "for the political and organizational unity of the International Communist Movement," In Struggle appears to us as the flag-bearer of the fervent slanderers of J. Stalin, the Comintern, and Bolshevism. In short, In Struggle reveals itself to be an anti-Marxist organization.

1. How In Struggle "evaluates the Comintern and Stalin"

To defend Stalin and his work, to defend the gains of the Comintern, is to defend Marxism-Leninism, is to place oneself unequivocally on the side of the proletariat in its struggle to conquer political power and establish its dictatorship. It is precisely on this question of great importance that In Struggle displays its opportunism in all its nudity. To be convinced of this, let us look at the words of this so-called communist organization of Canada:

"We have almost gotten to the point now where to be accepted in certain communist circles one has to be ready to say that Stalin never uttered a single sentence that was not a pure expression of Marxism-Leninism — and to add that Mao Tse-tung was never anything but a bourgeois patriot . . .

"But to say that Stalin never made the slightest error and to chant it over and over again like the rosary is quite something else. It amounts to simply dismissing the need for any historical materialist analysis of the dissolution of the Comintern and the subsequent evolution of the majority of the parties which belonged to it. This is a frontier we are not prepared to cross, for the simple reason that such an attitude deprives today's communists of a proper comprehension of the modern revisionist-engineered split. It makes the struggle to drive modern revisionism out of the workers' movement impossible to carry through to the end and to complete victory." (Bah!)⁹¹

What is meant by this grandiloquent tirade, this collection of high-sounding phrases? In less hypocritical terms, In Struggle simply means this: in order not to "make the struggle to drive modern revisionism out of the workers' movement impossible to carry through to the end and to complete victory," for an "historical materialist analysis of the dissolution of the Comintern and the subsequent evaluation of the majority of the parties which belonged to it" (in which sense?), we must attack the root of the evil, that is Stalin. And woe betide he who would dare to state that "Stalin never made the slightest error," such a person inevitably creates a gap, not to mention a gulf, between himself and In Struggle. As to this gap, In Struggle "is not prepared to cross it." And no wonder! Did not the dissolution of the Comintern come about "while Stalin was alive, a decision which was made undoubtedly at his initiative"? Was not this dissolution of the Comintern

the cause of the "subsequent evolution of the parties (CPSU, PCF, PCI) that had belonged to it? Thus, the circle is closed, the "error" of Stalin is shown thanks to conjuring tricks, to the statements, pardon, the "historical materialist analysis" of In Struggle! But that is not all and In Struggle will only feel satisfied when it has caught up to and even surpassed the Trotskyites and the bourgeois of all kinds who have taken it upon themselves to do the "evaluation," of the Comintern and Stalin. Thus, In Struggle rekindles the flame of the struggle against Stalin, the Comintern and Marxism-Leninism that the Trotskyites and the bourgeois have been waging for years from university chairs and political tribunes. Clearly, In Struggle is right to come to the rescue, because its Trotskyite and bourgeois friends in spite of the abundance and the luxury of the means resorted to, has not managed to discredit before the eyes of the international proletariat the life and the work of this valiant fighter of the social revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat that was J. Stalin. The thousands of tens of theses, as scholarly as slanderous, produced by the Trotskyites and the bourgeois not having had any effect, In Struggle has decided to bring them a "left," "Marxist-Leninist" cover, to fill the "free space."

From what we have just examined, it emerges clearly that it is the prestigious image of the valiant Bolshevik, firm defender of Marxism-Leninism, Joseph Stalin, which haunts the spirit of In Struggle. This explains the fact that the unprincipled attacks of these "Marxist-Leninists" are directed against him and his work. However, fearing to suffer the same failure as its predecessors, "the Trotskyites and bourgeois of all sorts," In Struggle guards against exposing so openly its opinion. Thus, there is eclecticism, duplicity, the ruse of the sophist to be able to sell the old rotten merchandise under a "new" packaging. This is an old tactic which consists in creating with sugar a poison that one wants to get swallowed without awaking the least suspicion. Thus, to get the Canadian proletariat and the world proletariat to swallow the following poison: "Stalin was the founder of modern revisionism," the opportunists of In Struggle are forced to coat this in honey: "There is not doubt in our minds that Stalin was a firm defender of Marxism-Leninism. He upheld steadfastly the fundamental principle of building socialism in the USSR under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We also feel that he played a decisive role within the Comintern and thereby in the development of communist forces in the world. . . . We believe (what a recital of beliefs!) that Stalin played a leading role during the period and that he showed himself to be a great communist leader. . . ."⁹²

But unfortunately for In Struggle, this torrent of honeyed phrases ill hides the essence of its thought. In fact, it declares furthermore that it is not with these who claim that "Stalin never uttered a single sentence that was not a pure expression of Marxism-Leninism." But that is not the question! The question that is posed and which must be answered by these woeful Marxist-Leninists of IN STRUGGLE, is to know whether or not J. Stalin is a great teacher of the international proletariat, a classic of Marxism like Marx, Engels, Lenin. But alas instead of this and in place of their "historical materialist analysis," our bourgeois asses get caught up in nebulous and metaphysical speculations. This, moreover, does not sur-

prise us. Thus, thanks to this metaphysics, IN STRUGGLE tries to substitute Mao and his thought for Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and for Marxism-Leninism. We will come back to this point later. First, let us say another few words about IN STRUGGLE's attacks against Stalin and the Comintern. In Struggle is categorical: the M-L's were wrong to leave the field free to the bourgeois and Trotskyites of all sorts to do "the evaluation (sic.)" of the Comintern and Stalin. But, as we will show later on, "the evaluation of the Comintern and Stalin" by In Struggle is neither more nor less than vapid calumny, a vulgar denigration. In its theoretical misery, In Struggle is obliged to take its criticisms of Stalin, the Comintern and Marxism-Leninism whole from the "learned" treatises of bourgeois "criticism." Listen to it: "These events date back to the 1940's and 1950's. Unfortunately, the Comintern was dissolved in 1943, and the Cominform, created in 1947, lacked the authority that could have been conferred by decisions made democratically by all communist parties. The historical conditions for the emergence of a 'father party' thus existed. The divergences within the movement could only be solved through the authority enjoyed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and its leader Stalin."⁹³ How are all these calumnies different from those of the Trotskyites and bourgeois of all kinds? Have the latter not always stated that the Comintern had become "mail-box" for Stalin, that "anti-democrat," that "dictator"? How are these pearls of In Struggle different from the hateful ravings of the revisionist Khrushchev from the rostrum of the XXth congress of the CPSU against: "the cult of the personality, alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, which makes a hero of such and such a leader, a magician, while minimizing the role of the party and the popular masses and diminishing their creative activity?"⁹⁴

In fact the position of In Struggle finds deep meaning in these famous words of Lenin: "Thus, the demand for a decisive turn from revolutionary Social-Democracy to bourgeois social-reformism was accompanied by a no less decisive turn towards bourgeois criticism of all the fundamental ideas of Marxism. In view of the fact that this criticism of Marxism has long been directed from the political platform, from university chairs, in numerous pamphlets and in a series of learned treatises, in view of the fact that the entire younger generation of the educated classes has been systematically reared for decades on this criticism, it is not surprising that the "new critical" trend in Social-Democracy should spring up, all complete, like Minerva from the head of Jove. The content of this new trend did not have to grow and take shape. It was transferred bodily from bourgeois to socialist literature."⁹⁵

But all of In Struggle's calumnies against Stalin are reduced to nothing, taking into account the principled struggle that J. Stalin waged among others, against certain "leaders" of the Communist International (Zinoviev . . .) who, through dogmatism, imagined that they could lead the revolution in China by telegraph. In 1927 Stalin castigated these leaders in these terms: "In spite of the ideological growth of our party, there still exists, unfortunately, a certain category of 'leaders' who sincerely believe that the revolution in China can be directed so to speak, through the telegraph line, basing themselves on the general principles of the Communist International,

which are well known and recognized by everyone, without taking into account the national particularities of the Chinese economy, the Chinese political structure, Chinese culture, the uses and customs of Chinese tradition. These 'leaders' distinguish themselves from the real leaders precisely by the fact that they always have two or three ready-made formulas in their pockets, formulas applying to all countries and 'obligatory' in all conditions. The question of the national particularity and the specificity of each country does not exist for them. For them, there also does not exist the question of the liaison of the general principles of the Communist International to the national and state particularities of the different countries. They do not understand that the principle task of the leadership consists presently, now that the communist parties have grown, have become mass parties, to discover, to understand the national particularities of the movement of different countries and to link them in a reasonable way to the general principles of the Communist International so as to thus facilitate the putting into practice of the main goals of the communist movement that can presently be realized. From this comes the attempt to mould the leadership in all countries in accordance with the same model. From this comes the attempt to mechanically transplant a few general formulas without taking into account the concrete conditions of the movement in the different countries. From this come the eternal conflicts between the formulas and the revolutionary movement in the different countries that are the essential result of the leadership activity of those sad leaders."⁹⁶

2. *In Struggle, Apologist of the C'P and Mao and courtier of the PLA*

As we were saying above, In Struggle's attack against Stalin, the Comintern, and consequently against Marxism-Leninism, is essentially intended to defend Mao Zedong and his "thought" and to a certain extent, the PLA.

In effect IN STRUGGLE states without flinching: "We think that, generally speaking, Mao Zedong was in the camp of those fighting for socialism."⁹⁷

Then, shamelessly, In Struggle mutilates history in order to make the C'P the great conqueror of fascism. Here is what In Struggle writes concerning this: "We also think that, during the same period, the Communist Party of China, which belonged to the Comintern, played a major role within it. We think that the CPC led the liberation struggle of its people to victory over foreign imperialism. We believe that that struggle contributed greatly to the defeat of the fascist Axis countries of Germany, Japan and Italy and to the victory of democratic forces around the world as well as to the consolidation of socialist power in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We affirm all this because this is what the facts of history tell us."⁹⁸

This is the absolute limit of aberration! Even a grade-school pupil could prove to In Struggle that what it is saying is the complete opposite of "what the facts of history tell us." In Struggle should rather ponder the role and the repercussions that the great victory over fascism had on the struggle of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism. In Struggle should also meditate on the role of the Red Army and how this led to the pushing of Japanese

imperialism out of the large region of Manchuria in 1945. No doubt, the Chinese revolution brought a great contribution but why assume that this was due to the "great helmsman" Mao, instead of the communists in the CCP? It takes the gall of In Struggle to tell such lies! We must admit that, to build up the myth of "Mao the great Marxist-Leninist" our "Marxist-Leninists" stop at nothing! But In Struggle, as we have come to know it in other "analyses" does not at all have the courage of its convictions. Thus, it resorts to a semblance of criticism regarding the CCP, and Mao, in the interests of the "objectivity," in order to put over its maneuvers. Listen to these demagogues: "As it stands now, we think that certain errors were made after liberation in the attitude which was taken towards the bourgeoisie. . . . (in spite of this, or because of this, fascism was defeated, and democracy strengthened throughout the world and "socialist power in the USSR and Eastern Europe" consolidated!!! — E.A.)."⁹⁹

This is dust thrown in the eyes, this so-called "criticism" by In Struggle. If there were "errors" after liberation "in the attitude which was taken towards the bourgeoisie," can the real guilty parties be other than the CCP, other than Mao? In Struggle replies to us: "However, the analysis of the Communist Party of China cannot be separated from that of the whole international communist movement. For example, while it is true that 'concessions' may have been made to the bourgeoisie in China during the 1950s and 1960s, we must not forget that the same thing occurred in the Eastern European countries as far back as the 1940s."¹⁰⁰

Thus, according to the petty-bourgeois socialists of In Struggle, if Mao and the CCP made concessions to the bourgeoisie in China during the 1950s and 1960s, it is the fault of the "whole international communist movement." Isn't this a scientific "demonstration"? But In Struggle is not at all sure of itself in its assertions; it calls for help from "the Party of Labour and its leader, Enver Hoxha," with a thousand bowings and scrapings, swearing its faithfulness: "In order to avoid the slightest ambiguity about what we mean here, we would like to add that we attach very great importance to the positions of the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader, Enver Hoxha. The PLA is one of the few parties which has held fast to its Marxist-Leninist positions throughout a whole series of splits in the movement since the 1940s."¹⁰¹

But above all, don't rely on In Struggle to bring you the least proof to support its assertions, or to name those "few parties," apart from the PLA, which supposedly "held fast to its Marxist-Leninist positions"! Do "axioms" need to be demonstrated? But there is better to come.

3. How In Struggle "evaluates" the XXth Congress of the CPSU, the two Moscow Conferences and the parties that adhered to them

In Struggle recognizes and repeats "like the rosary" that the CPSU definitively abandoned the path of revolution and definitively adopted the path of revisionism. In the documents of the 3rd Congress of In Struggle, it is said: "the CPSU, still the beacon light for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, definitively abandoned the path of revolution at its 1956 Congress. . . . Unfortunately for communists, with

Stalin's death in 1953 and the CPSU's subsequent decisive degeneration into revisionism in 1956 . . . the same year that Khrushchev presented his notorious secret report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, describing Stalin as an unscrupulous dictator. Since then, the modern revisionist split has been completed and the party of Khrushchev and Brezhnev has dragged down with it the vast majority of the parties that has created the Communist International barely thirty years earlier."¹⁰²

From this tirade, one would expect a consistent attitude of In Struggle regarding the Khrushchevite revisionists as well as all their acolytes, among others the CCP of Mao and the PLA of Hoxha. But no! It is the contrary that comes about; in fact, the sophists of In Struggle throw flowers at them: "the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, the two main parties that had remained faithful to the proletarian revolution . . . the forces that remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism and which continued to wage the combat for socialism, including Albania and China, failed to make their viewpoint win out. . . ."¹⁰³

Thus, with a brush of its hand, In Struggle sweeps away important historical facts of which we have spoken earlier but which are worth being repeated.

The two Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960 were organized under the political and ideological leadership of the CPSU "of Khrushchev and Brezhnev" which "definitively abandoned the path of revolution at its congress in 1956." These Moscow Conferences, in which the PLA and the CCP participated, unanimously adopted resolutions completely adopting the revisionist theses of the XXth Congress of the CPSU. In fact, the common declaration of 1957 states the following: "The communist and workers' parties participating at this conference state that the *Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of the two systems, which was — given the present conditions — the object of new developments in the resolutions of the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, constitutes the unshakable foundation of the external policy of the socialist countries, the surest base of peace and friendship between the peoples.*"¹⁰⁴

Contrary to the "chimerical dreams" of In Struggle, for the participants of the conference of 1957, including the PLA and the CCP, there was no abandonment of the path of revolution, nor adoption of the path of revisionism by the XXth congress of the CPSU; there was rather a reinforcement of socialism in Russia which "the workers of all countries" must support. It is in fact stated in the declaration of this conference that: "*At the present time, it is the vital interest of the workers of all countries to support the great Soviet Union and all the socialist countries whose policy aims to safeguard peace in the whole world and which are the bastion of peace and social progress.*"¹⁰⁵

This conference of 1957 also brought its support to the Warsaw Pact, the military bloc led by the Russian imperialists. Albania was to stay in this pact until 1968. In short, "*the conference (of 1957) confirmed the unity of views of the communist and workers' parties on the fundamental questions of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism.*"¹⁰⁶

As we have already emphasized, the PLA, at its IIIrd congress, supported, through the voice of E.

Hoxha, the theses of the XXth Congress of the CPSU, in particular the calumnies of Khrushchev against Stalin. It was the same way on the part of the CCP through the voice of Mao who said: "Stalin deserved to be criticized but we are not in agreement with the way of doing the criticism."¹⁰⁷

In spite of all these facts, the sorcerers' apprentices of In Struggle, imperturbable, support the untruth according to which: "the forces that remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism and which continued to wage the combat for socialism, including Albania and China, failed to make their viewpoint win out. . . ."¹⁰⁸

From all the evidence, In Struggle's support for the PLA and especially for the CCP of Mao "is not the result of chance, nor a sin, nor a blunder, nor the betrayal of isolated individuals," but rather it has as its base opportunism, the repudiation of Stalin and Bolshevism.

However, one sees that with prudence, modesty and politeness, In Struggle expresses reserves about the political line of the PLA (without naming it). Here is how: "The question is all the more important because it is coming up again in yet another form. Just yesterday all the communists around the world had nothing but fulsome praises for Mao Zedong. When he died in 1976, messages flowed in from everywhere declaring that his death was a great loss for the international communist movement. We were ourselves part of this universal tribute. But today people say that Mao was never a Marxist-Leninist and that this has been known since the 1960s. That is where we lose track of the argument completely. We would like to know why, if Mao was known to be a "phoney Marxist" all these years, people have been pretending that just the opposite was true. The problem is posed."¹⁰⁹

Clearly, In Struggle has become completely confused with this "posed problem," it "loses track of the argument completely." It's all a great mystery. And yet these words of Lenin are very pertinent: "The cuckoo (the PLA) praises the cock (the CCP and Mao) because the cock praises the cuckoo."

So it is clear that the centrist agreement that united the PLA and the CCP having been broken by the open passage of the CCP to social-chauvinism, to open collaboration with imperialism, denunciations and attacks have taken the place of praise.

In fact, In Struggle seems to support the centrist nuance of Mao's CCP to the detriment of that of the PLA. In Struggle justifies this conscious choice with arguments of the following type: ". . . the Communist Party of China, which belonged to the Comintern, played a major role within it. . . ."¹¹⁰

It is useless to wait for In Struggle to produce facts proving that the CCP played a major role within the Comintern. For In Struggle, the mere belonging of the CCP to the Comintern was enough to make it an authentically Marxist-Leninist party and its leader Mao an authentic Marxist-Leninist. What more do you want?

This bad faith or this ignorance of In Struggle obliges us to recall certain historical facts. While China, semi-colonial and semi-feudal, was making a "bourgeois revolution of the anti-imperialist type," it was the duty of the first socialist state in the world (the USSR of Lenin and Stalin) and of the Communist International, to bring internationalist aid to this revolution and especially to the young Communist

Party that was leading it. This was done with goodwill and in strict respect for Leninist principles. This aid aimed essentially at transforming this vast territory from a reserve of imperialism to a reserve of the proletarian revolution. However, the Communist International and Stalin in particular were aware that the CCP was not yet a real Bolshevik Party. "It is true," Stalin wrote in 1927, "that the Chinese Communist Party did not know how to take advantage of all these possibilities. During that period (the first phase of the revolution — E.A.) the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made a series of grave errors. *But it would be ridiculous to believe that the Communist Party of China could become, overnight, a real Bolshevik Party, thanks to the guiding lines of the Communist International alone.* Let us recall the history of our party, the divisions, the betrayals, etc., to finally understand that real Bolshevik parties are not born in a single stroke. It follows from this that the leadership of the Communist International was absolutely correct during this period."¹¹¹

Also, Stalin had said in November 1926: "I know that among the followers of the Kuomintang, even among the Chinese communists, there are people who consider that it is impossible to begin the revolution in the countryside, fearing that the bringing of the peasantry into the revolution will break the single anti-imperialist front. That is a grave error . . . I know that there are Chinese communists (such as Mao — E.A.) who consider the workers' strikes for the improvement of economic and legal conditions as undesirable and turn the workers away from them. That is a mistake. That is to underestimate the role and influence of the Chinese proletariat. This fact must be emphasized in the theses as absolutely negative."¹¹²

Thus, the first worry of the Communist International and of Stalin especially was to assist the CCP to overcome its grave errors, to assist its Bolshevization so as to assure the victory of the bourgeois anti-imperialist revolution, then its transformation into the socialist revolution, which is right in line with the practice of the founders of Marxism (Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels) as well as their continuer Lenin.

But this Bolshevization of the CCP was not realized, because of its domination by bourgeois nationalist elements, such as Mao and Chou En-lai, who prevented the growth of the "bourgeois revolution of the anti-imperialist type" into the socialist revolution. Some will conclude that that is the consequence of the policy of the Communist International and of Stalin. To these gentlemen are addressed these words of Stalin: "The opposition (the Trotskyites . . .) states that the temporary defeat of the revolution is a consequence of the policy of the Communist International. Only men having broken with Marxism can claim that. Only men who no longer have anything to do with Marxism can demand that a correct policy should always lead to victory over the enemy. Was the policy of the Bolsheviks during the revolution of 1905 correct? Yes, of course. Why was the revolution of 1905 crushed, although workers' councils existed, although the policy of the Bolsheviks was correct? Because the remnants of feudalism and absolutism were still stronger than the revolutionary movement of the workers . . . Direct victory over the enemy is not only determined by a correct poli-

cy, but in the first place and especially by the relation of the class forces, by the clear superiority of the forces that are on the side of the revolution, by the decomposition of the camp of the enemy, by the favourable international situation. It is only in these conditions that a correct policy can give direct victory to the proletariat. But there is a condition that a correct policy must always and in all conditions fulfill. The policy of the party must sharpen the combativity of the proletariat, increase its ties with the labouring masses, raise the authority of the proletariat among the masses, ensure the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution."¹¹³

Thus, the profound reasons for the halt of the Chinese revolution half-way are first and foremost internal to the party which has not realized the essential condition that a truly revolutionary party must fulfill, to sharpen the combativity of the proletariat, to increase its ties with the masses, ensure the *hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution*. That is the bitter truth. Thus, to present Mao Zedong, the first person responsible for the liquidation of Bolshevism within the CCP and consequently for the debasing of the Chinese revolution, as being a real Marxist-Leninist, is to oneself have nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. The proof is that it was the Russian revisionists also the centrists of the PLA who, after the death of Stalin, orchestrated the propaganda around "great socialist China," "Mao, the great educator of the world proletariat" and promoted them. Mao rejected all the critiques and recommendations of the Communist International and of Stalin aiming to give a correct orientation to the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people. He was to publicly say, moreover: "If we had listened to the advice of Stalin, our revolution would not have triumphed."

It is this anti-Leninist-Stalinist policy of Mao that the petty-bourgeois of In Struggle carry in Canada and everywhere in the world and which is synthesized in their famous appeal "for the political and organizational unity of the International Communist Movement." But before reaching In Struggle's conception of "unity . . ." we shall say a few words about its support for imperialist exploitation and oppression in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

4. In Struggle for the maintenance of colonial and semi-colonial exploitation

The supposed communists of In Struggle live in an imperialist country, Canada, whose central federal state oppresses the Quebecois nation, the national minorities, and maintains a secular colonial domination over the Natives of the North.

In theory and in practice, revolutionary communists support the democratic right to political separation. In appearance, In Struggle seems, in its program, to be in agreement with this principle when it "denounces" the "(denial of) the national rights of oppressed nations and national minorities, such as the Native peoples, the Acadians, and the Quebecois."¹¹⁴ and especially when it claims "it is urgent to fight for . . . the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, including the right to set up an independent state."¹¹⁵

But what happens in reality, in practice? Well, In Struggle found itself backed into a corner during the

referendum leading the Quebecois nation onto the path of the eventuality of political separation with the federal state. Our "Marxist-Leninists" exposed themselves. Good-bye "program for the proletarian revolution in Canada," "right to self-determination, including the right to form an independent state"! With arms and baggage, In Struggle has passed openly into the camp of the Canadian federal state to safeguard its privileges coming from the oppression and the exploitation of the Quebecois nation. But In Struggle, to hide its betrayal, claimed that the referendum of 20 May 1980 presented no interest for the Quebecois proletariat, because it did not speak of the political separation of Quebec. For In Struggle, the proletariat has more interest in struggling for "cultural equality." Thus the question of national oppression is purely and simply reduced to a linguistic and cultural question. But In Struggle's support to Canadian imperialism has shown itself concretely by the fact that, for more than a year, it made it its business to solicit signatures against the separation of Quebec. Another proof that the opportunists of In Struggle have nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. It goes without saying that these constitutionalists and reformists of In Struggle also have a profoundly opportunist attitude in their appreciation of the "liberation" of the "territories of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East." Let us examine this "brilliant" sortie of In Struggle on the question: "*Lots of liberation movements fixed their goal as the complete ousting of imperialism from their country. But they found, after achieving political independence, that they were not blessed with a strong socialist camp capable of providing the necessary support for reviving their economies and building their countries on an autonomous basis. Rather they were confronted with a bloc of powerful countries, including the Soviet Union, which had but one desire: to profit from their weakness, to seize their resources and exploit their labour force.*"¹¹⁶

First, it is very symptomatic to see that In Struggle, which holds forth about "historical dialectical analysis," gets lost in such generalities in its "reasoning." In effect, what are these "numerous liberation movements" and from what facts does In Struggle conclude that these "movements . . . gave themselves the objective of definitively chasing imperialism from their country"? No clarification. In Struggle poses this like an axiom to be able to draw hypocritical conclusions, but in reality opportunist conclusions like this: if the liberating movements in the countries of "Asia, Africa and the Middle East" only led to the conquest of political independence, that is due to the mere fact of the non-existence of "a strong socialist camp, able to provide them the support necessary for the re-launching of their economy and autonomous construction . . ." To reduce this important problem to purely economic considerations, is to take one's distance from Marxism: "In the materialist conception of history," said Engels, "the determining factor is, in the final analysis the production and reproduction of real life. More than that neither Marx nor I ever stated. If, later, someone (In Struggle — E.A.) distorts this proposition to mean that the economic factor is the only determining factor, he transforms it into an empty, absurd phrase. . . . It was Marx and myself partly, who should bear responsibility for the fact that sometimes, young people give more weight to the economic side than is

due. In regard to our adversaries we had to emphasize the essential principle negated by them, and thus we did not always find the time, the place, and the occasion to take into account the other factors that participate in the action."¹¹⁷

Lenin in turn stated: "From the fact that economic interests play a decisive role it does not at all follow that the economic (professional) struggle is of primary interest, because the most essential and 'decisive' interests of classes can, in general, only be satisfied by radical political transformations; in particular, the capital economic interest of the proletariat can only be satisfied by a political revolution replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with that of the proletariat."¹¹⁸

It follows from these teachings that even the existence of a strong socialist camp would not have changed anything in the situation, right from the moment when the question of power was settled in favour of the local bourgeoisies who led the liberation movements in the countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Only In Struggle can state that these bourgeoisies "gave themselves the objective of definitively chasing imperialism from their country."

Better still, a real socialist camp would certainly know that the proletariat at most gives the bourgeoisie temporary, conditional, tactical support. Consequently, this socialist camp would have present in mind this teaching of Lenin: "The awakening of the masses from feudal lethargy, and their struggle against all national oppression, for the sovereignty of the people, of the nation, are progressive. Hence it is the Marxist's bounden duty to stand for the most resolute and consistent democratism on all aspects of the national question. This task is largely a negative one. But this is the limit the proletariat can go to in supporting nationalism, for beyond that begins the 'positive' activity of the bourgeoisie striving to fortify nationalism. . . . Combat all national oppression? Yes, of course! Fight for any kind of national development, for 'national culture' in general? — Of course not."¹¹⁹

In short, this beautiful sally of In Struggle regretting the absence of a "strong socialist camp" in the "struggle for all national development, for national culture in general," is leading quite simply to "betraying the proletariat and lining it up at the side of the bourgeoisie." This applies also to the PLA and the CCP which, as we have emphasized earlier, subscribed to the Moscow Declaration of 1957, where the first reactionary grouping of countries of Asia and Africa is openly supported in these terms: "To the interests of peaceful co-existence there respond the five principles enunciated in common by the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India, and also the dispositions adopted by the conference of the countries of Asia and Africa at Bandung."¹²⁰

Consequently, we consider as grotesque this statement of In Struggle: "While all these vultures were cawing their deceitful rhetoric to the skies, the forces which remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism and which continued to wage the combat for socialism, including Albania and China, failed to make their viewpoint win out. The material support that they were capable of giving was laughable beside the millions of dollars that imperialism and social-imperialism were able to flash in people's faces."¹²¹

5. The "Unity of the International Communist Movement," In Struggle's fight to plug the leaks in the sinking centrist ship

To camouflage its opportunism on this question of great importance, In Struggle resorts to Marxism-Leninism. It quotes from Lenin, as it turns out: "Before we can unite and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation."

But let nobody be taken in by this, especially after having gotten to know at length the filthy eclecticism of this organization. Indeed, if In Struggle cites Lenin, it is in order to better combat the latter's fundamental conception on this important question of unity. The Leninist conception replies to these vital questions: What should be the basis of unity, what type of unity do we want and for what goals? For Lenin and the Bolsheviks, a real revolutionary unity, different than a "fiction covering the existing disorder," is one which is based on a clearly defined orientation, namely Marxism-Leninism. Such an orientation should be exempt from all "equivocal, nebulous and opportunist amendments" like the "new developments in the resolutions of the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . ." actively supported by the PLA and the CCP. On this point, In Struggle places itself resolutely on the side of the Russian, Chinese, Albanian and other amenders, against Marxism-Leninism, against Bolshevism. The unity for which Lenin victoriously struggled against the "economists," the Russian Mensheviks and the opportunists of the IInd International, is a unity of the point of view of ideology and organization and following clearly established goals: proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Here again, facing the Leninist conceptions considering that unity results from a clear ideological and organizational demarcation from opportunism, In Struggle comes for war and cries about sectarianism, literally frightened at the idea of seeing itself rejected "into the opportunist swamp." Listen to it: "Sectarianism is winning out — we have to call a spade a spade. And sectarianism is winning out because the desire for unity is not there. Without a struggle for unity, drawing lines of demarcation becomes an end in itself, and the winner is the one who can find the most reasons for differing from the others and rejecting them into the swamps of opportunism."¹²²

Thus, In Struggle wants to hush up all the divergences and group everybody together, "the hens with the foxes," in one big barn-yard . . . excuse us, one big International Forum. Because, you see: "If things continue like this, we have to have enough clear-headedness to understand that the international communist movement will never rebuild its unity and that the disunity which had reigned for the past twenty years will be perpetuated indefinitely."¹²³

In short, what saddens In Struggle is that the unity which reigned between the various revisionists (the social-chauvinists and the centrists) has been broken for 20 years, that is, since 1960, the date of the last Moscow Conference. It is a heterogeneous unity that In Struggle wants to rebuild. For this, it needs the assistance of all the opportunists, whom it is trying to make understand that what divides them (the theory of three worlds) is secondary, while

what unites them (revisionism) is fundamental: "But does this mean that the rejection of the 'three worlds theory' is sufficient proof in itself that the program of those who reject it is devoid of all traces of revisionism?. We think not. . . ."124

If In Struggle excludes the Russian social-chauvinists and their followers as well as the social-chauvinists led by the C'P, it tries on the other hand to conciliate the followers of Mao Tse-Tung Thought and the centrists who have coalesced around the PLA. But, although the PLA has already chosen a partner in its yellow international at the level of Canada, namely the "CPC(ML)," In Struggle does not totally despair. Thus, it does not spare its bows to the PLA, asking it not to limit itself to the recognition of the "CPC(ML)" and to open its eyes to what is not "the party," that is, In Struggle: "A certain number of parties mutually recognize one another and maintain relationships among themselves. This would be a factor of unity if, at the same time, they didn't make it a rule to close their eyes to everything thing that is not 'the party' in countries where they have recognized this party. . . . Given current conditions, this exclusiveness — which deprives a large part of the Marxist-Leninist forces of the chance to take an active part in the struggle against revisionism on an international scale because to a large extent, they are unaware of what is really at stake — is nothing but sectarianism."125

However, since In Struggle is not sure of being able to seduce the PLA with its bows, it does not exclude the possibility of opening its own centrist boutique.

As the history of the international workers' movement gives no example of a current having a localized existence within a national framework, it is completely normal that those similar to the centrism of In Struggle should respond to its appeal. That is what first of all happened with the distribution of In Struggle's "International Forum" and especially with the holding of a "meeting aimed at assuring a more collective preparation of the conference project initially proposed by In Struggle!"126

After the brief presentation that we have made of In Struggle, of its political and ideological conceptions, one can get an almost exact idea of the participants at In Struggle's meeting. Here are these followers of In Struggle:

— The PCR-ml (L'Exploité) of Belgium, whose opportunism is clearly exposed in its declaration published by In Struggle and where the following is found: "While since '76 our positions have appeared 'advanced' in relation to the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces in the struggle against Chinese and pro-Chinese revisionism, the situation will change completely, and around us. Everything is going to rapidly speed up, the bases on which these struggles are developing, their relations and ties with the class struggle will never appear clearly to us, and even not at all. . . . We refuse to speculate on a conflict between Stalin and Mao . . ."127

— the OCML En Avant Proletaire (France) whose members, according to In Struggle "are active in a certain number of trade union and popular struggles, notably in the opposition to the nuclear industry."128 Petty-bourgeois pacifists, in short?

— Ech-Choola, of Tunisia, which "In the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship . . . is working for the

unity of the Marxists-Leninists with the patriotic and democratic forces."129

A club of patriots, of petty-bourgeois democrats, so to speak?

In Struggle found itself around its round table with these parties and organizations which, for having lost their compass, cannot manage to distinguish North from South, which are composed of anti-nuclear activists, which, in the final analysis, are working for the unity of the "Marxist-Leninist forces" with the patriotic and democratic forces. What a stinging defeat for the neo-center.

In Struggle, in its letter "For a Conference of the Unity of the ICM" (sent to 150 organizations in 35 countries) said the following: "The Conference that we are proposing is an international conference open to all Marxist-Leninists. By that we mean that this conference is open to all the forces we know which are really struggling for socialism and communism with the aim of the triumph of proletarian revolution and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. By this very fact, we are excluding the revisionists and opportunists like the pro-Soviet revisionists, the Trotskyites, the social-chauvinist defenders of the theory of three worlds and of Chinese revisionism, etc. . . ."130

Only those who are past masters in the art of balancing will agree that the proposition for the international Conference as it is put leaves open the question of the "programme of the ICM" as a preliminary to the definition of the criteria of distinction of the "Marxist-Leninists and revisionists of all hues and the opening of the struggle against revisionism in all its forms with a view to the unity of the International Communist Movement." As for us, we believe that each organization or force that claims to be Marxist-Leninist, does so on the base of clearly defined principles:

— whether it be principles that rest on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, for the organizations or forces that are authentically communist;

— whether it be the principles of the betrayal of the class interests of the proletariat and class collaboration, for the organizations or forces of the "center";

— whether on the base of the interests of the bourgeoisie, and in an open way, for the social-chauvinist organizations or forces.

In this, the invitation of In Struggle has the merit of being explicit: it addresses itself to the center since it excludes the social-chauvinists and the revolutionary organizations that are being born and are developing on the base of the Bolshevik conception of Marxist-Leninist activity, for the proletarian revolution and on the base of a systematic analysis of the history of the International Workers' Movement in the light of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine; in this last exclusion, In Struggle pretends that these Bolshevik forces, or forces on the path of Bolshevization "are taking advantage of the confusion and division that reign within the International Communist Movement to completely negate all the lessons of this movement in the last decades and to direct their attacks against all the Marxist-Leninist forces of the world."131

Thus, an appeal for unprincipled unity can only concern unprincipled people, the petty-bourgeois anti-nuclear pacifists and others. This is being verified by the meeting that took place under the aegis of In Struggle and that sent out the appeal

whose opportunist content has no equal, as we have tried to show through the literature of this very same In Struggle.

The revolutionary communists must combat this Maoist neo-center with the same energy as the "Hoxhaist center." The two revisionist tendencies come from the same swamp!

The Real Internationalist Current

The Bolshevik current groups the real internationalists who apply with courage these teachings of Lenin: "There is one and only one kind of real internationalism, and that is — working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in ones own country and supporting (by propoganda, sympathy and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this line, in every country without exception. Everything else is deception and Manilovism."¹³²

For the moment the Bolshevik forces scattered around the world, temporarily crushed under the weight of the almost exclusive domination that modern revisionism (the social-chauvinists and the centrists) has exercised over the international workers' movement are still relatively weak. But this weakness is only apparent, because the internationalists have a colossal invincible strength that comes from the fact that they alone represent socialism, the cause of the proletariat, the proletarian revolution. All the rest who swear by internationalism: the Khrushchevites, the Titoites, the Euro-communists, the Trotskyites, the Maoists, right up to the Hoxhaists ... all of this is only a "stinking corpse."

The second asset of the real internationalists is to have chosen the path of complete rupture with the social-chauvinists, who are the class adversaries, bourgeois within the workers' movement, as well as with the "center," that is "a realm of honeyed petty-bourgeois phrases, of internationalism in word and cowardly opportunism and fawning on the social-chauvinists in deed."¹³³

It is this international Bolshevik tendency that represents the fundamental interests, the future interests of the international proletariat.

The future belongs to this Bolshevik tendency which, with the victorious holding in the Summer of 1980 of an International Conference on War and the adoption of an Appeal addressed to all revolutionary communists, committed itself to propagate the Bolshevik principles and slogans among the proletariat and oppressed peoples; and this in this period of an arms vigil on the part of the imperialists who more and more feel the necessity to redivide the world among themselves. This appeal invites the proletariat and oppressed peoples to break with the opportunists, the pacifists, without delay, and to prepare starting now to transform the coming imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie.

There may exist nuances between these Bolshevik forces that we have just enumerated and to which we belong. Some are already real Bolshevik organizations, others are for now on the path of Bolshevikization, still others will be born in other countries. But, as we are taught by the founder of Bolshevism, Lenin: "It is not a question of shadow of opinion, which certainly exist even among the Lefts. It is a question of trend. The thing is that it is not easy to be an internationalist in deed during a terrible impe-

rialist war. Such people are few; but it is on such people alone that the future of socialism depends; they alone are the leaders of the people, and not their corrupters."¹³⁴

Produced for *International Correspondence*
January 1981

Notes

1. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," LCW 21:216.
2. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Third International," LCW 29:500.
3. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," LCW 21:244.
4. Ibid. p. 249.
5. Ibid., p. 212.
6. Ibid. p. 257.
7. Ibid. p. 222.
8. Ibid. p. 249.
9. Nicolas Martin, *La Forteresse Albanaise — Un communisme national*, ed. Fayolle, p. 114 (our translation — ed.).
10. IIIrd Congress of the PLA, Official Documents.
11. E. Hoxha, *With Stalin*, Tirana, 1979, p. 40.
12. Ibid. p. 24.
13. Ibid. p. 32.
14. Lenin.
15. Lenin, "Our Foreigned and Comestic Position and the Tasks of the Party," LCW 31:412.
16. Ibid.
17. Lenin, "In Reply to Questions by Karl Wiegand," LCW 30:367.
18. Lenin, "To the American Workers," LCW 30:39.
19. Lenin, "Strange and Monstrous," LCW 27:71.
20. IIIrd Congress of the PLA, Official Documents, emphasis by E.A.
21. Lenin, "On the Tasks of the Soviet Delegation at Genoa," LCW 42:402-3.
22. IIIrd Congress of the PLA, Official Documents, emphasis by E.A.
23. Lenin.
24. Lenin, "In Reply to Questions by Karl Wiegand," LCW 30:366.
25. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, FLP, p. 36.
26. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Third International," LCW 29:500.
27. IIIrd Congress of the PLA, Official Documents, emphasis by E.A.
28. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, FLP, p. 45.
29. K. Marx, Jenny Marx, F. Engels, *Lettres à Kugelmann*, ed. Soc. Paris, 1971 p. 188 (our translation — ed.).
30. F. Engels, cited by Lenin in *Le Cahier Bleu*, p. 67 (our translation — ed.).
31. Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, FLP, pp. 209-10.
32. *La Révolution Bolchéviste — Ecrits et discours de Lénine de 1917 à 1923*, ed. Petite Bibliothèque Payot no 43 pp. 27-28 — emphasis by E.A. (our translation — ed.).
33. *The First Four Congresses of the Communist International 1919-1923*, Reproduction, Librairie Progressiste, p. 3 — emphasis by E.A. (our translation from French — ed.).
34. Central Committee of the PLA, *Information Bulletin* no 2, 1959 pp. 3, 4, 5 — emphasis by E.A. (our translation from French — ed.).
35. Nicolas Martin, *La Forteresse Albanaise*, p. 120 (our translation — ed.).
36. Ibid. p. 120 — emphasis by E.A.
37. *The PLA and the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism*, Speeches and Articles, ed. "Naim Frashëri", Tirana, 1971 p. 14 — emphasis by E.A. (our translation from French — ed.).
38. E. Hoxha.
39. F. Engels.
40. E. Hoxha, *With Stalin*, p. 39 — emphasis by E.A.
41. Lenin.
42. Moscow Declaration, 1957, p. 9, emphasis by E.A. (our translation from French — ed.).
43. E. Hoxha, *Discours, entretiens et articles, 1967-1968*, pp. 196-97 — emphasis by E.A.
44. Ibid., pp. 402-06, emphasis by E.A.
45. Ibid. p. 406, emphasis by E.A.
46. E. Hoxha, *Discours, 1969-1970*, p. 308 (our translation — ed.).
47. Nicolas Martin, *La Forteresse Albanaise*, p. 179 — emphasis by E.A. (our translation — ed.).
48. Ibid. p. 180.
49. Lenin, "On the Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism," LCW 21:202.
50. Lenin, "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War," LCW 21:16.
51. *Les communistes albanais contre le révisionnisme*, Union générale d'éditions, 1974, textes et documents choisis et présentés par P. Kessel col. 10//18 pp. 365, 370, 371, 386-387 — emphasis by E.A. (our translation — ed.).
52. E. Hoxha, *Opposons-nous au révisionnisme moderne et maintenons le marxisme-léninisme et l'unité du mouvement communiste international*, 1964,

p. 173 — emphasis by E.A. our translation — ed.). 53. *D'où viennent les divergences?* éd. la Cité, 1963, pp. 9-10-11, 19, 22 (our translation — ed.). 54. Lenin, "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International," LCW 21:447. 55. Nikita Khrushchev, *Rapport d'activité du CC du PCUS au XXe congrès, 14 fév. 1956, Paris, Revue "Etudes soviétiques"* no. 95, fév. 56, p. 30 (our translation — ed.). 56. *Ibid.* p. 31. 57. Nicolas Martin, *La Forteresse Albanaise*, p. 134 (our translation — ed.). 58. E. Hoxha, *Report Submitted to the 6th Congress of the PLA, 1971*, pp. 13, 48, 50 — emphasis by E.A. 59. CC of the PLA, *Bulletin d'Information*, no 2, p. 4 — emphasis by E.A. (our translation — ed.). 60. E. Hoxha, *Report Submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA, 1977*, p. 201 — emphasis by E.A. 61. As quoted by the Bolshevik Union of Canada in *Lines of Demarcation*, no 15, p. 55-6. 62. E. Hoxha, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 695 — emphasis by E.A. (our translation from French — ed.). 63. *Ibid.* p. 695 — emphasis by E.A. 64. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", LCW 24:77. 65. E. Hoxha, *Report Presented to 7th Congress of the PLA*, emphasis by E.A. 66. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," LCW 24. 67. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Third International" LCW 29:500. 68. E. Hoxha, *Albania Is Forging Ahead Confidently and Unafraid*, 1978, pp. 10-11. 69. *Ibid.*, p. 11-12. 70. *Ibid.* 71. Lenin, "The Defeat of One's Own Government in the Imperialist War" LCW 21:279. 72. *Ibid.*, p. 279. 73. E. Hoxha, *Report Submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, 8 Nentori Publishing House, p. 174, emphasis by E.A. 74. *Ibid.*, p. 191, emphasis by E.A. 75. Lenin, "The Russian Brand of Südekum", LCW 21:118C. 76. Lenin, "Socialism and War", LCW 21:203. 77. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", LCW 21:213. 78. E. Hoxha, *With Stalin*, p. 31 and p. 42, emphasis by E.A. 79. E. Hoxha, *7th Congress of PLA*, p. 167. 80. EN AVANT! no. 1, August 1980, p. 5 (Our translation — ed.) 81. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5. 82. E. Hoxha, *Reflections on China I* p. 196 — emphasis by E.A. 83. E. Hoxha, *Albania Is Forging Ahead Confidently and Unafraid*, p. 22 — emphasis by E.A. 84. E. Hoxha, *Reflections on China I*, p. 528, emphasis by E.A. 85. E. Hoxha, *Report to the VIth Congress of the PLA, 1971*, pp. 45-6. 86. E. Hoxha, *Report to the VIIth Congress of the PLA, 1977*, p. 200. 87. E. Hoxha, *Reflections on China I*, p. 530, emphasis by E.A. 88. E. Hoxha, *Albania Is Forging Ahead Confidently and Unafraid*, p. 12. 89. E. Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, p. 193, emphasis by E.A. 90. Lenin, "Socialism and War", LCW 21:326. 91. In *Struggle, International Forum*, no. 1, p. 38. 92. *Ibid.* 93. In *Struggle, Documents of the 3rd Congress*, p. 103, emphasis by E.A. 94. Branko Lazitch, *Le rapport Khrouchtchev et son histoire*, ed. Seuil, p. 86 (our translation — ed.). 95. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?", LCW 5:353. 96. J.V. Staline sur la Révolution Chinoise (1927), (Our trans. — ed.). 97. In *Struggle, International Forum*, no. 1, p. 38. 98. *Ibid.* 99. *Ibid.* 100. *Ibid.*, p. 39. 101. *Ibid.* 102. In *Struggle, Documents of the 3rd Congress*, pp. 21, 101, 103. 103. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 101. 104. *Documents, Déclarations*, Nov. 1957, ed. Norman Bethune, p. 8 — emphasis by E.A. (Our trans. — ed.). 105. *Ibid.*, emphasis by E.A. 106. *Ibid.*, p. 10, emphasis by E.A. 107. Harry Schwartz, *Tzars, Mandarins and Commissars*, 1973 p. 171 (Our trans. from French-ed.). 108. In *Struggle, Documents of the 3rd Congress*, p. 21. 109. In *Struggle, International Forum*, no. 1, p. 38. 110. *Ibid.* 111. J.V. Staline sur la révolution chinoise (1927), quoted by In *Struggle* in *Serie Documents* no. 3, (reed.), p. 21 (our trans. — ed.). 112. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11. 113. *Ibid.*, p. 21. 114. In *Struggle, Documents of the 3rd Congress*, p. 121. 115. *Ibid.*, p. 125. 116. *Ibid.*, p. 21. 117. Engels (Our trans. — ed.). 118. Lenin, LCW 5 (Our trans. — ed.). 119. Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question," LCW 20:34. 120. *Déclaration de Moscou, 1957*, p. 8 (Our trans. — ed.). 121. In *Struggle, Documents of the 3rd Congress*, p. 21. 122. *Ibid.*, p. 105. 123. *Ibid.*, p. 106. 124. *Ibid.*, p. 105. 125. *Ibid.* p. 106. 126. In *Struggle*, Sept. 23, 1980, p. 14. 127. In *Struggle*

(our trans. — ed.). 128. In *Struggle*, Sept. 23, 1980, p. 14. 129. *Ibid.*, p. 14. 130. In *Struggle*, Lettre "Pour une conférence sur l'unité du MCI", p. 21, (Our trans. — ed.). 131. *Ibid.*, p. 11. 132. Lenin "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", LCW 24:75. 133. *Ibid.*, p. 76. 134. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

Bulletin International: A Gaullist Journal with a Communist Label

La Voie Ouvrière

The most painful thing in the present situation has been, for almost a quarter-century, the monstrous victory of chauvinism and centrism over the worker's movement of all countries. The French workers' movement, which brought much to the international proletariat, especially through the glorious, heroic, but unfruitful experience of our Comrades of the Paris Commune in 1871, is today dominated by opportunism, by reformism. At this point, the persistence of opportunism in the workers' movement of all the imperialist countries and especially France remains quite strong. This tenacity of opportunism crystallizes more each day with the approaching outbreak of imperialist war for the redivision of colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries, for the plunder and enslavement of the weak nations.

"Here we must ask: how is the persistence of such trends in Europe to be explained? Why is this opportunism stronger in Western Europe than in our country? It is because the culture of the advanced countries has been, and still is, the result of their being able to live at the expense of a thousand million oppressed people. It is because the capitalists of these countries obtain a great deal more in this way than they could obtain as profits by plundering the workers in their own countries."¹

With the superprofits drawn from the exploitation of the peoples of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries, the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries bribes, corrupts sections of the proletariat itself and of the petty-bourgeoisie. These labour aristocrats and bureaucrats and petty-bourgeois corrupted by a portion of the superprofit that "their own" bourgeoisie draws from the exploitation of the masses of the backward countries, become the vehicles of bourgeois ideology in the workers' movement that they strive to transform into a bourgeois workers' movement.

"...objectively the *opportunists* are a section of the petty-bourgeoisie and of certain strata of the

superprofits and converted into watchdogs of capitalism and corrupters of the labour movement."²

One of these watchdogs of capitalism, corrupters of the labour movement is P. KESSEL and his opportunist journal: BULLETIN INTERNATIONAL. This journal, celebrated in the petty-bourgeois milieu, has never responded to a polemic. On two occasions, it was literally criticized by the BOLSHEVIK UNION of Canada (B.U.) It never replied. In place of a clear and responsible polemic on the current political and ideological questions, Bulletin International (B.I.) proceeds by insinuation "as studiedly as a thief keeps away from the place where he has just committed a theft"³, in the manner of the PLA and Enver Hoxha, in whose ante-chamber it sits while waiting, perhaps, for "better" days when it will "officially" be received into the "one big centrist family."

In reality, it is already there.

The latest example of this endless quest, of the insinuation of B.I. is the reply that it gave to the letter sent to it by the Signatories of the APPEAL TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS, dated 22 October 1980. This letter said: "We ask you to state your position on this appeal and also to publish it in whole in the columns of the Journal BULLETIN INTERNATIONAL.

"Take up this task of distribution of the positions of world Bolshevism on imperialist war."

B.I. has just given an answer in the sense of the goal sought by the Signatories of the Appeal, that is, to expose all the opportunists who, under cover of a communist label, serve the interest of "their own" bourgeoisie. Our bourgeois ass P. KESSEL has just shown his hand.

Let us examine the response of the opportunist journal B.I.

1. B.I. and Imperialist War: How the Social-Pacifists Retrench Themselves Behind Internationalist Phrases

B.I. writes: "Had this conference confined itself to stating what everybody knows, according to Lenin and Stalin, that the very existence of imperialism makes war inevitable, there would not have been a great deal to add to this initiative, except to emphasize that the thesis of the three-worldists about imminent war is once again put on the agenda."⁴

Who can make sense of this?! It's all Greek, as the French say. Whoever understands the nature of opportunists will know that this phraseology, fit for aristocrats of past centuries, fails to hide B.I.'s opposition to the content of the Appeal, behind the crass, unworthy and stupefying lie that "everybody knows, according to Lenin and Stalin, that the very existence of imperialism makes war inevitable."

The PLA, which B.I. supports to the bitter end, subscribed to and still subscribes to the Khrushchevite thesis of the "avoidability" of wars in the epoch of imperialism. Enver Hoxha stated the following at the IIIrd Congress of the PLA in 1956: "Another thesis of great importance of principle, that the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has just added to Marxism-Leninism, is the question of the possibility of preventing wars in the present epoch... Wars in our era need not be fatal and inevitable... The Marxist-Leninist theses

according to which wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists, were formulated in the epoch when imperialism was a single world system and when the social and political forces opposed to the war were still quite weak. While in our epoch, the forces of peace and socialism in the world are very powerful... It is thus that, at present, there exists forces having powerful moral and material means capable of preventing the imperialist adventurers from starting a third world war. However, the Leninist thesis according to which, as long as imperialism exists, the economic basis for the starting of wars, also exists, retains all its value; that is why the forces of socialism and peace must always be vigilant."⁵

The PLA defended this thesis of "its comrade" Khrushchev, three years after the death of Comrade Stalin. Is LA VOIE OUVRIERE stooping to an "especially low exercise" by asking B.I. if this thesis of Khrushchev, supported by the PLA, is from Lenin and Stalin? By all accounts, it is an "especially low exercise" rather on the part of B.I. to state that "everybody knows, according to Lenin and Stalin, that the very existence of imperialism makes war inevitable," especially since the PLA, still today, repeats its Khrushchevite position of 1956 about the "avoidability" of wars under imperialism. In 1979, the PLA wrote: "The Chinese leaders have openly advanced the anti-Marxist thesis according to which another world war is inevitable. It is true that as long as imperialism and its policy of war and aggression exist, the danger of various wars will exist, including an imperialist world war, which is the product of this order and his policy. But this is only one possibility. In our time another possibility exists, namely the possibility to stay the hand of the imperialists and to prevent them from unleashing a new world war."⁶

Can the magician, the philistine KESSEL once again try to hide the revisionist line of the PLA on the question of war and peace? Is there a "convergence" between the positions of Lenin and Stalin, on the one hand, and the PLA, Enver Hoxha and Khrushchev, on the other, on all questions, beginning with the question of war and peace? B.I. is a liar, a trickster, a maneuverer.

The position of Lenin, Stalin and the IIIrd Communist International is very clear on the question of war and peace in the epoch of imperialism. Comrade Stalin said in 1952: "...the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force. It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and against another world war. That is not true."⁷

These words of Comrade Stalin must not be forgotten. This has been sabotaged by the PLA. B.I. masks this wild revisionism of Stalinism by the PLA. The "epoch" of the PLA is not that of Lenin and Stalin. It is Khrushchev's epoch of "detente," of "peaceful co-existence," of "peaceful competition" with western imperialism for the re-division of colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

Mao and the Chinese "Communist" Party were opposed, not to the essence, but to the form of the Khrushchevite theses about the "avoidability" of wars in the epoch of imperialism. Mao supported the thesis of the "avoidability" of wars under impe-

rialism. He favoured a more subtle revision of Lenin's thesis on the avoidability of wars in the epoch of imperialism. Mao is for a revision hidden behind "arch-revolutionary" phraseology. Thus the C"CP wrote in 1963 to the "C"PSU of Khrushchev and Co.: "What the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp, the proletariat and the workers of the whole world are all asking from the communist and workers' parties of the countries of the socialist camp, is mainly: (...) that they fight against imperialism's policy of aggression and war, and for the defence of world peace."⁸

Is that to recognize "what everybody knows, according to Lenin and Stalin, that they very existence of imperialism makes war inevitable"? Is there still, Your Majesty Kessel, a "convergence" between Mao, on the one hand, and Lenin and Stalin, on the other? Lenin said, concerning peace: "The 'peace programme' of Social-Democracy must, in the first place, unmask the hypocrisy of the bourgeois, social-chauvinist and Kautskyite talk about peace. This is the first and fundamental thing. Unless we do that we shall be, willy-nilly, helping to deceive the masses. Our 'peace programme' demands that the principal democratic point of this question — the repudiation of annexations — should be applied in practice and not in words, that it should serve to promote the propaganda of internationalism and not of national hypocrisy. To do this, we must explain to the masses that the repudiation of annexations, i.e. the recognition of self-determination, is sincere only when the socialists of every nation demand the right of secession for nations oppressed by their own nations. As a positive slogan, drawing the masses into the revolutionary struggle and explaining the necessity for revolutionary measures to attain a 'democratic' peace, we must advance this slogan: repudiation of debts contracted by states.

"Finally, our 'peace programme' must explain that the imperialist powers and the imperialist bourgeoisie cannot grant a democratic peace. Such a peace must be sought for and fought for, not in the past, not in a reactionary utopia of a non-imperialist capitalism, not in a league of equal nations under capitalism, but in the future in the socialist revolution of the proletariat. Not a single fundamental democratic demand can be achieved to any considerable extent, or with any degree of permanency, in the advanced imperialist states, except through revolutionary battles under the banner of socialism."⁹

The Khrushchevites, Maoist, Hoxhaists look to "the past", to a "reactionary utopia of a non-imperialist capitalism... a league of equal nations under capitalism." They "promise the nations a 'democratic' peace, without at the same time preaching the socialist revolution, or while repudiating the struggle for it — a struggle now, during the war — (they) deceive the proletariat." While Lenin, Stalin say regarding peace that "a peace must be sought for and fought for... in the future in the socialist revolution of the proletariat." LA VOIE OUVRIERE adhered completely to this conception of Lenin and Stalin.

The bourgeois scrounger P. Kessel puts the Khrushchevite, Maoist and Hoxhaist revisionists, on the one hand, and Lenin, Stalin, the IIIrd Communist International and us, on the other hand, in the same bag, stating without reservation "what everybody knows, according to Lenin and Stalin,

that the very existence of imperialism makes war inevitable." This is what is known as an "especially low exercise" against the proletariat. Because this amounts to masking the clear and resolute demarcations between, on one hand, modern revisionism in all its variants, and Bolshevism on the other hand. A concrete example of this irreconcilable difference between revisionism and Bolshevism, is that the Albanian national bourgeoisie discusses with the French bourgeoisie in a "very cordial atmosphere," Albania holding to a "strict non-alignment." Such positions are alien to Bolshevism.

Furthermore, the opportunist B.I. describes the imminence of imperialist war as a "three-worldist thesis" "once again put on the agenda" by the International Bolshevik Conference. B.I. "decrees mediocrity in everything." Kessel, the phony zealot, stupidly takes up the PLA's nonsense on the question.

Chinese imperialism of course talks about the imminence of a world war. Furthermore it should be noted, in the speeches of the Chinese leaders, that they do not speak of the imperialist nature of this war. The Chinese bourgeoisie is trying by all methods to make this imperialist world war break out very soon. It is relying on this war to obtain colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

It has just lost its Cambodian semi-colony, to the benefit of Russian imperialism. Furthermore, the PLA has supported Russian imperialism and Vietnam in the war which pitted the latter against China. What does B.I. say about this? When Chinese imperialism talks about the imminence of the world imperialist war, it does so on purpose, to invite the imperialist bloc of NATO to accelerate its preparations in order to confront the imperialist bloc led by Russia, for the redivision of the world between capitalist thieves. On the other hand, the increasing rivalries between the Russian and Chinese imperialist powers, especially in Southern Asia, are continually turning in Russia's favour. That is why the Chinese bourgeoisie is relying on the imperialist world war, which it will wage at the side of the NATO imperialist bloc, to reconquer its lost zones of influence, but also to get new ones.

The "defenders of the theory of three worlds" evoke the imminence of war to drag the workers to "defend the homeland" against Russian imperialism, which is supposedly more "dangerous". That is the content that the C"CP and the three-worldists give it.

Should we, on this account, deny the irrefutable fact that the imperialist war, which all the capitalist thieves have for a very long time been preparing, is imminent? To deny this reality is in fact social-pacifism.

American imperialism has announced, on two occasions, that its computers had almost sent it to war with Russia. The delegate of this same imperialism at the Madrid Conference stated on November 17, 1980 that "we are rapidly heading for a confrontation, French imperialism is each day preparing for this war. The different fractions of the French bourgeoisie quarrel daily to determine under what circumstances to start this war so that it will be most profitable for them. The same must be said of the Russian imperialist bloc. The annexation of Afghanistan by Russia is a step toward world imperialist war. At the present time all the imperialists are

involved in the war between Iran and Iraq in this region that holds the world's largest oil reserves. A thousand and one facts attest to the imminence of world imperialist war.

One does not consistently combat the "three-worldists" by denying this reality. They must be combatted as social-chauvinists, who "defend the fatherland" of the bourgeoisie in the imperialist war. This is what B.I. is not capable of adding.

Real communists do not deny the reality which proves the imminence of the world imperialist war. They work to transform this imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. This demands, even before the outbreak of the war, an implacable struggle against social-chauvinism and social-pacifism; most especially against the "radical" or "revolutionary" pacifism of the Maoists and Hoxhists. Any conception that differs from the one we have outlined results from an "especially low exercise" because it serves the bourgeoisie and the opportunists.

The Vith Congress of the Communist International stated: "The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight against pacifism."¹⁰

The PLA has criticized the Chinese national bourgeoisie on the question of the imminence of imperialist war from an open opportunist social-pacifist point of view. In its philistine fright at the reality of the imminence of imperialist war, it has re-established its old Khurshchevite conceptions about the "avoidability" of wars under imperialism, proposing to "stay the hand of the imperialists." The mediocre B.I. supports these bourgeois imbecilities, which it covers up with the shameful lie that "everybody knows, according to Lenin and Stalin, that the very existence of imperialism makes war inevitable." In fact, if B.I. agrees that wars are inevitable in the epoch of imperialism why

1- does it not urge a struggle against the falsifiers of this Leninist thesis, such as Mao and the PLA, which it even supports?

2- does it not publish the Appeal, which re-establishes all the positions of world Bolshevism on imperialist war?

The IIIrd Communist International had to refute the criticism of opportunists like B.I., who accuse the Bolsheviks of fighting against war in a special way or of encouraging imperialist wars to hasten the revolution.

"While the first-mentioned attitude is a mistaken one, the second is a silly calumny."¹¹

In fact B.I. recognizes only in words the Leninist-Stalinist thesis according to which "the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force" and that "to eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism."¹²

B.I., denies the imminence of the imperialist war, putting trust in the pacifism of the French bourgeoisie, just like the Trotskyite organization O"CML" Eugène Varlin. That is why, it attacks the Bolshevik organizations that are doing methodical work, without respite and without fail, to transform the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. For the infamous P. Kessel, it is just a matter of style

to say that "the very existence of imperialism makes war inevitable." He is a social-pacifist.

"... a social-pacifist is a socialist in word and a bourgeois pacifist in deed; bourgeois pacifists dream of an everlasting peace without the overthrow of the yoke and domination of capital."¹³

II- The "Numerous African Students" of the Semi-Colonies of French Imperialism: A "Private Preserve" of B.I. and Librairie Internationale

B.I. attacks the Bolshevik Union of Canada in these terms:

"And the privileged field of action of the B.U. of Canada — as witness the presence of three African groups at this conference — is indeed Africa where, spontaneously, groups seem to be created as a counter-fire to other parties or organizations. The field of recruitment of the B.U. of Canada being France, where there are numerous African students, it is normal that the B.U. of Canada should attack especially us and *Bulletin International*"¹⁴

P. Kessel does his objective spy work by making a connection between the B.U. of Canada and "the numerous African students" in France. He has been reduced to police denunciations in the interest of "his" bourgeoisie. Here again, we have an "especially low exercise" worthy of the bourgeois ass P. Kessel. On the other hand, it should be remembered that in a spat (among by the opportunists, this happens quite frequently) with the moribund organization En Lutte! of Canada, B.I. had invoked "the tendency to interference of 'In Stuggle!', its judgments for example, on the analyses made by the French communists on the PCF, or on the importance that they give to Mao Zedong Thought which is also linked to their own history."¹⁵ In short, B.I., is no novice when it comes to the French bourgeoisie's school of chauvinism. It attacks the B.U. of Canada because the latter's publications are putting into question its "grip" on the "numerous African students" in France. While previously, these "numerous African students" were (in the imagination of Kessel) "subscribers" of B.I., "assiduous readers" of the "messages" of the French "motherland." One was certain that, on their return, they would transmit the opportunist "messages" of B.I. and the teachings of the French bourgeoisie to the workers' movement of their country. Alone came the B.U. of Canada and upset this almost "natural" state of affairs by attacking the colonist, Kessel, and his B.I. The B.U. of Canada came and transmitted a completely different message than that of B.I. Instead of the bourgeois ideology taught by B.I., the B.U. of Canada brought the ideology of the proletariat, Bolshevism, the theory of its liberating movement. That is the "crime of offended majesty" committed by the B.U. of Canada; it contributes to pointing out the path of Bolshevik struggle and Bolshevik revolution not only to the proletariat of France, but also (unfortunately for B.I. and the French bourgeoisie) to the peoples of the colonies, semi-colonies, and dependent countries of French imperialism. This is a blow against P. Kessel, this most radical Gaullist France has ever seen. That is why, B.I. allies with the French bourgeoisie to state that the "African Students" in France are "numerous." Thus, B.I. takes up the slogans of the French ministers who are expelling them, either because

they are "numerous" or because they have picked up "political smallpox" in the "motherland." If B.I. does not, for now, openly ask for their expulsion in the same way as the French government, it is because of the "fruitfulness" of P. Kessel's book-selling business, that is, this "routine-worshipper(s), eroded by the canker of legality, corrupted by the parliamentary atmosphere, etc., ... (this) bureaucrat accustomed to snug positions and soft jobs."¹⁶ Kessel "likes" the "African students" as a market for the buying and selling of books. So you see, Comrade Stalin was right to say that "the market is the first school in which the bourgeoisie learns nationalism."¹⁷ Kessel demands that the "numerous African students" in France should be more docile, more receptive to the opportunist theses of B.I. and the PLA. It is this "docility" that is crumbling with the arrival of the publications of the B.U. of Canada.

B.I. speaks of the "numerous students" in France and leaves out the immigrant workers. This is a large "oversight." The bourgeoisie is expelling them in masses. The police are continually throwing them out onto the street as is presently the case with those of the SONACOTRA center. The P"C"F, in its electoral program, for the presidential elections, is asking for "a halt in immigration" and the "sending back" of those in France. The P"C"F and the P"S" state each day that they will no longer receive them into the communities in which they are mayors, and propose that the government should reduce that are already there, on the pretext that the native residents are not able to "assimilate" them. The "communist" revue B.I. "ignores" these facts, or at least declines to speak about them. This is, at bottom, the same chauvinist position as the P"C"F, the Parti "Socialiste" and the French government. The "arch-revolutionary" journal B.I. thinks that the victory of the proletarian revolution in France is possible without any link with the struggle of the immigrant workers, of the peoples of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries of imperialism, especially French. This is *chauvinism, annexationism in practice*.

"A member of an oppressor nation must be 'indifferent' to whether small nations belong to his state or to neighbouring state, or to themselves, according to where their sympathies lie: without such 'indifference' he is not a Social-Democrat. To be an internationalist Social-Democrat one must not think only of one's own nation, but place above it the interests of all nations, their common liberty and equality. Everyone accepts this in 'theory' but displays an annexationist indifference in practice. There is the root of the evil."¹⁸

On another question, B.I. makes no distinction between the national-liberal parties such as the P"C"D, the P"CR"V, the P"C"T on one hand, and the Bolshevik organizations on the other hand. Furthermore B.I. states, with stupefying absurdity, that the latter "seem to be created spontaneously as a counter-fire" to the above-mentioned reformist parties. This a chauvinist position, hidden behind a childish subjectivism. B.I. is following the polemic between these two types of organizations. It will agree that the P"C"D, the P"CR"V, the P"C"T have never replied to a polemic on the essential questions of Marxism that they have falsified in profusion. The P"C"D openly declares itself in favour of a "philosophical revolution," that is, reforms in the politi-

cal, ideological, cultural superstructure, leaving intact the economic and social base on which this superstructure rests. This is Bakuninism. "Bakunin thinks that it is the state that created capital and that the capitalist only possesses his capital thanks to the state. Since the main evil is the state, he thinks, it must first be abolished; then capital will disappear on its own."¹⁹ We who have been created "spontaneously, as counter-fire," say on the contrary: "abolish capital, the concentration of the means of production in the hands of a small number, and the state will fall of itself. The difference is large: the abolition of the state without the previous overthrowing of society is an absurdity. The abolition of capital is precisely a social overturning and implies a transformation of all of production."²⁰

The P"CR"V was born "as a counter-fire" to Marxism-Leninism. It has proved that it is a party of petty-bourgeois asses exasperated by the demands of the bourgeois regime. From its birth, it labelled itself pro-Maoist and in spite of its burning proclamations, it nevertheless remains that its political line is impregnated with Maoism. The P"C"T has, from its birth, betrayed even the most immediate interests of the proletariat. It merely reproduces the absurdities of the PLA. This is moreover the common fate of these three parties; that is why B.I. supports them in a hypocritical, irresponsible manner. Kessel supports them because he knows that with such parties, the French bourgeoisie has nothing to worry about. For, as Lenin says: "... all groups, parties and leaders in the working-class movement who have fully or partly adopted the stand of reformism, of the 'Center,' etc., inevitably side with the bourgeoisie or join the waverers, or else (what is the most dangerous of all) land in the ranks of the unreliable friends of the victorious proletariat."²¹

We, who have been born "spontaneously," are developing the positions of world Bolshevism and are working to build a party of the type of Lenin and Stalin, conceived in the mould of the Iskra plan, closely linked with the serious, methodical preparation of the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. Confusion is thus not permissible.

Because we are Bolshevik organizations, we are unremitting enemies of social-chauvinism and centrism. Kessel cannot, therefore, manage to subordinate us either to the "red" bourgeoisie of Albania or to "his own" bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, if Kessel is attached to Albania, it is not only for reasons of form. Their alliances are based on economic, financial, and political foundations. The business of the Librairie Internationale is comprised, to a large extent, of the works of the PLA, which for Albania constitutes an export product, just like chrome and iron ore. A rupture with the PLA would hurt Kessel's business and Albania's balance of payments. That is why the PLA and B.I. are in agreement, in spite of the fact that Albania does not recognize Combat "Communiste," but rather the P"CO"F. On the other hand, Albanian is one of the semi-colonies and dependent countries that the Western imperialist bloc was able to take from the Russian imperialist bloc. French imperialists are present there and intend to increase their economic and financial interests. This, of course, suits Kessel because "... in all the civilized, advanced countries the bourgeoisie rob — either by colonial oppression

or by financially extracting 'gain' from formally independent weak countries — they rob a population many times larger than that of 'their own' country. THIS IS THE ECONOMIC FACTOR THAT ENABLES THE IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE TO OBTAIN SUPERPROFITS, PART OF WHICH IS USED TO BRIBE THE TOP SECTION OF THE PROLETARIAT AND CONVERT IT INTO A REFORMIST, OPPORTUNIST PETTY BOURGEOISIE THAT FEARS REVOLUTION."²²

It is this fear of the revolution that B.I. is developing by carrying reformist conceptions in the workers' movement, to turn it into a bourgeois workers' movement under the influence of the bourgeoisie.

III- B.I. Attacks the Leninist-Stalinist thesis of the Union of the First and Second Fronts

B.I., this flunkey's journal of the imperialist bourgeoisie, criticizes the presence of communist organizations from the semi-colonies of "its" imperialist bourgeoisie at the International Bolshevik Conference on imperialist war. The presence of these organizations at this Conference can only be saluted and encouraged by the Bolshevik organizations who are working for the victory of the proletarian revolution in "their" respective countries. The opportunists are annoyed by this to the extent that it interferes with all their plans for dialogue seeking to help "the imperialist bourgeoisie... to implant a reformist movement among the oppressed nations too."²³

And to prevent the "converting (of) the colonies and dependent countries from reserves of imperialism into reserves of the proletarian revolution."²⁴

This has always been B.I.'s unworthy plan. It is a Gaullist plan. This is what explains the irritation of this "rag" that is losing its influence (if there ever was any) among the "numerous African students" in France. That is why B.I. discredits the organizations on the path of Bolshevization by calling them groups created "spontaneously as a counter-fire" to the P"CR"V, the P"D"D and the P"C"T, which are national-liberal, reformist parties. We solemnly invite B.I. to publicly state its position on the P"CR"V, the P"C"D, the P"C"T.

By attacking the presence of communist organizations from the semi-colonies of "its" imperialism at the International Bolshevik Conference, B.I. puts into question an indispensable condition for the march of the international proletariat and labouring masses at the path of real liberty, of socialism. Comrade Stalin said that imperialism "facilitates the union of the first two fronts against imperialism; the front of the revolutionary proletariat and the front of colonial emancipation.

"Hence the third conclusion: that under imperialism wars cannot be averted, and that a coalition between the proletarian revolution in Europe and the colonial revolution in the East in a united world front of revolution against the world front of imperialism is inevitable.

"Lenin combines all these conclusions into one general conclusion that 'imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution.'"²⁵

By attacking this thesis of Stalin, B.I. exposes itself, declares itself openly against the victory of the socialist revolution. It clearly comes out in defence of "democracy" in general, in fact bourgeois democracy. Lenin already has ridiculed the "anti-imperialists" such as P. Kessel, calling them

"the last of the Mohicans of bourgeois democracy."²⁶

IV- B.I. and the Strikes in Poland: Support for the Polish Bourgeoisie

B.I. attacks the position of the B.U. of Canada, which it quotes: "Even if a revolutionary movement does not develop at this time among the Polish workers, objective events will push them in that direction." (Emphasis by B.I.)

B.I. continues, quoting the B.U. of Canada in a clipped manner, rather than running the whole passage in question: "Their example is (*heroic*), the international proletariat 'owes a deep debt of gratitude to its Polish brothers and sisters'."²⁷ (emphasis by B.I.)

B.I. comments on the position of the B.U. of Canada in these terms: "Among the revolts of the Polish workers, the B.U. of Canada cites that of 1956. This concerns the events of Poznan, which in 1956 allowed the return of Gomulka to the head of the Polish party. Poznan is put on the same footing as the events of 1970, 1976, and 1980! Here is something indicative of the line that the B.U. of Canada really defends. This 'drivel' is extremely significant: and why not, following on this path, the defence by the B.U. of Canada of the Hungarian counter-revolution of 1956!" (ibid. p. 25)

In fact, the B.U. of Canada, in its article, did not evoke the events of 1956, in Hungary. Of course, B.I. needs allusions to these events to put over its class-collaborationist position on the events in Poland. Even on the events in Hungary in 1956, B.I. has placed itself openly on the right. Let us look at things. B.I. clearly becomes the objective ally of the bourgeoisies of the eastern countries in perfect agreement with the PLA and the valet Enver Hoxha. The "drivel" comes from the B.I., not the B.U. of Canada.

In fact, since 1953, there has been a restoration of capitalism in the USSR. As had been predicted by Comrade Stalin: "What would happen if capital succeeded in smashing the Republic of Soviets? There would set in an era of the blackest reaction in all the capitalist and colonial countries, the working class and the oppressed peoples would be seized by the throat, the positions of international communism would be lost."²⁸ The socialist camp disappeared with this tragic event for the international proletariat. The positions of international communism were lost. In the countries that were formerly members of the socialist camp, the bourgeoisies seized power in 1953. All the elements, like Gomulka, whom Comrade Stalin had purged from the international communist movement, came back to power in all the countries, whether in Hungary, in Poland, etc.... What happened in 1956 in Hungary resulted from a struggle between different fractions of the bourgeoisie, of which one was in favour of Russian imperialism, and the other for the imperialist bloc of NATO. This struggle led to a rapid development of the spontaneous struggles of the Hungarian proletariat. Russian imperialism intervened in favour of its bourgeois fraction to re-assert its capitalist "order" to the detriment of that linked to the NATO imperialist bloc. It is the latter which B.I. considers "counter-revolutionary" in contrast to the "revolutionary" one of the Russian imperialist bloc. That is support by

B.I. to a bourgeois fraction and to Russian imperialism. We know that Albania stayed under the heel of Russian imperialism until 1968. So that has to be covered up with all kinds of trash so that Russian imperialism, after 1953, can be passed off as a "socialist" country. That is the "drivel," the "especially low exercise" of B.I. and the PLA. What happened in Hungary in 1956 is, at bottom, identical to what happened in 1956, 1970, 1976, 1980 in Poland, in 1968 in Czechoslovakia. Only the scope of the movement changes. Can B.I. prove that the situation in 1956 in Hungary led to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the Hungarian proletariat? Was there a victorious proletarian revolution in Hungary in 1956? What has been the situation in Hungary from 1956 until today? In 1956 the return of Gomulka to the head of the United "Workers'" Party of Poland, a "bourgeois workers' party" in the same way as the Hungarian "Socialist Workers'" Party, was carried out by Russian imperialism only to consolidate the base of the Polish bourgeoisie; this was also the goal of the intervention of Russian imperialism in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968. The proletariat did not emerge victorious from either of these two situations, through a Bolshevik revolution. So where are the fundamental differences that B.I. finds between these situations, which we do not see. The fundamental difference is that B.I. evaluates all these events from a bourgeois point of view while we evaluate them from a proletarian point of view. That is the difference.

Furthermore, B.I. could have counterposed its position on the strikes in Poland to that of the B.U. of Canada. With stupefying absurdity, it subscribed to the bourgeois position of the PLA. What does the PLA say?

"It must be said on first sight," writes the PLA, "that the strikes in the Baltic ports, in Silesia, etc., although they were strikes that the workers were making against the economic difficulties they faced, were inspired and manipulated from outside, by the capitalist bourgeoisie of the West, by the powerful Polish Catholic Church and internal reaction. In their essence, they were not revolutionary. They were directed against a counter-revolutionary power, all the while being of counter-revolutionary inspiration. The organizers and inspirer of the strikes were seeking to wrench Poland from the tentacles of the Soviet social-imperialists and to subject it to the domination of western capital."²⁹

The PLA recognizes the difficult situation of the Polish workers. These difficulties result from wage slavery, from capitalism in Poland. Poland is a capitalist country, marked by an absolute absence of political rights of the working class (right to strike, freedom of expression, of the press etc....) This is the case with the workers of Russia, Albania, Hungary, etc. In all these countries, the working class has no political rights, and most particularly, the right to form itself into unions, independent of the bourgeoisies.

"That is why the most pressing demand of the workers, the first objective to reach so that the working class can exercise influence over the affairs of the State, must be the acquisition of political liberty, that is, direct participation, guaranteed by law (the Constitution) of all citizens in the administration of the State, the right for all citizens to meet freely, to discuss their affairs, to influence state

affairs through their associations and through the press. The acquisition of political liberty becomes 'an urgent task for the workers,' because without it, they neither have nor are able to have any influence over State affairs and inevitably remain a class of pariahs, humiliated and having no word to say."³⁰

The strikes of the Polish workers go in the direction of "acquisition of political liberty." These strikes must be supported.

There is no doubt that all the bourgeoisies, the church, the opportunists of all countries (including B.I. and the PLA), most particularly the upper stratum of the Polish workers' movement are seeking to orient these strikes to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois goals. The task of revolutionary communists, and not B.I., the PLA, the Maoists, is to resolutely combat their influence over the workers' movement and the goal they want to give it. This is the struggle against chauvinism and especially centrism. This struggle is not at all incompatible with support for the strikes of the Polish workers. It is necessary to combat those, like L. Walesa, who want to limit the movement "to a war of skirmishes against the effects of the present regime."³¹

On the other hand, it is absurd to think, for a single minute, that these strikes will overthrow capitalism in Poland. It must be shown to the workers of Poland that they must organize themselves as an independent political class, give themselves a Bolshevik Party of the type of Lenin and Stalin which "subordinates the struggle for reforms, as the part to the whole, to the revolutionary struggle for liberty and socialism."³²

The B.U. of Canada is right to state that the international proletariat "owes a deep debt of gratitude to its Polish brothers and sisters." The international revolutionary proletariat must contribute to enlightening the working class of Poland on this great principle long ago laid down by revolutionary Communism: "The conviction that the class struggle must of necessity merge into one, the whole political struggle and the economic struggle has deeply entrenched itself in international Social-Democracy. Furthermore, historical experience irrefutably attests that the absence of liberty or the restriction of the political rights of the proletariat always leads to the necessity to put the political struggle in first place."³³

The present strikes, as one of the methods of struggle of the working class, but not the only one, objectively is leading the Polish workers in the direction of a revolutionary movement, even if the premises of such a movement do not yet clearly exist at the present time. It is to banish the path of a revolutionary movement that all the imperialist bourgeoisies are letting the threat hang of military intervention in Poland.

The PLA and B.I. have clearly taken a stand for the capitalists. The PLA writes: "While in Poland, Polish revisionism, as in the Soviet Union and in other countries of the Warsaw Pact, keeps the old forms of the structure and superstructure, that is, centralism is kept in the economy and in the power."³⁴ What are these "old forms of the structure and superstructure" that are still in effect in Russia and in Poland? The PLA and B.I. give credence to the idea that Russia is still "socialist" in certain aspects of "the structure and superstructure." This is a Trotskyite idea, supported since the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, by Mao and Enver Hoxha,

according to which the economic base of Russia remains "socialist." Only a "bureaucratic caste" has seized the state apparatus. It would supposedly be sufficient to remove this "bureaucratic caste," through a "political revolution" to re-establish "socialism" in Russia. It is this Trotskyite nonsense that B.I. supports. The PLA and B.I. hide the real nature of the economic, social and political regime in Poland so as to dupe the Polish workers. The PLA pushes this felony so far as to state: "But what will this victory bring to the working class? Whom will it serve? The creation of 'self-managing independent unions' in Poland will serve as a springboard for the passage of the present system of revisionist bureaucratic centralism to a completely capitalist, anarcho-syndicalist system."³⁵

In other words, the present system in Poland is not capitalist, but rather "a system (...) of revisionist bureaucratic centralism." What is this 'new' system, "discovered" by the PLA and B.I., which escapes Marxist analysis of the historical development of societies? The ridiculous thing is that it is the strikes of the Polish workers which ensure the passage of this "new" system of the PLA and B.I. into "a really capitalist," and better yet, "anarcho-syndicalist" system. Fear that the Albanian workers will go on strike for the "acquisition of political liberty" is leading the PLA to develop all sorts of anti-Marxist rubbish. And B.I., which imitates all that least deserves to be imitated, supports the philistine developments of the PLA. This is conscious work done by the PLA and B.I. to hide from the Polish, Albanian, etc. workers that the origin of their troubles is capitalism, wage slavery. Enver Hoxha and P. Kessel are men without ideas, without conscience, without honour who defend capitalism, under cover of "arch-revolutionary" phrases which are at bottom Trotskyite.

B.I. whenever the French bourgeoisie has interests, as is the case in Poland, Albania, in the semi-colonies of Africa etc. . . . defends positions that strengthen the latter, rather than weaken them. Chauvinist and Gaullist, it is always at the side of "its own" bourgeoisie, of "national independence" of "its" French fatherland against the interests of the international proletariat and oppressed peoples of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

V- B.I. and IN STRUGGLE! of Canada, the Same Struggle: Subordinate the Bolshevik to the Opportunists

B.I. gets annoyed because "the task of 'real' revolutionaries is to promote splits in these parties and organizations, or at least to call for these splits."³⁶ IN STRUGGLE! of Canada also attacks us for being "splitters." B.I. and IN STRUGGLE! cry for the "unity" of the Bolsheviks with the opportunists and especially with the centrists of the PLA according to the unworthy wishes of B.I.

"The 'Center' is for 'unity,' the Center is opposed to a split."³⁷

We do not want "unity" with the opportunists, gentlemen! We have been created as a "counter-fire" to the "unity" plans of the opportunists. We want the unity of the Bolsheviks against the opportunists and the bourgeoisie.

"Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But

what the workers' cause needs is the unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism."³⁸

B.I. speaks of the Bolshevik organization as being "real" (in quotes) revolutionaries, that is, in fact "opportunists" because we call for a split of the revolutionary workers with the chauvinists and centrists and we are working for this. B.I. should have the courage to take its position to the very end by stating that Lenin is "opportunist" because he said the following words concerning the proletariat of France and Germany in 1920: "Opportunism is represented by elements of the 'labour aristocracy', the old bureaucracy in the trade unions, co-operative societies, etc., by the intellectual petty-bourgeois strata, etc. Without the elimination of this trend — which, by its vacillation and its 'Menshevism' . . . exerts the bourgeoisie's influence on the proletariat from within the working-class movement, from within the socialist parties — without the elimination of this trend, a break with it, and the expulsion of all its prominent representatives, it will be impossible to rally the revolutionary proletariat.

"By their constant veering towards reformism and Menshevism and their inability to think and act in terms of revolution (they) . . . are actually carrying bourgeois influence into the proletariat from within the proletarian party — they subordinate the proletariat to bourgeois reformism. Only a break with such and similar people can lead to international unity of the revolutionary proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."³⁹

And Lenin ended his recommendations to the French and German workers with these words: "It is high time for all revolutionary workers to purge their parties of these trends, and form genuinely united Communist parties of the proletariat."⁴⁰

These words of Lenin must not be forgotten. The opportunists like B.I. and IN STRUGGLE! have sabotaged them. As the premises of the imperialist war become clear, they are refining fiendish "unity" plans of the revolutionary workers with the aristocrats and labour bureaucrats and petty-bourgeois elements sold out to "their" bourgeoisie, for the "defence of the fatherland" in the imperialist war. Our task, the task of true internationalists, is to demolish all these "unity plans," to call for a split of the revolutionary workers with the opportunists in all the social-chauvinist and centrist parties and organizations. We will take no precautions with language (if the language is "low" or "gross," it matters not!) in taking on this urgent, imperative, internationalist task. Because, on one hand, "The epoch of imperialism cannot permit the existence, in a single party, of the revolutionary proletariat's vanguard and the semi-petty-bourgeois aristocracy of the working class, who enjoy morsels of the privileges of their 'own' nation's 'Great-Power' status. The old theory that opportunism is a 'legitimate shade' in a single party that knows no 'extremes' has now turned into a tremendous deception of the workers and a tremendous hindrance to the working-class movement."⁴¹ And on the other hand "unity with the opportunists actually means subordinating the working class to their 'own' national bourgeoisie, and an alliance with the latter for the purpose of oppressing other nations and of fighting for dominant-nation privileges; it means splitting the revolutionary

proletariat of all countries."⁴²

All the participants in the International Bolshevik Conference adhere to the ideological, political and organizational line of the B.U. of Canada because it is a Bolshevik line. Let B.I. prove that this line is anti-Bolshevik; that is what we have been waiting for, for a long time. We have noticed that B.I. is not able to chip away one single point of the political line of the B.U. of Canada. It is a correct proletarian line, distinct from social-chauvinism and centrism in all respects. It is a line in complete conformity with the Leninist-Stalinist line of the IIIrd Communist International which states that in our struggle against imperialist war, we must strike the "grossest" and "lowest" blows against pacifism, especially "radical" or "revolutionary" pacifism presently represented by the Maoists and Hoxhaists. This is the first step to take in the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie.

"The closer and more imminent the danger of war becomes, the more dangerous becomes so-called 'radical' pacifism. . . . In his instructions to the Hague Place Conference in December 1922, Lenin properly laid special stress upon this type of pacifism. This warning holds good to this day, particularly when we bear in mind that even in the ranks of the Communist Parties, there are many members who, unconsciously perhaps, betray inclinations in this direction."⁴³

That is why, it is imperative, necessary to implacably combat noisy phrases such as "stay the hand of the imperialists" of the cretins of the PLA, "either revolution will prevent war or war will cause revolution" of the Maoist paladins.

IN STRUGGLE! of Canada is planning an anti-Bolshevik conference to which B.I. does not find all that much to take exception. The "menu" of this conference on imperialist war is especially indicative of the opportunist nature of the present participants. They speak very little of imperialist war. That is understandable since IN STRUGGLE, initiator of this conference, has passed from a social-pacifist position to open "defence of the fatherland". At the beginning, its position was "The imperialists want to prepare the people for war. Their message is clear. Let us prepare to say 'no' to them. No to military budgets, no to chauvinist campaigns for the defence of the 'free world'."⁴⁴

This is abstract propaganda for peace. This is deception of the workers, making them believe in the "humanitarian" spirit of the imperialist bourgeoisies who would supposedly maintain a capitalist peace to the proletariat's cries of "no, no." The elements of IN STRUGGLE are flunkies of the important monarchies and just as repugnant as the PLA and B.I.

"Unless it is linked up with the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat, the struggle for peace is merely a pacifist phrase of bourgeois who are either sentimental or are deceiving the people."⁴⁵

From this pacifist position, IN STRUGGLE! passed over to an open social-chauvinist position. From now on it says: "War? No thanks, we prefer life."

It prefers imperialist "life," that is wage slavery, increasing oppression of the nationalities, plunder of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. IN STRUGGLE is already sold out to "its own" imperialist bourgeoisie even before the outbreak of the imperialist war. It is to hide this fact that it was

led to elaborate a "platform" of opportunist "compromise" with the participating organizations (which are not less opportunist):

1 "A class analysis in various countries including the USSR"

Like the PLA and B.I., IN STRUGGLE! supported Russia after the restoration of capitalism in 1953; it supports the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960, just like the PLA. Furthermore, it has a position on the analysis of social classes in Canada. It supports the American bourgeoisie, which it considers as not having any hold over the state in Canada. It supports the Canadian bourgeoisie in the oppression of the Quebecois nation and the colonized Native people.

2 "Summation of the construction of socialism and its defeats"

IN STRUGGLE! maintains that China was "socialist" under Mao. Albania said the same thing until the cutting off of Chinese aid in 1978. B.I., the underling of the PLA, had the same position as the Albanian bourgeoisie. Still today, IN STRUGGLE! presents Albania as a "socialist" country. Furthermore, it is to attack Comrade Stalin to the benefit of Mao that IN STRUGGLE! speaks of the "summation of the construction of socialism." It often speaks of the "errors" of Stalin, while it supported the "gang of four" in China. It is a Trotskyite organization.

3 "Significance of past errors in the I.C.M., especially the application of principles such as equality between the parties, democratic centralism and collective leadership in the Marxist-Leninist organizations."

IN STRUGGLE! clearly exposes itself as a Trotskyite organization, just like the other participating organizations, in posing these problems. They are against the existence of a Bolshevik leading center and the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

The signatories of this "platform" of opportunist "compromise" have committed themselves to the path of creation of a "two-and-a-half IVth International". The conference that they are preparing has the goal of "consolidating" the "agreement" against the proletariat, at the international level, of organizations that are sold-out to "their own" bourgeoisie and defend "their" fatherland, that is, the bourgeois fatherland, in the imperialist war. As Lenin states, "In reality, the 'defence of the fatherland' slogan in the present war is tantamount to a defence of the 'right' of one's 'own' national bourgeoisie to oppress other nations; it is in fact a national liberal labour policy, an alliance between a negligible section of the workers and their 'own' national bourgeoisie, against the mass of the proletarians and the exploited. Socialists who pursue such a policy are in fact chauvinists, social-chauvinists."⁴⁶

Finally, what remains of the felonies of B.I. against the international Bolshevik tendency? Absolutely nothing, unless spying and calumny. We invite B.I. to respond in a responsible manner (not irresponsible, as it has done until now):

— to the criticisms of the B.U. of Canada of its opportunist line;

— to the criticisms of all the international Bolshevik organizations of the centrism of the PLA (and let it

invite the PLA to do the same);

— to the present criticisms.

As far as we are concerned, we shall struggle in a determined way against social-chauvinism and centrism. We will combat with still more vehemence, the centrism of the PLA. That this does not please the Gaullist revue B.I., does not matter! The essential thing for us is to demolish opportunism. How can B.I. serve both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie?

Moreover, they all stand for the brotherhood of the workers, peace, internationalism, and whatever you please; they will sign whatever you wish; they will renounce 'nationalism' millions of times, on the single and 'minor' condition — that 'unity' should not be sundered with (the PLA — LVO) that Russian political group which alone (of the entire company) has some weight and, in journal and newspaper, has been teaching the workers opportunism, nationalism, and non-resistance to the war.

"That is how 'it is being done'"⁴⁷

The French proletariat must work to build a party of its very own, a Bolshevik party conceived in the mould of the Iskra plan. This imposes upon it as an imperative task a split and an implacable struggle against all the opportunist, revisionist parties and groups that are blocking the path to its real liberation, the path of socialism. The proletariat of France must start with the experience of the Paris Commune enriched by the lessons drawn out by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and completed by the experience of the Great Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 and the line of the Third Communist International.

Only a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution can bring the working class of France real peace (without annexations, violence, or the plunder of other peoples' lands). This demands, of course, many sacrifices, temporary difficulties, momentary pauses. But, as Lenin emphasized: "A real socialist would not fail to understand that for the sake of achieving victory over the bourgeoisie, for the sake of power passing to the workers, for the sake of starting the world proletarian revolution, we cannot and must not hesitate to make the heaviest sacrifices, including the sacrifice of part of our territory, the sacrifice of heavy defeats at the hands of imperialism. A real socialist would have proved by deeds his willingness for 'his' country to make the greatest sacrifice to give a real push forward to the cause of the socialist revolution."⁴⁸

Produced for *International Correspondence*
February 1981

NOTES

1. Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International", LCW 31:230. 2. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", LCW 23:110. 3. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", LCW 21:234. 4. *Bulletin International* (B.I.), No. 35, Nov., 1980, p. 26 (Our transl. — ed.) 5. *Lines of Demarcation* No. 15, "The PLA Adhered to Modern Revisionism in 1956 and Hid this Fact in 1971", pp. 66-67: Bolshevik Union of Canada. 6. "The Marxist-Leninist Stand of the Party of Labour of Albania on the Problems of War and Peace", *Albania Today*, no. 2, 1979, p. 4). 7. Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," FLP, Peking, p. 36. 8. Chinese Communist Party: Letter of Twenty-five Points, NBE, p. 9-10 (Our transl. from French — ed.) 9. Lenin, "The Peace Programme," LCW 22:167. 10. *International Correspondence*, special issue 149, II December 1948 quoted in I.C. no 2, Fall 1980, p. 148. 11. *Ibid.*, p. 1712. 12. Stalin, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

13. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", LCW 24:78. 14. B.I., *ibid.*, p. 26, our tr. 15. B.I., no 29, May 1980, p. 3, (Our tr. — ed.) 16. Lenin, *ibid.*, p. 76. 17. Stalin, SW5 (Our tr. ed.) 18. Lenin, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", LCW 22:347. 19. Engels: *Lettre à T. Curno*, Milan, de Londres le 24 janvier 1872, in Marx et Engels: *Correspondence*, ed. Progrès, Moscou 1976, p. 273, (Our trans. — ed.) 20. *Ibid.* 21. Lenin, "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International", LCW 28:433. 23. Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International", LCW 31:242. 24. Stalin, "Foundations of Leninism" in *Problems of Leninism* FLP, p. 6. 25. Stalin, *ibid.*, p. 26. 26. Lenin, "Imperialism..." LCW 22:287. 27. B.I., no 35 Nov. 1980, p. 25 (Our trans. — ed.) 28. Stalin, "The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the ECCP" in *On the Opposition*, FLP, p. 540. 29. *Zerī I Popullit*, 7 Sept. 1980, quoted by B.I. no. 34, Oct. 1980, p. 5 (Our trans. — ed.) 30. Lenin, *Recueil de Textes sur les syndicats* ed. du Progrès, 1970, p. 43 (our trans. — ed.) 31. Marx: *Staline, prix et profit* (Wages, Price and Profit) ed. du Progrès, Moscou, p. 76 (Our trans. — ed.) 32. Lenin, *Recueil de textes sur les syndicats*, p.90 (Our trans. — ed.) 33. Lenin, *ibid.*, p. 48 (Our trans.) 34. B.I., no. 34 *ibid.*, p. 10 (Our trans. — ed.) 35. *Ibid.*, p. 10. 36. B.I., no. 35 Nov. 1980, p. 26 (Our trans. — ed.) 37. Lenin, "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", LCW 24:76. 38. Lenin, "Unity", LCW 20:232. 39. Lenin, "Letter to the German and the French Workers", LCW 31:281. 40. *Ibid.*, p. 282. 41. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," LCW 21:257. 42. Lenin, "Socialism and War", LCW 21:311. 43. *International Correspondence*, *op. cit.*, quoted in I.C. no. 2, Fall 1980, p. 149. 44. "Unité Proletarienne," no. 20, FEB-MAR 1980, p. 17, (Our trans. — ed.) 45. Lenin, "To the International Socialist Committee," LCW 21:373. 46. Lenin, "Draft Resolution of the Zimmerwald Left," LCW 21:346. 47. Lenin, "How Servility to Reaction is Blended with Playing at Democracy", LCW 21:268. 48. Lenin, "Letter to American Workers", LCW 28:65.

BOLSHEVISM AND IMPERIALIST WAR

La Voie Ouvrière

Since the beginning of the century, competitive capitalism has passed to its higher phase of development, that is, imperialism. Imperialism has divided up the world. Thus, between 1876 and 1914, six "great" imperialist powers (England, France, Germany, the United States, Japan and Russia) have grabbed up more than 25 million square kilometers, that is, an area equal to two-and-a-half times that of all of Europe. These six "great" imperialist powers have held in servitude more than a half-billion (523 million) inhabitants of colonies conquered by fire and sword. In doing so, the peoples who had fought most of the time at the head of the other peoples for liberty between 1789 and 1871, became, after 1876, thanks to imperialism, the exploiters and oppressors of the great majority of the populations and nations of the globe.

Lenin, in 1915, said of imperialism that it "has developed the forces of production to such a degree that mankind is faced with the alternative of adopting socialism or of experiencing years and even decades of armed struggle between the 'Great' Powers for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind."¹

Since the development of competitive capitalism to its imperialist stage, what is constantly on the agenda is, in effect, the "armed struggle of the 'great' powers" for the division of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. The unevenness of development of capitalism, the frenzied struggle between the "great" imperialist powers for the conquest of zones of influence of finance capital, the plunder and enslavement of small and weak nations cannot fail to lead to war as the sole method of redivision. For "the only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the strength of those

participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc."²

Imperialism has already plunged the world into the two great world wars and several wars of colonial conquest. The first world war of 1914-1918 was an imperialist war, a war of rape and plunder. It was a war of redivision of the world, of distribution and re-distribution of colonies and spheres of influence between capitalist robbers.

On the other hand, the second world war is different from the first in its character. It was an anti-fascist, liberating war. Before its outbreak, the countries of the Axis, the main fascist countries (Germany, Italy, Japan) had destroyed among themselves all the vestiges of bourgeois democracy. Fascism in power was "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."³

Instead of the vestiges of bourgeois democracy, the fascist states had set up a regime of terror, of barbarism, of cruelty, of genocide.

The victory of fascism in the affected countries led to the destruction of the old methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism with the help of which the bourgeoisie usually exercises its dictatorship over the workers and peasant masses. On the subject of the victory of fascism, Comrade Stalin says: "In this connection the victory of fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and a result of the betrayals of the working-class by Social-Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a sign of weakness of the bourgeoisie, a sign that the bourgeoisie is no longer able to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terrorist methods of rule — as a sign that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, and, as a consequence, is compelled to resort to a policy of war."⁴

The fascist state had, for an external policy, the propagation of fascism throughout the whole world. In their external policy the fascist states cultivated chauvinism in its grossest form, a bestial hatred against the other peoples of the world. To realize the world hegemony of fascism, the fascist states started by invading Czechoslovakia, and the central regions of China. They not only stated clearly, but also showed that they were ready to put into execution their threats of enslavement of all the peoples who cherished peace. Thus, "contrary to the first, the second world war, the war against the states of the Axis, from the beginning had the character of an anti-fascist and liberating war one of those tasks was the re-establishment of democratic liberties."⁵

The war that the old imperialist world is again putting on the agenda is, by its character, different from the Second World War. In all the imperialist countries, there subsist the remnants of the old instruments of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism with the aid of which all the bourgeoisies exercise their dictatorship over the working class. No imperialist power advocates the expansion of fascism in the world as the object of its external policy at the present time.

On the other hand, fascist states, to get their policy of force accepted, claim that their country is overpopulated, that there is a natural necessity of

expansion, etc. This is not the situation that we are basically seeing, for the time being. Also, there do not exist any socialist states.

The imminent war is rather identical, in its real meaning, in its content, to that of 1914-1918. It is a war which is, in a triple sense, a war of slaveholders for the consolidation of slavery: "This is a war, firstly, to increase the enslavement of the colonies (semi-colonies and dependent countries — LVO) by means of a 'more equitable' distribution and subsequent more concerted exploitation of them; secondly, to increase the oppression of other nations within the 'Great Powers . . . ; and thirdly, to increase and prolong wage slavery, since the proletariat is split up and suppressed, while the capitalists are the gainers, making fortunes out of the war, fanning national prejudices and intensifying reaction, which has raised its head in all countries, even in the freest and most republican."⁶

The imminent war is an imperialist war, waged by capitalist robbers who are arguing over which of them will have the most plunder, pillage the most countries, crush and enslave the most nations. It is an unjust, reactionary war.

The economic, political, military and diplomatic history of a quarter-century shows in an irrefutable way that it is precisely the grip on the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries, the plunder of others lands, the eviction and ruin of a more fortunate competitor that remains the central pivot of the policy of the two groupings of imperialist powers involved in the feverish preparations for this war.

The victory of the anti-fascist, liberating war of 1939-45 considerably weakened the old imperialist world and most especially the imperialist countries of Europe. They lost their zones of influence in central Europe. The majority of the countries of central Europe together with Stalin's Soviet Socialist Union formed the powerful socialist camp. Therefore, coming out of the second world war, the contradictions between the imperialist powers became more accentuated. American imperialism, less damaged by the war (far from the battlefield, late entry into the operations — 1944) became more active in the redivision of the world. Its goal was the crushing of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR. But a war against the country of socialism would mean the defeat and fall of the world imperialist system, already shaken by the second world war. That is why it used threats and nuclear blackmail through the bombardment in 1945 of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. It started to feverishly covet the colonial possessions of the imperialist countries of Europe, by means of the campaign in favour of the "rights of man." It tried to supplant French imperialism that was defeated in Indochina. It got involved in a war of re-conquest from which it emerged defeated. It took the former Spanish colonial possessions in South America; it continues, to this day, to take away from British imperialism its zones of influence, especially in Africa (Nigeria, Zimbabwe, etc.). After the Second World War, the imperialist countries aided in the re-establishment of the German, Japanese, Italian imperialists defeated in 1945. Thus, all the imperialist powers adopted a concerted plan for the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR. This was realized in 1953 with the assassination of Stalin and the restoration

of capitalism in the USSR through violence, with the support of the Russian traitors. Thereafter, there were no more contradictions between capitalism and socialism. There existed only one unique system: the capitalist system of world economy.

The reappearance of Russian imperialism intensified the struggles between the "Great" imperialist powers for the control of zones of influence.

Russian imperialism subordinated to itself the countries that were formerly members of the socialist camp into zones of influence of its capitalist interests, after having reduced the proletariat of Russia to wage-slavery. Thereafter, the fierce struggle for sources of raw materials, for cheap labour, for markets, went on between the two imperialist groupings: that of NATO and that of the Warsaw Pact.

The re-emergence of the German and Japanese imperialists did not fail to aggravate this struggle of the "Great" powers, "for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind."

The Russian, German and Japanese imperialists began to challenge the old division of the world. In the NATO bloc, the post-war hegemony of American imperialism was challenged by the German and Japanese revanchist imperialists.

The Russian imperialist bloc, in its frenzied struggle against the NATO bloc for the division of zones of influence in the world, adopted a long-term global strategy. The temporary defeats that the other imperialists inflicted on it here and there did not throw into doubt its global strategy of evicting its competitors, still less its perseverance. The first aspect of this long-term global strategy consists of ensuring an alliance with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois strata of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries which are having difficulties with the fractions of the bourgeoisie in power who are allied to the imperialists of the NATO bloc. And, in spite of the temporary defeats of the pro-Russian bourgeois and petty-bourgeois strata, Russia is not at all disarming. Quite the contrary, it works to accelerate the degeneration of the economic and political situation of the country. At the favourable moment, it uses armed force in the name of the "national liberation struggle" and "proletarian internationalism," to get its social stratum into power — which often uses a "left" phraseology. Thus it manages to expel the other imperialists. There are a multitude of examples: Nasser's Egypt, Sukarno's Indonesia, Mengistu's Ethiopia, Nicaragua, etc. and now Chad. As far as Ethiopia and Nicaragua are concerned, Russian imperialism has managed to totally evict American imperialism in the first case, to participate with it in the exploitation of the labouring masses, in the second case, while preparing for its later complete expulsion. As far as Chad is concerned, Russia already controlled, through the intermediary of Libya, the Aouzou Strip (the North of the country), which is rich in minerals. Taking advantage of the contradictions between the French and American "Great" powers and the civil war started by their respective fractions of the national bourgeoisie, Russian imperialism, still through the intermediary of Libya, engaged itself openly in the armed conflict with the purpose of expelling, if necessary, the two other imperialist robbers, or at least, to enlarge its sphere of influence while waiting

for better days for their complete eviction.

On the other hand one of the variants of the Russian strategy consists, in the colonies of the imperialist countries of the NATO bloc, in tying itself to the so-called national liberation movements, proclaiming itself "Marxist" like the MPLA in Angola, FRELIMO in Mozambique, to evict its competitors when the time comes. As far as aggression is concerned, Russian imperialism operates in two ways: when it is a question of countries that are right at hand, such as Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, Afghanistan in 1980, Russian imperialism intervenes directly on the pretext that "socialism" is "threatened" by imperialism or that it is in the process of being "aggressed against." In all cases, it presents its aggressions as being "defensive," "progressive." As for the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries far from Russia, Russia intervenes through interposed semi-colonies such as Libya and Cuba, in the name of "proletarian internationalism." These two tactics have a relatively large place in the global strategy of Russia. They aim to give it a "socialist" image in the eyes of the international proletariat and the labouring masses of the semi-colonies and dependent countries to ensure exploitation and oppression. Thus passing itself off as a "combattant" of the oppression and exploitation exercised by the imperialists of NATO, Russia is working so that the peoples of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries should turn away from the western imperialist bloc to the benefit of its own bloc (which is in fact equally *imperialist*). And lastly, regarding the semi-colonies and dependent countries with anti-Russian national bourgeoisies, such as that of the Ivory Coast, Russian imperialism ensures the penetration of its finance capital, through the channel of one of the countries of its bloc, most often by Romania.

When we examine the whole picture of the inter-imperialist struggles since 1953 for the redivision of the world, and their results, it comes out that Russian imperialism has taken away from the imperialist bloc of NATO and especially American imperialism, about a dozen semi-colonies and dependent countries (Egypt and Guinea to mention only two; it lost Albania to Chinese imperialism, which lost it to the imperialist powers of France and Italy).

The defeat of American imperialism in Indochina led on its part to a change in its tactics because the equilibrium of imperialist forces had just been changed. To give itself the possibility of regaining the lost zones of influence (Cuba, Indochina, etc.), American imperialism subscribed to an accord with Russia called "detente," in the seventies. The American and Russian imperialists, knowing that an imperialist world war would not gain all the advantages hoped for on the two sides, accepted "detente" as a form of struggle for the redivision of the world that did not imply world war, but was rather limited to the coveted zones of influence. This period of "detente" is in fact only that of the later preparation of imperialist war. Russian imperialism had an interest in subscribing to "detente." Since 1953, 1956 and 1960, it had emptied of its content the Leninist-Stalinist conception of peaceful co-existence between countries having different social systems in order to substitute for it, that of Khrushchev consisting of a "compromise" with the other imperialist countries for the redivision of the world. The eco-

conomic content of "detente consisted of commercial exchanges between the two imperialist groupings: Russian imperialism exported natural gas, oil and gold to the imperialist countries of the West; in return it imported grain, technology, capital.

The imperialist bloc of NATO exported capital to the countries of the Warsaw Pact such as Poland, Romania, and East Germany. As far as the semi-colonies and dependent countries of The Middle East are concerned, Russian imperialism had apparently engaged itself to maintain the status quo, that is, the hegemony of American interests in this oil-bearing region.

"Detente" profited the Russian imperialist bloc more than the imperialist bloc of NATO, most especially American imperialism. Russia developed its zones of influence in the world to the detriment of its competitors. It was the equal of the latter in military armament, and even surpassed some of them in certain sectors, like the number of certain nuclear missiles and the strength of land forces in Europe. Russian imperialism started to openly covet the oil zones of the Middle East. It linked itself to the national bourgeoisies of certain semi-colonies of the Middle East (Syria, Iraq, etc.) by selling them arms against Israel. The fall of the Shah in Iran and the failure of the "Camp David Accords" between Egypt, Israel and the United States, contributed to strengthening Russian penetration in this zone which holds the largest reserves of oil in the world. "Detente," that is, the "entente" of capitalist robbers for the re-division of the world thence forward went against the interests of the "Great" imperialist powers.

American imperialism sees on the other hand that its allies of Europe have a luke-warm, even dissident attitude to it, in relation to the Russian bloc. For the moment, it can count only on Canada and England, which are most hit by the crisis of the capitalist system of world economy. China, which is more active in war preparations, has not justified the hope placed in it. Economically, the approximately forty years of domination of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" have left the country in an economic and social disaster that does not give American imperialism a viable market for the sale of its products. All that is left to it is the exploitation of the working class of China for the manufacture of its products for sale outside China. And it is countered by Japanese and German imperialism in the sector of technology and means of production. Militarily, the Chinese arsenals are getting old and the failure of China against Vietnam which stole from it its Cambodian semi-colony to the advantage of the Russians, is causing American imperialism to have some reservations regarding China.

The dissident behaviour of France, which is still very favoured with zones of influence, and of Germany, whose capitalist prosperity and relative military weakness — as a result of the second world war — make necessary, tactics to redivide the world which are different from those of the United States and which reflect a contradiction with the United States concerning the time and place for the war, creates tension in the NATO imperialist bloc, especially since the rival Russian bloc is using this dissidence to enlarge its zones of influence in the world. American imperialism has even stated its discouragement with the military effort of the imperialist countries of Europe who have not agreed to

increase their defence budget by at least 3% in conformity with their commitments of 1978. The annoyance of American imperialism is very strong with West Germany, which plans, for 1981, a raise of its military budget less than the objective of 3%. With the exception of French imperialism, which has increased its budget by 4% above the rate of inflation — but which is not part of the integrated organization of NATO — only Luxemburg has met the demand of American imperialism. The imperialist countries of Europe want imperialist war. They don't want to wage it only in the interests of American imperialism, even if they intend to wage the war with it against the Russian bloc. That is why, on questions of a tactical nature, they diverge from the viewpoints of the United States, with the exception of Canada and Great Britain, which have pledged an unconditional alignment.

What has been the means of struggle of the imperialist bloc of NATO against its Russian rival for the distribution and redistribution of colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries, amounts to a short-term strategy. The western imperialist bloc has used direct aggressions to counter the Russians. This strategy has consisted in maintaining the national bourgeoisies of the backward countries in their pay, while proceeding with personnel changes on the state apparatuses, very often through means of coups d'etats, such as Chile, Chad, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Central African Republic, etc. On the other hand, to counter Russian imperialism, the imperialist countries of the West are speeding up the accession of the colonies to formal political independence, which does not at all hinder their economic, financial and military operations. It is in this sense that American imperialism could speak of the right to "autonomy" of Puerto Rico, as French imperialism does for "its" colonies of the Caribbean and the Pacific, or as Great Britain has just done for Zimbabwe.

In each imperialist bloc, there exist contradictions between different imperialist powers. In the Russian imperialist bloc, Romania, for example, is opposed to certain economic, financial and military operations of Russian imperialism, on the basis of the defence of its own capitalist interests. In the camp of the imperialist bloc of NATO, American imperialism, in order to evict Russian imperialism, but also other imperialists of its bloc, is putting forward the campaign of "human rights." This "human rights" campaign has served it to expel, in part, British imperialism from Zimbabwe; it had tried this in the French colonies of the Caribbean, but it ran up against the fierce opposition of French imperialism. In their common struggles against the Russian imperialist bloc, the imperialist powers of the West support each other militarily, although each seeks to extend its own zones of influence. This was the case with the French military intervention in Zaire, done with the logistical support of the American and Belgian imperialists.

During this quarter-century, the colonies and dependent countries have changed from one imperialist bloc to another. The peoples of these backward countries have lived the horrors and evils of imperialism. They have not succeeded in breaking the imperialist hell to gain their real liberation. They endured imperialism and the wars that it inevitably engenders.

At present, all the "great" imperialist powers are plunged into an economic and military crisis. They are all preparing for imperialist war as the only way of redividing the world among themselves, of resolving the crisis of the capitalist system of world economy. Yet, they are hiding all the preparations and the real meaning of this war by means of monstrous duperies about "peace," "detente," the "rights of man," disarmament, etc. As was so well emphasized by Comrade Stalin, "It is not surprising that bourgeois pacifism is now dragging out a miserable existence, and that idle talk of disarmament is giving way to 'business-like' talk about armament and rearmament."⁸

The characteristic signs of the imminence of this imperialist war are, first of all, the fact that all the imperialist bourgeoisies are resolutely pushing their national economy onto the path of a war economy; secondly, the multiplication, by the imperialist powers and the anti-revolutionary bourgeoisies of the semi-colonies and dependent countries, of local wars, wars of conquest (Iran-Iraq, Chad, Morocco-Sahara Republic, etc.) to mutually expel one another and ensure control of the sources of raw materials and especially world reserves of oil.

After the crushing defeat of all their "economic plans" to struggle against the crisis of the capitalist system of world economy, the bourgeoisies and the imperialist governments have opted for the path of the war economy. "For what does placing the economy of a country on a war footing mean? It means giving industry a one-sided, war direction; developing to the utmost the production of goods necessary for war and not for consumption by the population; restricting to the utmost the production and, especially, the sale of articles of general consumption — and, consequently, reducing consumption by the population and confronting the country with an economic crisis."⁹

To this effect, American imperialism has made large investments in heavy industry, notably petrochemicals, heavy chemicals, and metallurgy, very important for military industry. When we go back in time a little, we see that one of the goals of the "New International Economic Order" was also the implantation in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries that were strategic for the western imperialist bloc, of chemical and metallurgical industries, not only to counter the breakthrough of the Russian imperialist bloc, but also for military needs. This confirms the just position of the 6th Congress of the Communist International, by virtue of which "only special circumstances can force the bourgeoisie of the imperialist states to favour the development of large-scale industry in the colonies. Thus, the necessity to conduct and to prepare for a war might, to a certain extent, cause the creation of various metallurgical and chemical enterprises in the colonies that have the most strategic importance."¹⁰

The export of military arsenals to the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries each day becomes massive. At the present time, the Russian and American imperialists have 80% of the market for arms sales in the world.

For the year 1980 alone, French imperialism sold 30 billion francs' worth of arms, against 23 billion francs' worth in 1979. It has supplied Saudi Arabia with 14.4 billion francs' worth of military equipment (6 boats, missile-firing helicopters). It has supplied

Iraq, Argentina, Pakistan with thermo-nuclear stations. So that, according to French bourgeois politicians, French military industry is working better than all the other sectors of the national economy, and the sale of armaments, they say, serves to compensate for the deficit in the French balance of foreign trade. Canadian imperialism has a systematic policy of financing military industry at the cost of "social budgets." The state budget doubled in 1980, to place more than \$100 million at the disposition of the defence industry. Ninety per cent of the grants of the Canadian bourgeoisie to "industrial research" are destined for military research.

At the political level, it is those fractions of the imperialist bourgeoisie which are most implicated in the arms industry that are the most active in ensuring themselves control of almost the whole state apparatus in all the imperialist countries. At the present time, the candidates who are most determined to strengthen the military power of the imperialist countries are being elected to the detriment of the proponents of military policies that are deemed "hesitant" by the bourgeoisies themselves: this is the case with the victory of Mrs. Thatcher in Great Britain to the position of Prime Minister, to the detriment of the Social Democrats of the Labour Party, and with Ronald Reagan over Jimmy Carter in the United States.

The path of the war economy replies to the fundamental law of capitalism. This law consists, according to Comrade Stalin, in "the securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and, lastly through wars and militarization of the national economy, which are utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits."¹¹

The "great" imperialist powers, to "ensure themselves the maximum of profits," have armed the bourgeoisies of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries, which have been systematically transformed into military bases. "Military redeployment," in the words of the imperialist governments, is presented in official speeches as a policy of "protection," of "defence" of the peoples of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries against "external aggression." The demagogy of all the bourgeoisies has always consisted in "wanting to liberate" all the peoples except their own. In reality, "military redeployment" and the "rapid intervention forces" of the "great" imperialist powers allows them to provoke and to feed local wars, in perfect agreement with the bourgeoisies of the semi-colonies and dependent countries, in their frenzied competition to "secure the maximum capitalist profit," to grab up the sources of raw materials, the exploitation of cheap labour, to control the markets for the sale of their products. The present war between Iran and Iraq, armed respectively by the United States, England, and Canada on the one hand, and Russia and France on the other, for their capitalist interests, shows clearly all the falseness of the bourgeois phrases about "peace," "detente," "disarmament," "strict neutrality." All the imperialist powers are cruising their nuclear submarines and military planes in this region that holds the largest reserves of oil in the world. Carter stated that he was

ready to start an imperialist war if this zone that he deems "of vital interests for the United States" was seized by the Russian imperialist bloc. At the present time, the war between Iran and Iraq portends the imminence of the world imperialist war. "The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight against pacifism."¹²

To the official pacifism of the governments and the "Socialist" International, to the religion-tainted pacifism of the Church, there is developing a pacifism that the 6th Congress of the Communist International described as "radical" or "revolutionary." It is the pacifism of these "Left Socialists who admit the danger of war, but strive to combat this danger frequently by meaningless phrases against war. These pacifists frequently lay excessive stress upon the destructiveness of modern weapons of war in order, either to prove that protracted wars are impossible, or else, to demonstrate that it is impossible to transform imperialist war into civil war."¹³

Two main variants hold sway, at the present time, within the "radical" or "revolutionary" pacifism: one around the Party of Labour of Albania and Enver Hoxha, the other around "Mao Tse-tung Thought."

The "radical" or "revolutionary" pacifist tendency around the Party of Labour of Albania is composed of the Parti "Communiste ouvrier" de France (PCOF), Combat "Communiste" (France), Parti "Communiste" du Dahomey (PCD), Parti "Communiste Revolutionnaire" de Haute-Volta (P'CR'V), Parti "Communiste" du Togo (P'C'T), "CPC(ML)" (Canada), "KPD(ML)" (Germany), etc. This clique of brigands led by the Party of Labour of Albania defends the Khrushchevite line of the "avoidability" of wars under imperialism. In this regard, Enver Hoxha stated, at the 3rd Congress of the PLA, May 1956, "Another thesis of great importance of principle that the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has just added to Marxism-Leninism is the question of the possibility of preventing wars in the present epoch. . . . The Marxist-Leninist theses according to which wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists, were formulated in the epoch when imperialism was a single world system and when the social and political forces opposed to the war were still quite weak. While in our epoch, the forces of socialism and peace in the world are very powerful. . . . It is thus that, at present, there exist forces having powerful moral and material means capable of preventing the imperialist adventurers from starting a third world war."¹⁴

The PLA and Enver Hoxha have subscribed clearly and irrefutably to the revisionist theses about the "avoidability" of wars in the epoch of imperialism that Comrade Stalin had scientifically combatted in his celebrated work *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* written four years earlier, that is, in 1952. Regarding the question of wars in the epoch of imperialism, Comrade Stalin had written: "It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as absolute, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and against another world war. That is not true."¹⁵

With an unflinching faith, the PLA defends the

Khrushchevite thesis of the "possibility of preventing wars in the present epoch." In 1979, the PLA stated that "In our time another possibility exists namely the possibility to stay the hand of the imperialists and to prevent them from unleashing a new world war."¹⁶

And the "Communist" Party of Togo, with stupefying ridiculousness, takes up this Khrushchevite thesis of the PLA, also advocating that "the hand of the imperialists" should be stopped so as to "prevent" wars in the epoch of imperialism. Lenin says: "War is no chance happening, no sin as is thought by Christian priests (who are no whit behind the opportunists in preaching patriotism, humanity and peace), but an inevitable stage of capitalism, just as legitimate a form of the capitalist way of life as peace is."¹⁷

The pacifist hysteria of the PLA and the philistine parties and organizations that are subject to it results from the "destructive violence of the most modern arms," according to the expression of the 6th Congress of the Communist International. This pacifist hysteria is leading the national-liberal party of Dahomey, the P'C'D, to maintain that the motto of the "great" imperialist powers is "less butter, more guns."¹⁸

This is to create the reformist illusion that imperialism has a choice between "helping" the peoples to "liberate" themselves from its horrors (a petty-bourgeois utopia) and going to war to redive the world. This is petty-bourgeois philistinism and reformist stagnation. The brigands of the P'C'D would make excellent ministers in the governments of the imperialist bourgeoisies. Because what is necessary from such ministers is to know how to turn specious, well-formed phrases completely void of any sense, able to cover all kinds of trash and sure for that reason of receiving the applause of the imperialists and all the opportunists. Now, that is the strong point of the scoundrels of the P'C'D who lend credence to the ignoble idea that imperialist wars are due to the "wrong choice" of the imperialist governments and bourgeoisies as between guns and butter. They dream of a Kautskyite era of "ultra-imperialism" in which the imperialists would maintain peace by agreement and in which the outbreak of wars would come from the "wrong choice," from "wrong policies" of certain "bad leaders." This is the most disgusting reformism says Lenin: "The most varied reforms can and must be demanded of the bourgeois governments, but one cannot, without sinking to Manilovism and reformism, demand that people and classes entangled by the thousands of threads of imperialist capital should tear those threads. And unless they are torn, all talk of a war against war is idle and deceitful prattle."¹⁹

Petty-bourgeois fear and horror of modern arms leads all these "radical" or "revolutionary" social-pacifist parties and organizations to insist especially on "the danger of a third world war."²⁰

The 6th Congress of the Communist International has warned the revolutionary communists against signs of pacifism on the subject of the "dangers of war." "It is therefore necessary . . . energetically to combat and openly criticize all frivolousness in the ranks of the Communist Parties concerning the question of combatting war. This is particularly necessary at the present time, in view of the mistakes contained in press articles and parliamentary speeches.

Under no circumstances should such mistakes be allowed to pass without criticism."²¹

The PLA is one of these "radical" or "revolutionary" social-pacifist parties which invoke "the destructive violence of the most modern arms" so as to "demonstrate that either prolonged war would be impossible, or else it could not be transformed into a civil war."

It states openly to be against the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie because civil war, according to it, "in present-day conditions of a thermo-nuclear war, would be fraught with devastating consequences for the peoples, for the present and future of mankind."²²

This is the sort of anti-Leninist analysis that Khrushchev used to defend his class-collaborationist thesis of "peaceful co-existence." The PLA, in the pure Khrushchevite tradition, resurrects such analyses to dupe the proletariat.

In number 25 of *Proletarian Revolution*, the Bolshevik Union of Canada has demolished with the keen weapon of Bolshevism the pacifist hysteria of the PLA regarding the destructive violence of the most modern weapons. In effect, American imperialism has produced the nuclear bomb and has in fact shown its willingness to use it directly against socialism in the USSR. It did not do so because that would have been its loss. Since 1953, the USSR has joined the imperialist camp and is struggling with the other imperialists for the redivision of spheres of influence. The two imperialist groupings are brandishing the nuclear threat, on the one hand, to strengthen the exploitation and oppression of the labouring masses of their own zones of influence; on the other hand to discourage the other imperialists who have designs on these zones; and lastly to maintain the status quo in their own countries against an eventual liberating movement of the proletariat. All the "great" imperialist powers know that the massive use of nuclear arms is in contradiction with the goals of the imperialist war, and could aggravate the indignation of the proletariat and hasten its liberating movement. That is why, the imperialist bourgeoisies are each day elaborating "laws of war" so that the use of nuclear weapons should be compatible with the goals of piracy of the inter-imperialist war whose stakes are "the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind." It was successively a question of the use of conventional, non-nuclear armaments, of "tactical guerilla nuclear warfare" against exclusively military objectives, of deserted target ground for missiles and bombers and, lastly, the planning of first limited, then increasing, nuclear escalation. With the exception of errors in the calculation of the imperialist powers of the efforts to subjugate a combative oppressed people, the bourgeoisies in general conform to their capitalist "agreements" with a view to "securing the maximum of profits." To shelter oneself from any potential risk of the use of nuclear arms by the "great" imperialist powers, there is only one path, that of a *Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution*.

So there is no call to wallow in the pacifist hysteria of the scoundrels of the imperialist monarchies such as the PLA and Company. They are in favour of "the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppres-

sion of every kind." That is why they work in such a way that the labouring masses will continue "to experience years and even decades of armed struggle between the 'great' powers." It is solely for this purpose that they talk of "fascism" regarding the present imperialist war. They use the anti-fascist sentiments of the popular masses to justify the imminent imperialist war. To invoke an "anti-fascist struggle" or an "anti-fascist front" regarding the present imperialist war is the equivalent of the slogan of "defence of the fatherland." But, "the proletariat has no country until it has captured political power and has taken the means of production from the exploiters. . . in imperialist wars the proletariat absolutely rejects 'national defence' as being defence of exploitation and treachery to the cause of socialism."²³

While they shout "arch-revolutionary" phrases, the PLA collaborates with imperialism. Thus, last October 13, the minister of Foreign Affairs of Albania, Nesti Nase, met his French equivalent in Paris. At the end of the discussion which dealt with the international situation, the French minister of Foreign Affairs published a communique stating that the Franco-Albanian talks took place in a "very cordial atmosphere," with Albania holding to "strict non-alignment."²⁴ In the course of this Franco-Albanian talk, the economic, financial, and military interests of the two national bourgeoisies, and surely chrome as well, were discussed. The "red" bourgeoisie of Albania sells chrome to the French armament industry. Of course, there could be no question of the social-chauvinist thesis of the "liberation war" of the philistine Hoxha, let alone the proletarian revolution, in this "very cordial atmosphere" between "very honourable" people. This is the shady side of Hoxha's infantile theory of "big fish" and "little fish." Which confirms, once again, this teaching of Comrade Lenin: "The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution, who in peaceful times carry on their bourgeois work in secret, concealing themselves within the workers' parties, while in times of crisis they immediately prove to be open allies of the entire united bourgeoisie, from the conservative to the most radical and democratic part of the latter, from the free-thinkers, to the religious and clerical sections. Anyone who has failed to understand this truth after the events we have gone through is hopelessly deceiving both himself and the workers."²⁵

The second variant of the "radical" or "revolutionary" pacifists is constituted by the collection of Maoist parties and organizations. These are the "Revolutionary Communist" Party of the United States ("RC" P), the "Workers' Communist" Party of Roger Rashi in Canada, Voie "Proletarienne"/Pour le Parti, the "Marxist-Leninist Communist" Party, the "Revolutionary Communist" Party ("Marxist-Leninist"), the Organization of "Communists" and OCML Eugene Varlin, of France, the Ligne "Marxist-Leninist" and the "Proletaire" of Senegal, Gegen Die Strömung, Westberliner Kommunist of West Germany, MLPO of Austria, In Struggle of Canada, "Revolutionary Communist" Party of China, etc. . .

This collection of Maoists is subdivided into several tendencies: on one hand, as a function of open or camouflaged support for the Maoist theory of "three worlds"; on the other hand, as a function of the struggles of factions within the Chinese bour-

geoisie. Certain parties or organizations support the "gang of four" against Hua Kuo-Feng and Teng (the RCP-USA: RCP-Chile; PLP-VP and OCML E.V.) or, vice-versa. Others supports the fraction of Hua against Teng (WCP of Canada) or vice-versa (Ligne Marxiste-Leniniste of Senegal). Still others support Mao against the fractions of Hua and Teng (Voie Proletarienne/Pour le Parti), etc., and still others support Mao in a "critical" manner and cannot decide between Maoshevism and semi-Menshevism (Gegen die Strömung, West Berliner Kommunist, and MLPO of Austria).

This collection is in a perpetual state of upheaval, as a function of the development of the relations of strength within the Chinese national bourgeoisie. What unites them, is the struggle against Bolshevism, which is at the same time their basis of alliance with the social-pacifists of the PLA and its friends. They want to substitute Maoism for Bolshevism while the social-pacifists of the PLA and their underlings want to substitute Khrushchevism for it. This is the struggle between two variants of modern revisionism against Leninism-Stalinism.

In the Letter of 25 Points proposed in 1963 as the "General Line of the International Communist Movement," Mao Tse-tung and the C'P'P developed their revisionist conceptions on the question of war and peace. In 1963, the socialist Soviet Union no longer existed and the socialist camp had joined, since the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, the capitalist system of world economy.

Concerning imperialist war, Mao and the C'P'P stated: "What the peoples of the socialist camp, the proletariat and the workers of the whole world together ask from the communist and workers' parties of the countries of the socialist camp, is mainly: . . . That they should struggle against the policy of aggression and war of imperialism and for the defence of world peace."²⁶

It is duperie to speak of the socialist camp of 1963. And even if this camp existed in 1963, that would not at all make this Maoist position a correct proletarian position. It remains a pacifist position, pure and simple. For, it consists in detaching the struggle for peace from the class struggle within the country, from the question of the proletarian revolution, Comrade Lenin taught that "Unless it is linked up with the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat, the struggle for peace is merely a pacifist phrase of bourgeois who are either sentimental or are deceiving the people.

"We cannot and must not strike a pose of 'statesmen' and draw up 'concrete' programmes of peace. On the contrary, we must explain to the masses the delusiveness of all hopes of a democratic peace (without annexations, violence or plunder) without a development of the revolutionary class struggle."²⁷

The propaganda about the "defence of world peace" of Mao and the C'P'P demoralises the proletariat and makes it a plaything in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisies because "the propaganda of peace unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action can only sow illusions and demoralise the proletariat, for it makes the proletariat believe that the bourgeoisie is humane, and turns it into a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of a so-called democratic peace being possible without a series of revolutions is profoundly erroneous."²⁸

If the Maosheviks have not understood these words of Lenin, so much the worse for them. They are bourgeois in the workers' movement, and not revolutionary communists. In effect, the revolutionary communists are struggling against the imperialist war to delay its outbreak so as to accomplish the work that will facilitate its transformation into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. Says the VIth Congress of the Communist International: "It is clear that a postponement of the imperialist war measures by the mass actions of the proletariat will create conditions that will considerably facilitate the transformation of this war into civil war and the overthrow of the imperialists."²⁹

Furthermore, Mao and the C'P'P state that "What all the peoples of the world are asking for, is the prevention of a new world war. And it is possible to prevent it."

The question here is to know what is definitely the path to follow to ensure world peace. According to the Leninist point of view, world peace can be won only by the struggle of all the peoples of the world and not by going begging to imperialism. It is only by basing oneself on the development of the strength of the socialist camp, on the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the working people of the various countries, on the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and on the struggle of all the peoples and countries which cherish peace that it is possible to energetically defend peace in the world."³⁰

The revolutionary communists, contrary to the social-pacifist Maosheviks, know that wars are engendered by capitalism, by the division of society into exploiting and exploited classes. Because of this, there can be no question of real and lasting peace unless power passes from the hands of the bourgeoisie into those of another class: the proletariat.

The Maoists, on the other hand, think the contrary. They state that the obtaining of real peace is possible under imperialism. They advocate "the energetic defence of peace in the world," that is, capitalist "peace" by means of the struggle of the proletariat and the "countries who cherish peace." That is the way, for them, to "prevent a new world war." Behind this abundant, arch-revolutionary phraseology, there hides the thesis combatted by Stalin, of the "campaign for peace." Comrade Stalin showed how a movement in favour of peace can at most, in case of success, delay war, not prevent it indefinitely: "What is most likely is that the present-day peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace, in the resignation of a bellicose government and its supercession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That of course, will be good. Even very good. But all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. It will not be enough, because for all the successes of the peace movement, imperialism will remain, continue in force — and, consequently, the inevitability of wars will also continue in force.

"To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism."³¹ So you see? Mao cites Lenin, in order to combat him, as Kautsky did with

Marx during the first imperialist war and as today Hoxha is doing with Stalin. Mao cites the name of Lenin to mask his revisionist conceptions on all questions and most especially that of the imperialist war.

On disarmament, Mao and the C'P, while verbally referring to Lenin, develop an anti-Leninist point of view. In effect, they write: "The possibility of prohibiting nuclear weapons exists. However, if the imperialists are forced to accept an agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapons, it is certainly not from love of humanity, but solely because of the pressure of the peoples of the world and in consideration of their own interests."³²

The facts have demonstrated the stupidity of the idea of prohibiting nuclear weapons in a capitalist regime. The development of nuclear weapons is independent of the will of governments. It replies to the fundamental law of capitalism which is "to secure the maximum of profits." To speak of the "pressure of the peoples of the world and in consideration of their (imperialist) own interests" to "prohibit nuclear weapons" is the result of a pious wish, of a petty-bourgeois daydreamer. Says Lenin, "Interlinked on a world scale, capital is thriving on armaments and wars. To think that the fact of capital in the individual states combining and interlinking on an international scale must of necessity produce an economic trend towards disarmament means, in effect, allowing well-meaning philistine expectations of an easing of class contradictions to take the place of the actual intensification of those contradictions."³³

Still concerning disarmament, Mao and the C'P state the following: "In order to expose the expansion of armaments and the preparation for war undertaken by imperialism, and to oppose this, we have always considered that it is necessary to advocate disarmament. And it is possible to force imperialism to accept a certain agreement on disarmament through the joint struggle of the countries of the socialist camp and the peoples of the world."³⁴

Of course, the Socialist Soviet Union led by Stalin had proposed to the Preparatory Commission that had been convoked by the League of Nations in 1927, general and complete disarmament. This proposition of the Soviet government is radically different from the imperialist, Khrushchevite, Maoist, Hoxhaist phrases and projects on disarmament by virtue of its goal, its sincerity, its objective importance.

The proposition by the USSR for general and complete disarmament did not at all aim to spread the pacifist utopias, but to destroy them, not to support capitalism by closing its eyes to its evils, but to propagate the Leninist-based thesis that disarmament and the abolition of wars are only possible with the destruction of capitalism.

In proposing real disarmament to the imperialists, the USSR well knew that the imperialists would not accept this project. It exposed their prattle about disarmament and their bourgeois pacifism. This proposition was sincere; it was not in contradiction with the external and internal policy of the socialist state, with the Soviet power which does not have a policy of plunder and oppression; but on the contrary, it is in the service of the interests of all the exploited of the world. The Soviet power has a policy of peace in the interest of the international proletariat.

By its objective importance, the proposition of the USSR is different from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois projects of the Maoists, Khrushchevites, Hoxhaists. It was not the expression of petty-bourgeois philistinism and despair, but it was rather one of the goals of socialism, a goal that the revolutionary proletariat will realize after its victory on the world scale.

The proposition for general and complete disarmament of the USSR is fundamentally different from that of Mao Zedong. In effect, since 1953, the only socialist country that existed in the world, the USSR, was demolished. China was never socialist. It is capitalist. The Communist International was clear on the fact that only a socialist country can make such propositions for the reasons that we have pointed out. The 6th Congress of the C.I. said: "The workers of the Soviet Union, who have fought the bourgeoisie in civil war and have established the dictatorship of the proletariat in their country, can, in the struggle against pacifism, that poisoned weapon of imperialism, use a new method consisting of proposing general disarmament to the imperialists."

The 6th Congress continued: "But the proletariat which is still fighting for power in the capitalist states cannot use this method. The proposals or demands for disarmament that the proletariat of these countries could address to its own bourgeoisie and its underlings would not be a revolutionary act, but the replacement of the slogan of the arming of the proletariat by the renunciation of civil war, of socialism."³⁵ With the "joint dictatorship of four classes" in China, the Maoist thesis of disarmament is, in effect, the replacing of the slogan of the arming of the proletariat with the slogan of its disarmament, with the renunciation of civil war, of socialism." This is a lamentable betrayal of the interests of the proletariat, complete servility in regard to the dynastic interests of the imperialist bourgeoisies.

Even if China were socialist, the Maoist conception of disarmament remains pacifist. This conception plans to "force imperialism to accept a certain agreement on disarmament." This can only spread dangerous illusions in the ranks of the proletariat about the "will" of imperialism to "accept" disarmament. While the proposition of the USSR in 1927 on disarmament aimed to expose the pacifism of the imperialist bourgeoisies, without, in the least seeking to stamp out the evils of capitalism, nor without entertaining the least illusion that the imperialists would accept the project of the Soviet government.

Consequently, in spite of Mao's rhetoric about "world peace," "disarmament," anyone will concede that he "is a bourgeois whose talk about peace and disarmament is a lot of empty phrases, since without revolutionary action by the proletariat there can be neither a democratic peace nor disarmament."³⁶

Now we must attentively examine the ideological line of OCML Eugene Varlin of France which brings up incredible pretensions in the style of its illustrious models: Trotsky and Mao.

After having insisted on the "dangers of a third world war," OCML E.V. in its social-pacifist guise, asks a question: "Will the socialist revolution break out before the outbreak of war, that is, will it permit the prevention of the war (which does not in the least exclude, quite the contrary, wars waged by the

imperialist powers against the victorious proletariat in one or several countries)?”

Or rather “Will the socialist revolution be the result of the transformation of the imperialist into civil war?”³⁷ OCML E.V. states right away that this is “something that we can neither know, nor see” (ibid). In an incredible contradiction of thinking, it offers an answer, which is totally anti-Leninist, to this “thing” which it can neither know nor foresee: “As for the rest,” it writes, “the uneven development of the crisis of imperialism will bring, starting immediately — and will continue to bring, in certain weak links of the imperialist chain (such as Portugal and Iran); the proletariat must take advantage of these situations to make the revolution. In this context, to state that ‘war is inevitable’ can only encourage passivity in the working class, and in practice amounts to putting off the preparation for the socialist revolution to the day after the outbreak of the war. The present weakness of the proletariat, no matter how real it might be, cannot justify such tactics: how can we not see, in effect, that such an argument might apply just as much, if not more, to the situation that will follow the outbreak of the war, when the bourgeoisie exercises the most fierce repression against any evidence of protest by the working class and hunts down the communist militants with unleashed energy. So much so that one cannot prevent oneself from thinking that there is, in this argument, something like the promise to be communist tomorrow.”³⁸

This is the open negation of the Leninist Stalinist thesis of the avoidability of wars in the epoch of imperialism. Even better, this thesis of Lenin and Stalin, says O“CML” E.V., “can only encourage the passivity of the working class. Lenin said: “Social-Democracy has never taken a sentimental view of war. It unreservedly condemns war as a bestial means of settling conflicts in human society. But Social-Democracy knows that so long as society is divided into classes, so long as there is exploitation of man by man, wars are inevitable.”³⁹

This is the negation of this correct thesis of Lenin proved by a century of the prolonged existence of imperialism. O“CML” E.V. accuses those who, like Lenin and Stalin, defend the thesis of the inevitability of wars under imperialism of “something like the promise to be communist . . . tomorrow.” This is *freedom of criticism*. “He who does not deliberately close his eyes cannot fail to see that the new ‘critical’ trend in socialism is nothing more nor less than a new variety of opportunism. And if we judge people, not by the glittering uniforms they don or by the high-sounding appellations they give themselves, but by their actions and by what they actually advocate, it will be clear that ‘freedom of criticism’ means freedom for an opportunist trend in social-democracy, freedom to convert Social-Democracy into a democratic party of reform, freedom to introduce bourgeois ideas and bourgeois elements into socialism.”⁴⁰

The victory of the proletarian revolution in only one or several countries before the outbreak of the world imperialist war is a thesis which is not very credible at this time. In effect, we must take into account an array of factors that might aid this victory:

- external conditions;
- internal circumstances;

— correct strategy and tactics of a Bolshevik Party of the type of Lenin and Stalin.

These three factors have not yet been brought together to favour the victory of a proletarian revolution coming out of a revolutionary situation at the present time. It is the imperialist war which will render, more rapidly, the external and internal conditions favourable to the victory of the proletarian revolution. While systematic, persistent and undeviating preparatory work of the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie, in connection with the exterior and interior circumstances in which this war will break out, will bring about the ripening of the third factor, it is understood that this work must be undertaken long before the outbreak of the war.

Yet, let us, for a moment, put forward the hypothesis of the victory of the proletarian revolution in one or several countries only, before the outbreak of the war: can this victory bring about the end of wars under imperialism while the latter has not been completely abolished in the other countries? In spite of its contradictory positions, O“CML” E.V. replies in the affirmative. According to it, there can be, after the victory of the proletarian revolution, only defensive wars of the victorious proletariat against the imperialist powers. This position rests on the thesis of the “simultaneous” proletarian revolution in all countries. This is the Trotskyite thesis of the “victory of the world revolution.” The follow-up of the analysis of the ideological line of O“CML” E.V. will confirm this Trotskyite position which is the negation of the law of uneven development of capitalism established by Lenin. “Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone. After expropriating the capitalists and organizing their own socialist production, the victorious proletariat of that country will arise against the rest of the world — the capitalist world — attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, stirring uprisings in those countries against the capitalists, and in case of need using even armed force against the exploiting classes and their states.”⁴¹

This eminent thesis of Lenin was confirmed during the first imperialist war of 1914-1918, with the success of the Great Bolshevik Revolution of October, 1917. The existence of the USSR did not eliminate totally the old imperialist world. While the USSR existed, the camp of Stalin, in 1932, contrary to the viewpoints of the Khrushchevites, Maoists, Hoxhists, did not fail to write that “the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains valid,” and that “to eliminate the inevitability of wars, it is necessary to abolish imperialism.”

In short, the victory of socialism in one or several countries alone does not totally eliminate the old imperialist world. The inter-imperialist wars, the imperialist wars of colonial conquest, defensive wars of the victorious proletariat, the national-revolutionary wars of the oppressed peoples against imperialism are possible and are engendered by the imperialist system. They can only be abolished with the complete destruction of imperialism. “War is inseparable from capitalism,” said the VIth Congress of the CI, “From this it follows that the ‘abolition’ of war is possible only through the abolition of capitalism, i.e. through the overthrow of the bourgeois

class of exploiters, through the proletarian dictatorship, the building of socialism, and the elimination of classes. All other theories and proposals, however 'realistic' they may claim to be, are nothing but a deception calculated to perpetuate exploitation and war.

"For this reason, Leninism combats all pacifist theories concerning the abolition of war and points out to the masses of the workers and to all the exploited people the only way leading to this goal: the overthrow of capitalism."⁴²

While still advocating revolution, before the outbreak of the imperialist war, to prevent it, O"CML" E.V. brutally discovers that "the proletariat is not, at the present time, prepared for this task. In its vast majority, it is not aware of the necessity to put an end to all the ills of imperialism. . . ." ⁴³ And yet, it is "in this direction (that is, of 'preventing a new world war in preparation') that all the efforts of the communists must be oriented."⁴⁴ This is Greek, as the French say. This trick of hide-and-seek, embellished by a Maoist phraseology, allows the O"CML" E.V. to avoid accomplishing the work of systematic, persistent preparation, starting now, of the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against "its own" bourgeoisie. This "radical" or "revolutionary" pacifist phraseology of the O"CML" E.V. serves it to mask, even to support the imperialist war preparations of "its" bourgeoisie. This leads it to defend the Maoshevik theory of "three worlds" that clearly appears in its political and ideological line when it writes: "The singing about the virtues of 'detente,' unanimously celebrated in Helsinki are giving way to the recriminations of the two largest powers, the USA and the USSR, who are accusing each other of mutually 'violating detente'; while most of the middle bourgeoisies — the bourgeoisies of Europe — are trying to preserve a certain agreement between the two imperialist blocs, for fear of bearing the costs of a world war that does not appear desirable to them at the present time."⁴⁵

First of all, the O"CML" E.V. places the imperialist powers of Europe above the imperialist blocs among whom "it is trying to preserve a certain agreement. This is a support for Giscard d'Estaing's thesis about "multipolarism," that is, the existence of several imperialist blocs. Secondly, O"CML" E.V. reduces the two present imperialist blocs to Russia and the United States, who want war, while the "middle bourgeoisies — notably the bourgeoisies of Europe" do not "desire" this at the present time because they fear "to bear the cost of a world war." This is the division of the imperialist world into the "first world" or the "superpowers" and the "second world" or the "middle bourgeoisies." This is the "theory of three worlds" of Mao or the "theory" of the "big fish" and the "little fish" of Enver Hoxha. The workings of the "theory of three worlds" leads the O"CML" E.V. to openly support "its own" bourgeoisie about whose "weakness" it worries in the following terms: "In view of the escalade of threats that the Russian and American bourgeoisies are addressing to one another, the French bourgeoisie is calling for compromise, for the 'wisdom of the leaders.' This is the typical attitude of a middle bourgeoisie which is too weak to really have an effect on world politics."⁴⁶

Lenin and Stalin always classified France among the "great" imperialist powers of the world. It is presently one of the "great" imperialist powers who

are confronting one another for the redivision of the colonies, semi-colonies, and dependent countries by means of world imperialist war. Its "dissidence" with regard to American imperialism is the result of tactical considerations that would allow it to wage imperialist war to "secure the maximum of profits" first and foremost. To do so, it needs not to be unconditionally aligned with American imperialism which is also seeking to evict it from "its" "zones of influence." Also, France is one of the "great" imperialist powers which is best supplied with colonies, semi-colonies, and dependent countries in this pre-war period. Consequently, to reduce this "great" imperialist power to the rank of a "middle bourgeoisie, too weak to really have an effect on world politics" is the result of an open social-chauvinist position on the part of O"CML" E.V. Which is not surprising, since "Imperialism means the subjugation of all strata of the propertied classes to finance capital, and the partition of the world among five or six 'great' powers, most of which are now involved in the war. The partition of the world among the Great Powers means that all their propertied classes are interested in possessing colonies and spheres of influence, in oppressing other nations, and in securing the more or less lucrative posts and privileges that stem from belonging to a Great Power and an oppressor nation."⁴⁷ Also O"CML" reduces imperialism to a "world policy" on which "its" "middle bourgeoisie" is supposedly "too weak to have any effect." This is Kautskyism that Lenin castigated in these terms: "The fundamental ideas expressed in our definition of imperialism were very resolutely attacked by Kautsky . . . when he said that imperialism must not be regarded as a 'phase' or stage of economy, but as a policy, a definite policy 'preferred' by finance capital. . . ."

And Lenin continues: "The essence of the matter is that Kautsky detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics."⁴⁸

The height of unthinkingness and naivete in O"CML" E.V. is to take up and mechanically repeat, everything false, neurotic and outworn in the history of the international workers' movement. With cynical ridiculousness, it states that "its" "middle" French bourgeoisie could not start an imperialist war, but rather it will be "led sooner or later into war if an armed conflict breaks out between the USA and the USSR, not only because of its belonging to the Atlantic Alliance, because of its economic and financial ties with the belligerent powers, but also because of the necessity of protecting its own zones of influence, its sources of raw materials and energy, and the interest that its military bases, mainly in Africa and the Indian Ocean, present for the countries that are at war."⁴⁹ In short, French imperialism will be "led" or will bear "the costs of a world war" because of its economic, financial and military "dependence" regarding American imperialism to "defend itself" against the warring powers. O"CML" E.V. presents the imperialist war that "its own" bourgeoisie will wage as a "defensive" war, that is, a "just" war. It is the putting forward of the slogan of "defence of the fatherland" in the same way as the French "communist" Party whose open social-chauvinist thesis of "national independence" it claims to criticize. The O"CML" E.V. has the same political attitude as the national-liberal A. Potresov of whom Lenin said: "The author is transporting his cargo under a false

flag. Consciously or otherwise — that does not matter in this instance — he has resorted to a strategem by hoisting the flag of "internationalism" so as the more securely to transport under this flag his contraband cargo of national-liberalism. After all, Potresov is a most undeniable national liberal. The gist of his article (and of his program, platform and credo) is in the employment of this little — and if you wish even innocent — strategem, in carrying opportunism under the flag of internationalism. One must go into all the details of this manoeuvre, for the matter is of prime and tremendous importance. Potresov's use of a false flag is the more dangerous since he not only cloaks himself with the principle of 'internationalism,' but also assumes the title of an adherent of 'Marxist methodology!'"⁵⁰

O"CML" E.V., the "internationalist," the "adept of Marxist methodology," states with its petty-bourgeois philistinism that "the present pacifism of the French bourgeoisie may very well transform itself from one day to the next into warmongering hysteria if, for example, the aggravation of the economic crisis awakens revolutionary movements of the working class and makes war appear as the best means for preventing revolution."⁵¹

Not "content" with having subscribed, against the proletariat, to the official pacifism of "its" bourgeoisie, O"CML" E.V. denies the fundamental issue of the imperialist war, that is, the distribution and redistribution of colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. In time and place, it states that the war will be "the best way of preventing revolution." Thus, the social-pacifist slogan O"CML" E.V. amounts to this: "Either revolution will prevent war, or war will prevent revolution." This is a "creative deepening" of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" which states: "Either revolution will prevent war, or war will provoke revolution." Each idea is absurd as the other.

In order that "war should not prevent revolution," O"CML" E.V. proposes "IMMEDIATE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION" to "avert the third imperialist world war."⁵² The slogan "Immediate Socialist Revolution" is anarchist. In reality, the correct proletarian tactics consists of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary communists work in this direction for a long time before the outbreak of the imperialist war. "It is only along this path that the proletariat will be able to shake off its dependence on the chauvinist bourgeoisie, and, in one form or another and more or less rapidly, take decisive steps towards genuine freedom for the nations and towards socialism."⁵³

The correctness of this path has been historically proved by the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871, the revolution of 1905 and the Great Bolshevik Revolution of October, 1917 in Russia. O"CML" E.V. refuses to accomplish the task of systematic, persistent and undeviating preparation in this direction. It has chosen, on the contrary, the path of the "Immediate Socialist Revolution" to "prevent" war after having previously pointed out that the proletariat "is not conscious of the necessity of the proletarian revolution." That is anarchism. The O"CML" E.V. repeats the "anarchist and Herveist phraseology" that had been evoked by the French delegation to the International Socialist Conference of 5-8 September 1915. Lenin had said that the saturation of the French workers' movement by "anarchist and Herveist phraseology" resulting from the weakness

of this movement means that "The only thing that logically follows from this . . . is that the French socialists would perhaps join general European revolutionary action by the proletariat more slowly than others, and not that such action is unnecessary. The question as to how rapidly, in which way and in which particular forms, the proletarians of the various countries are capable of taking revolutionary action was not raised at the Conference and could not have been. The conditions for this are not yet ripe. For the present it is our task to jointly propagandize the correct tactics and leave it to events to indicate the tempo of the movement, and the modifications in the mainstream (according to nation, locality and trade). If the French proletariat has been demoralized by anarchist phrases, it has been demoralized by Millerandism too, and it is not our business to increase this demoralization by leaving things unsaid in the manifesto."⁵⁴

These words of Lenin must not be forgotten. The correct tactics of which Lenin spoke 65 years ago, it today that of the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. Today, O"CML" E.V. has rejected this correct tactics to take up the anarchist tactics of "Immediate Socialist Revolution," thereby sharpening the "demoralization" of the French proletariat with "anarchist and Herveist" phraseology. So, the question must be asked: "What has anarchism, at one time dominant in the Romance countries, contributed in recent European history?"

— No doctrine, revolutionary teaching, or theory.

— Fragmentation of the working-class movement.

— Complete fiasco in the experiments of the revolutionary movement (Proudhonism, 1871; Bakunism, 1873).

— Subordination of the working-class to bourgeois politics in the guise of negation of politics."⁵⁵

Furthermore, when O"CML" E.V. talks of the slogan of transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie, it is to give it a Trotskyite content. It speaks of "turning the Imperialist War Into a Civil War of the International Proletariat Against the Bourgeoisie" or of "Transformation of this Imperialist War into a Civil War of the International Proletariat for Socialism."⁵⁶ When the revolutionary communists speak of civil war, they mean the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie within the country. That is what is said by the Manifesto of the Communist Party in these terms: "Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie."⁵⁷

It is embarrassing to have to repeat the abc of Marxism. But what can one do, if it is forgotten? It is a Trotskyite conception to speak of the "civil war of the international proletariat for socialism" or the "civil war of the international proletariat against the bourgeoisie." As was so well noted by Lenin "In the Communist Manifesto it is said that the working-men have no country. Correct. But not only this is stated there. It is stated there also that when national states are being formed the role of the proletariat is somewhat special. To take the first proposition (the working-men have no country) and forget its connection with the second (the workers are constituted

as a class nationally, though not in the same sense as the bourgeoisie) will be exceptionally incorrect."⁵⁸

The O"CML" E.V. becomes still more clear in its Trotskyite designs when it criticizes the social-chauvinist slogan of the "liberation war" of Enver Hoxha, *this scoundrel of the imperialist monarchies*. It writes: "This is to negate the specific tasks of the international proletariat, which has as its aim to prepare civil war against the international bourgeoisie. . . ." ⁵⁹ It is easy to make out here the Trotskyite verbiage about "the victory of the world revolution" and the negation of the possibility of construction of socialism in one single country, as Trotsky did for the Socialist Soviet Union. "The essence of Trotskyism consists, first of all, in the denial of the possibility of building Socialism in the USSR with the forces of the working class and the peasantry of our country. What does this mean? It means that if, in the near future, help not come in the form of a victorious world revolution, we shall have to capitulate to the bourgeoisie and clear the road for a bourgeois-democratic republic. Consequently, we have here the bourgeois repudiation of the possibility of building socialism in our country masked by 'revolutionary' phrase mongering about the victory of the world revolution."⁶⁰

In the anarcho-Trotskyite schema of the O"CML" E.V., either one of two things: — either we forget about the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries, whose redistribution is the fundamental outcome of the imperialist war: that is chauvinism. For, as Lenin says "Europeans often forget that colonial peoples too are nations, but to tolerate this 'forgetfulness' is to tolerate chauvinism."⁶¹

— or else, what is more certain with O"CML" E.V., the proletariat of these backward countries is asked, right away, to make the proletarian revolution, thereby excluding the *Bolshevik Revolution for the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry under the political and ideological hegemony of the organized, class-conscious proletariat, which is on the agenda in the majority of these countries*. This is the negation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry because the "construction of socialism in the country" is impossible. This is again Trotskyism. "The essence of Trotskyism consists, secondly, in denying the possibility of drawing the basic masses of the peasantry into Socialist construction in the countryside. What does this mean? It means that the working-class is not strong enough to lead the peasantry after it in the task of shunting the individual peasant forms on to collective rails and that, if in the near future the victory of the world revolution does not come to the aid of the working class, the peasantry will restore the old bourgeois system. Consequently, we have here the bourgeois denial of the strength and opportunities of the proletarian dictatorship for leading the peasantry to Socialism, covered with the mask of 'revolutionary' phrases about the victory of the world revolution."⁶²

It would be absurd to think for a single minute that the O"CML" E.V. might have a Marxist-Leninist conception on the question of the Party when, on all other questions, it remains Trotskyite. On the question of the Party of the proletariat, it puts forward its Trotskyite vision which consists in "elaborating an international program, defining the principles of Marxist-Leninist tactics, and, on this base, rallying the workers' vanguard."⁶³

The Party that the proletariat wants, can only be a Bolshevik Party of the type of Lenin and Stalin. Such a party is built in the mould of the *Iskra Plan*. Which means that, for the time being, it is a question of the burning issues of the workers' movement and of clearly and firmly drawing lines of demarcation. Afterwards, will come the question of the scientific formulation of these demarcations in a program of the party. Said Lenin, "To establish and consolidate the Party means to establish and consolidate unity among all Russian Social-Democrats and, for the reasons indicated above, such unity cannot be decreed, it cannot be brought about by a decision, say, of a meeting of representatives; it must be worked for. In the first place, it is necessary to work for solid ideological unity which should eliminate discordance and confusion that — let us be frank! — reign among Russian Social-Democrats at the present time. This ideological unity must be consolidated by a Party program."⁶⁴

The "International program" of O"CML" covers the divergences and confusion that — let us be frank — reign at the present time — in the workers' movement. It does not at all rest on the Leninist principle of elaborating "before all else a solid ideological unity" that would have to be cemented "by a party program." The path proposed by O"CML" E.V. leads to the existence of parties of the old, social-democratic Trotskyite type where there is not iron discipline, but rather factional groupings. It will lead, at the international level, to the creation of an International, of the type of the IVth International. That is Trotskyism. "The essence of Trotskyism consists, lastly, in the denial of the necessity of iron discipline in the Party, in the recognition of the freedom of factional groupings in the Party, in the recognition of the necessity of constituting a Trotskyist party. For Trotskyism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union must be not a united and single militant Party, but a collection of groups and factions, each with its own central organization, press and so forth. And what does this mean? It means that following the freedom of political groupings in the Party must come the freedom of political parties in the country, i.e. bourgeois democracy. Consequently, we have here the recognition of the freedom of factional groupings in the Party, leading directly to the toleration of political parties in the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and all covered up with phrases about 'internal Party democracy' and 'improving the regime' within the Party."⁶⁵

In sum, the ideological, political and organizational line of O"CML" answers the three essential characteristics of Trotskyism as described by Comrade Stalin. It is to mask the Trotskyite character of its line that O"CML" makes attacks against Stalinism and the IIIrd Communist International. It is in this sense that it should be understood when it writes "the criticism of Trotskyism made by the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the USSR and by Stalin cannot be considered as the point of view of a definitive criticism, given the nationalist points of view developed by the PC(B) during the Second World War, etc. . . ." Which means that the criticisms of Comrade Stalin are not enough for O"CML" E. V. to demarcate from Trotskyism. Let us give it the present definition of Trotskyism: "Present-day Trotskyism is not a political trend in the working-class but a gang without principle, without ideas, of wreckers,

diversionists, intelligence service agents, spies, murderers, a gang of sworn enemies of the working class, working in the pay of the intelligence services of foreign states."⁶⁷

O"CML" can think about this. And, when it speaks about "the nationalist points of view developed by the PC(B) during the Second World War, etc. . . O"CML" does not bring forward any analysis to support this affirmation. What we do know, on the other hand, is that on the nature of the Second World War, it has two positions that are frightfully contradictory. First it writes that "the necessity of fighting against fascism and applying special tactics in this struggle are not in question. But how to isolate reaction, with whom to ally, on what program?"⁶⁸ If the fact of "applying a particular tactic" is not "in doubt," then why question oneself about "how to, isolate reaction, with whom to ally, on what program"? O"CML" E.V. must therefore explain what it understands by "particular tactic" which is not "in doubt" and the tactics which are "in doubt." In any case, it seems that O"CML" E.V. recognizes that the Second World War was waged against fascism; that it had the character of an anti-fascist, liberating war. That its criticisms, which are moreover unfounded, deal with questions of a tactical order. And yet, elsewhere, O"CML" comes back on the anti-fascist, liberating nature of the Second World War, without any self-criticism whatever. From then on, it gives it the character of "a second imperialist world war."⁶⁹ It is therefore inconvenient, at the present time, to deal with this question with O"CML" E.V. which distinguishes itself with its Trotskyite shifts. The O"CML" E.V. is an opportunist organization, without any credibility. It is formed of people of the petty-bourgeois type, without ideas, without character, without a political line (that is, a proletarian line), without honour, without conscience, the personification of philistine disorder; people who, in words, state that they are in favour of the socialist revolution but, in fact, are incapable of understanding it when it approaches and who defend "democracy" in general, in the manner of renegades, that is, bourgeois democracy in fact.

Instead of speaking of the "balance-sheet" of the IIIrd Communist International, the O"CML" E.V. would do better to undertake the "balance-sheet" of "its own" imperialism.

Lastly, O"CML" makes criticisms of the *Proposition for International Correspondence* made by the Bolshevik Union of Canada (BU): it calls the BU a "dreamer" which "seems to dream of a struggle against opportunism which would take place on the sole terrain of ideas, like a polite dialogue between well-brought up people debating their disagreements. Is this not to call on the opportunists to reform themselves, is this not to ask them to renounce in advance certain forms of struggle against Marxism-Leninism?"⁷⁰

When the *Proposal for International Correspondence* was initiated by the BU in September 1979, there was only it alone which defended the positions of world Bolshevism. Afterwards it was joined by the Bolshevik League of the United States and Linea Bolchevique of Puerto Rico. Consequently, the proposition had to take into account this reality of the epoch. *International Correspondence*, through the promotion of the debate and the polemic between organizations claiming to be Marxist, was conceived

for the purpose of working for "solid ideological unity which should eliminate discordance and confusion that — let us be frank! — reign . . . at the present time."

Did not the BU say that "what is being proposed is not a debating society, but rather a debate that will help unite those who in word and deed struggle for the proletarian revolution." And further on it writes: "The purpose of an international debate is not for the purpose of achieving unity with opportunists and revisionists; the purpose of international debate is to unite against opportunism and revisionism."⁷¹

The O"CML" E.V. does not propose other means of struggle against opportunism which are different from the "terrain of ideas." Even worse, it lies when it states that the BU sees the "struggle against opportunism . . . like a polite dialogue between well brought-up people debating their disagreements" or that it wants to "reform" the opportunists. The BU states in its proposition that "the organizational and political unity of the international movement is presently not possible; it must be preceded by a period of ideological and political struggle to determine on which basis it would be founded."⁷²

And, after a year of existence of the journal *International Correspondence*, there is progress: organizations that, yesterday, were still hesitant, are today working seriously to enter the school of Bolshevism. The holding of an *International Bolshevik Conference* is an irrefutable proof of the fact that *International Correspondence* is contributing to resolving the Leninist question "Not with whom to go, but where to go." It allows the exposure of opportunist organizations such as O"CML" E.V. whose Maoist, chauvinist, anarchist, Trotskyist ideological line would do more damage in the workers' movement if they were to remain closed up within their "national" framework. The journal has allowed for the bringing of their ideological line to the knowledge of the international Bolshevik tendency which is demolishing it in the greater interest of the international proletariat.

Thank you, *International Correspondence*. Praise to the initiative of the Bolshevik Union of Canada. Comrades of the Bolshevik Union, you have subscribed to the spirit of these words of Lenin: "That is why we must do our utmost to expose renegades like Kautsky, thereby supporting the revolutionary groups of genuine internationalist workers, who are to be found in all countries. The proletariat will very soon turn away from the traitors and renegades and follow these groups drawing and training leaders from their midst. No wonder the bourgeoisie of all countries are howling about 'world Bolshevism.' World Bolshevism will conquer the world bourgeoisie."⁷³

If the O"CML" E.V. has not understood this eminently internationalist task of the journal *International Correspondence*, so much the worse for it. It is now going through the bitter experience of it.

The collection of parties and organizations which are proposing an erroneous position would be incomplete, if we did not mention in passing the Maosheviks and semi-Mensheviks such as TKP/ML, MLPO, WESTBERLINER KOMMUNIST, GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG and the CP of CYPRUS/ML (OC). These parties and organizations, which imitate everything that should at least be imitated, is re-awakening Mao's opportunist thesis of "people's war."⁷⁴ With Mao, this thesis rests on the slogan of "the largest possi-

ble united front" of "all the forces that can be united."⁷⁵ Such a conception is the negation of the political and ideological independence of the proletariat as a class distinct from other classes. This is the path of the submission of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie in the imperialist war.

Once again, the correct slogan is that of the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. "The slogan of civil war for socialism indicates the quickest way out of the imperialist war and links our struggle against the war with our struggle against opportunism. It is the only slogan that correctly takes into account both war-time peculiarities — the war is dragging out and threatening to grow into a whole 'epoch' of war — and the general character of our activities as distinct from opportunism with its pacifism, legalism and adaptation to one's 'own' bourgeoisie."⁷⁶

In sum, the whole of these opportunist parties and organizations are the bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution. Lenin was a thousand times right when he says that these bourgeois labour politicians are "the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement, labour lieutenants of the capitalist class." In the "civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie," they will inevitably line up "on the side of the Versailles against the communards." "The working-class cannot achieve its historic aims without waging a most resolute struggle against both forthright opportunism and social-chauvinism . . . and the so-called Center, which has surrendered the Marxist stand to the chauvinists."⁷⁷

The only just path for the liberation of the proletariat and the labouring masses of all countries, from the horrors of imperialism and the wars that it inevitably engenders is that of Bolshevism. "The Bolsheviks' tactics were correct; they were the only internationalist tactics, because they were based, not on the cowardly fear of a world revolution, not on a philistine 'lack of faith' in it, not on the narrow nationalist desire to protect one's 'own' fatherland (the fatherland of one's own bourgeoisie), while not 'giving a damn' about all the rest, but on a correct (and, before the war and before the apostasy of the social-chauvinists and social-pacifists, a universally accepted) estimation of the revolutionary situation in Europe. These tactics were the only revolutionary tactics, because they did the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries. These tactics have been justified by their enormous success, for Bolshevism (not by any means because of the merits of the Russian Bolsheviks, but because of the most profound sympathy of the people everywhere for tactics that are revolutionary in practice has become world Bolshevism has produced an idea, a theory, a program and tactics which differ concretely and in practice from those of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. Bolshevism has given a coup de grace to the old, decayed International of the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, Renaudels and Longuets, Hendersons and MacDonalds, who from now on will be treading on each other's feet, dreaming about 'unity' and trying to revive a corpse. Bolshevism has created the ideological and tactical foundations of a Third International, of a really proletarian and Communist International, which will take into consideration both the gains of the tranquil epoch and the experience of the epoch of revolutions, which has begun."⁷⁸

The Bolsheviks, long before the outbreak of the imperialist war of 1914-1918 had undertaken the work of systematic, persistent and undeviating preparation for its transformation into a civil war against the bourgeoisie.

At the present time, only the revolutionary communists have really undertaken the work of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. They are waging a fierce, implacable struggle, through propaganda and agitation, against the social-chauvinist "communists" and the social-pacifist "communists" most especially, who are corrupt and sold-out to the bourgeoisie even before the outbreak of the war. We are working to demolish all the fiendish "unity" plans of the social-chauvinists and centrists whose only goal is to put the working-class in the tow of the imperialist bourgeoisies to make cannon fodder of them in the name of the "defence of the fatherland." That is why, there is no doubt that the split with the social-chauvinists and centrists cannot be put off for any reason. "Today unity with the opportunists actually means subordinating the working-class to their 'own' national bourgeoisie, and an alliance with the latter for the purpose of oppressing other nations and of fighting for dominant-nation privileges; it means splitting the revolutionary proletariat of all countries."⁷⁹

All questions, at the national and international level, must today be dealt with, in connection with the fundamental problem of the imperialist war and its transformation into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. The question of the building of the party of the proletariat is of this nature. To arrive at the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie, no effort must be spared to methodically build, in as short a time as possible, in each country, Bolshevik parties conceived in the mould of the Iskra plan. Such a party would steel itself with intolerance regarding social-chauvinism and especially centrism, that honeyed, hypocritical and dangerous opportunism. The Bolshevik journal will serve as a spark from which will burst the flame of revolutionary communism. It is imperative to constitute a core of revolutionary workers, having split radically with social-chauvinism and centrism, who will resist the spontaneity of the workers who will line up for the "defence of the fatherland" in the imperialist war. This core of revolutionary workers, internationalists, will rally the proletarians as the sufferings of the imperialist war grow and it will be the base of its transformation into a civil war against the bourgeoisie.

It is foreseeable that the bourgeoisies will use martial law to destroy this vanguard of revolutionary workers who will rally the proletariat, through propaganda and agitation, to the cause of the civil war against "its own" bourgeoisie. The French bourgeoisie is already setting the tone with its "Security and Liberty" law and its general information services that are engaging in a "witch-hunt." This makes necessary the setting up of illegal organizations. This is one of the fundamental conditions in order that the flag of revolutionary defeatism and real proletarian internationalism does not fall from our hands in the difficult moments created by the zig-zags of the imperialist war. "Let the opportunists 'preserve' the legal organizations at the price of treachery to their convictions — revolutionary

Social-Democrats will utilize the organizational experience and links of the working class so as to create illegal forms of struggle for socialism, forms appropriate to a period of crisis, and to unite the workers, not with the chauvinist bourgeoisie of their respective countries, but with the workers of all countries."⁸⁰

In the unions, the revolutionary proletariat fights in the vanguard of workers' democracy. The most implacable struggle will be waged against social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. The social-chauvinists and the social-pacifists reduce the workers' unions to the role of bourgeois instruments of reform, so as to increase the parcel of superprofit that escapes them. The revolutionary proletariat will not hesitate one single instant to split the unions on all levels if the course of the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie demands this.

We have the deepest conviction that the propaganda and agitation on all the facts will awake in the masses a growing interest for the political struggle, will rouse them from the indifference which all the bourgeoisies are taking advantage of to prepare for war. Among these facts there is the struggle against national oppression exercised by "its own" imperialist bourgeoisie. The revolutionary communists who are struggling against all enslavement of the nations, have always recognized and defended the right of oppressed nations to self-determination in the political meaning of the term, that is, the right to political separation. In effect, "Imperialism is the epoch of the constantly increasing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of 'Great' Powers; it is therefore impossible to fight for the socialist international revolution against imperialism unless the right of nations to self-determination is recognized. 'No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.' (Marx and Engels) A proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its 'own' nation cannot be a socialist proletariat."⁸¹

Internationalist support for the struggle of the labouring masses of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries, and especially for the Bolshevik organizations of these countries, and the struggle against "its own" imperialist bourgeoisie are indispensable for the union of the first, proletarian front in the imperialist countries and of the second revolutionary front in the backward countries as well as the success of the "international socialist revolution against imperialism."

LA VOIE OUVRIERE rejoices greatly that it participated in the International Bolshevik Conference of summer 1980 on imperialist war and the way to combat it, at the sides of the Bolshevik Union of Canada, the Bolshevik League of the USA, Linea Bolchevique of Puerto Rico, En Avant! of Togo and Le Prolétaire of Upper Volta who are holding high, with absolute exactness and clarity, the flag of real internationalism. We have learned much from these organizations and we are deeply grateful to them.

The Appeal to Revolutionary Communists adopted by this conference clearly re-establishes the positions of world Bolshevism on the imperialist war. It constitutes a line of demarcation between, on the one hand, Khrushchevism, Maoshevism, Hoxhaism and Trotskyism and, on the other hand, Bolshevism. That is moreover, why the opportunist organizations, such as O"CML" E.V., flee from it like the plague.

This appeal confirms, once again, that it is starting right away, that the proletariat must work methodically, with perseverance, in the utilization, in the course of the imperialist war, of the difficulties of its government and its bourgeoisie to overthrow them. Starting now, it must work in this sense, that is, assist with the defeat of its government. We should remember these words of Marx spoken in 1863: "... in developments of such magnitude twenty years are no more than a day, though later on there may come days in which twenty years are embodied."⁸²

The imminence of the imperialist war brings us closer to those "days in which twenty years are embodied." And, by following conscientiously, with perseverance, completely and continuously, and in spite of all the difficulties of the moment, the temporary pauses, the temporary defeats, the path drawn out by the reborn international Bolshevik tendency which is that of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and the IIIrd Communist International, the international proletariat and the labouring masses of all countries of the world will arrive at the real liberty of the peoples, at socialism. They will one day be able to state, with Lenin: "And the millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realizing the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war. . . it is impossible to escape that inferno except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution."⁸³

**DOWN WITH THE BOURGEOISIE!
DOWN WITH SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM
AND CENTRISM!
LONG LIVE THE GREAT BOLSHEVIK
REVOLUTION OF OCTOBER 1917!
LONG LIVE THE IIIrd COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL!
LONG LIVE LENINISM-STALINISM!
LONG LIVE WORLD BOLSHEVISM!
"PROLETARIANS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES,
UNITE!"**

Produced for *International Correspondence*
November 1980

Notes

1. Lenin, "Socialism and War," LCW 21:301.
2. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," LCW 22:295.
3. Georgi Dimitrov, *The United Front*, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, p. 10.
4. Stalin, *Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress. . . in Problems of Leninism*, FLP, p. 682.
5. Stalin, *Oeuvres* vol. 16, ed. NBE, p. 118 (our translation — ed.).
6. Lenin, "Socialism and War," LCW 21:303-04.
7. *Ibid.* p. 302.
8. Stalin, "Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress," in *op. cit.* p. 680.
9. Stalin, "Report to the Eighteenth Congress. . ." in *Problems of Leninism*, FLP, p. 879.
10. *La Correspondance Internationale*, no. special 149, 11 Dec. 1948, p. 1732 (our translation — ed.).
11. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, FLP, p. 39.
12. *La Correspondance Internationale*, no. special 149, 11 Dec. 1948, p. 1713, as quoted in *International Correspondence* no 2, 1980, p. 148.
13. *Ibid.* p. 149.
14. As quoted in *Lines of Demarcation* no 15, pp. 66-67.
15. Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," FLP, p. 36.
16. *Albania Today*, no. 2, 1979, p. 4.
17. Lenin, "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International," LCW 21:40.
18. Communist Party of Dahomey: *Declaration of the Central Committee on the International Situation*, March 1980, p. 3 (our translation — ed.).
19. Lenin, "The Tasks of the

Proletariat in Our Revolution," LCW 24:80. 20. Union des Communistes du Dahomey: Dec. 1977, NBE, p. 4 (our translation — ed.). 21. *La Correspondance Internationale*, *ibid.*, p. 1713, quoted in *International Correspondence*, no. 2, 1980, pp. 149-50. 22. *Albania Today*, no 2 (45), 1979, p. 7. 23. *La Correspondance Internationale*, *ibid.*, p. 1712, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 147-48. 24. *Le Monde*, 15 Oct. 80, p. 6. 25. Lenin, "What Next?," LCW 21:110. 26. Chinese Communist Party: *Letter of 25 Points*, NBE, pp. 9-10 (our translation from French — ed.). 27. Lenin, "To the International Socialist Committee," LCW 21:374. 28. Lenin "The Conference of the RSDLP Groups Abroad," LCW 21:163. 29. *La Correspondance Internationale*, *ibid.*, p. 1711, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 145. 30. Letter of 25 points, pp. 29-30 (our translation from French — ed.). 31. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, FLP, pp. 36-37. 32. Letter of 25 points, p. 31. 33. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," LCW 21:227. 34. Letter of 25 points, p. 29. 35. *La Correspondance Internationale*, *ibid.*, p. 1724 (our translation — ed.). 36. Lenin, "British Pacifism and the British Dislike of Theory," LCW 21:263. 37. OCML Eugene Varlin, "The Tasks of the Communists in the Struggle Against the War," *International Correspondence*, no. 3. 38. *Ibid.* 39. Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government," LCW 8:565. 40. Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?," LCW 5:361. 41. Lenin, "On the Slogan for A United States of Europe," LCW 21:342. 42. *La Correspondance Internationale* *ibid.*, p. 1712, quoted in *op. cit.* p. 146. 43. OCML Eugene Varlin: See *International Correspondence*, no. 1, 1980, p. 64. 44. "The Tasks of the Communists in the Struggle Against the War," *op. cit.* 45. *Ibid.* 46. *Ibid.* 47. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," LCW 21:228. 48. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," LCW 22:267, 270. 49. OCML Eugene Varlin "The Tasks of Communists..." *op. cit.*, p. 11. 50. Lenin, "Under A False Flag," LCW 21:138. 51. OCML Eugene Varlin "The Tasks of Communists..." 52. OCML Eugene Varlin, see *International Correspondence*, no. 1, p. 71. 53. Lenin, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy," LCW 21:34. 54. Lenin, "Revolutionary Marxists at the International Socialist Conference," LCW 21:391. 55. Lenin, "Anarchism and Socialism," LCW 5:328. 56. OCML Eugene Varlin, *International Correspondence*, no. 1, 1980, p. 71, 75. 57. Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, FLP, p. 45. 58. Lenin, "To Inessa Armand," LCW 35:251. 59. OCML Eugene Varlin, *International Correspondence*, no. 1, p. 70. 60. Stalin, quoted in *Olgin, Trotskyism: Counter-revolution in Disguise*, Proletarian Publishers, pp. 25-28. 61. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," LCW 23:63. 62. Stalin, quoted in *op. cit.* 63. OCML Eugene Varlin, *International Correspondence*, no. 1, p. 70. 64. Lenin, "Declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra*," LCW 4:354. 65. Stalin, quoted in *op. cit.* 66. OCML Eugene Varlin, *Lutte Communiste* no. 20, Mars-Juin, 1980, p. 5 (our translation — ed.). 67. Stalin, quoted in *Lines of Demarcation*, no. 15, p. 184. 68. OCML Eugene Varlin, *International Correspondence*, no. 1, p. 76. 69. OCML Eugene Varlin "The Tasks of Communists..." *op. cit.* 70. OCML, *International Correspondence*, no. 1, p. 83. 71. *International Correspondence*, no. 1, p. X. 72. *Ibid.*, p. IX. 73. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," LCW 28:113. 74. Joint Statement of TKP/ML, MLPO, Westberliner Kommunist, Gegen Die Strömung, CP of Cyprus/ML(OC) in *International Correspondence*, no. 2. 75. *Le Quotidien du Peuple*: "D'où viennent les divergences?," ed. La Cité, Lausanne, p. 129. (our translation — ed.). 76. Lenin, "Reply to P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov)," LCW 23:26. 77. Lenin, "Draft Resolution of the Zimmerwald Left," LCW 21:346. 78. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," LCW 28:292. 79. Lenin, "Socialism and War," LCW 21:311. 80. Lenin, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy," LCW 21:33. 81. Lenin, "Socialism and War," LCW 21:317. 82. Marx, "Letter to Engels," as quoted in LCW 21:75. 83. Lenin, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," LCW 33:56.

PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico: Capitalist Colony and the Tasks of Marxist-Leninists

Linea Bolchevique

1898-1940 Beginning of the Epoch of U.S. Colonialism in Puerto Rico

The Spanish-American War marked a new epoch of colonialism in Puerto Rico, as it did in Santo Domingo, Cuba, Panama, and the Philippines. The sinking of the *Maine* provided the spark that the U.S. was looking for in order to dispute these territories with Spain. This war established the U.S. as a world imperialist power. The objective of U.S. imperialism was to colonize not only the Antilles and the Caribbean, but all of Latin America. Puerto Rico, because of its geographic position, had strategic importance for the U.S. for control of the Caribbean and construction of the Panama Canal.

On July 25, 1898, when the U.S. invaded at the Bay of Guanica, the economy of Puerto Rico was based on agriculture. Its three most important agricultural products were sugar, tobacco, and coffee, principally coffee. U.S. imperialism, upon acquiring Puerto Rico as its colony, developed the first capitalist enterprises around production based on these crops. The process of the penetration of Puerto Rico by U.S. imperialism confirms the analysis of the Communist International: "Only where manufacturing constitutes a very simple process (tobacco industry, sugar refineries, etc.) or where the expense of transporting raw material can be considerably decreased by the first stage of manufacture being performed on the spot, does the development of production in the colonies attain comparatively large dimensions. In any case, the capitalist enterprises created by the imperialists in the colonies (with the exception of a few enterprises established in case of military needs) are predominantly or exclusively of an agrarian-capitalist nature, and are distinguished by a low organic composition of capital. . . . This is the essence of its function of colonial enslavement. . . ." (Thesis on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and

Semi-Colonies, *Sixth Congress of the Communist International*, Sec. 12).

In the period of the beginning of this form of colonialism, there were landlords, small proprietors, poor peasants, day laborers, agricultural workers, a small class of artisans, and a small number of workers in manufacturing. The poor peasants were heavily exploited by the landlords, kept under remnants of semi-feudal relations. Their methods and implements were very primitive, there was a high percentage of unemployment, and 95% illiteracy. Their housing conditions were inadequate, exposing them to the most horrible illnesses.

As the landowners were a weak economic force, due to their indebtedness to the Spanish merchants, they were obliged to submit to the yoke of the big U.S. capitalist agricultural corporations. The small proprietors were forced to sell their lands. The poor peasants, day laborers and small proprietors were converted into rural workers, selling their labor power to the big U.S. corporations.

During the first two years of U.S. imperialist domination, from 1898 to 1900, there was a military regime. Later in 1900, the Foraker Law was passed, which changed the military regime to an American civil government, in which the Governor, the Cabinet, and the majority of the Senate, were appointed by the U.S. President. Between October 1898 and April 1900, commerce between Puerto Rico and the U.S. consisted of \$6.6 million of imports to Puerto Rico and \$4.1 million exported to the U.S. Commerce between Puerto Rico and other countries consisted of imports into Puerto Rico of \$9.4 million and exports to these various countries of a total of \$9.8 million. By the period 1900-1901, almost all commerce with other countries had been crushed. (*Labor Migration Under Capitalism, the Puerto Rican Experience*, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Monthly Review Press, p. 93).

This reaffirms the analysis made by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. "Another basic feature in the mutual relations between the capitalist states and the colonial countries is the endeavor of various monopolist groups of finance capital to monopolize the whole external trade of the separate colonial and semicolonial countries, and in this way to subordinate to their control and regulation all the channels which connect the colonial economy with the world market." (op., cit., Sec. 14)

This means that from the beginning the U.S. began to dominate the economy and monopolize trade. Thus it was that the agricultural economy changed its structure, with sugar coming to occupy first place, since almost all its production was exported to the U.S. markets. The reason was that it was cheaper to produce sugar in Puerto Rico than in any other country. Four big U.S. sugar corporations were established, which dominated industrialization of the country's sugar industry, and by means of this control, consolidated their domination over the country's economy.

We are not able to give concrete proof of the level of development of capitalism in agriculture in this period, for lack of concrete data as to heavy investments in agriculture and the number of agricultural workers in the sugar, tobacco, and coffee industries. The bourgeoisie does not provide such statistics, but instead provides data on number of acres, number of farms, and general percentages of the

labor force. For this reason, we will give only a brief statistical summary of the labor force in that period.

Table 1
Labor Force in 1898

Manufacturing (Cigars, Needlework)	10%
Agriculture	60%

On November 25, 1897, Spain had granted the Carta Autonómica, which granted autonomy under Spanish control. When the U.S. invasion took place, the landlord class divided into a pro-Spain group and a pro-U.S. group, which saw a market for their products opening up. As a consequence of U.S. monopoly capitalism, the pro-Spain landlords faced the danger of disappearing. In 1904, the Unionist Party arose, led by Muñoz Rivera, against U.S. imperialism, with the aim of establishing itself as the dominant class, to be able to be the ones to exploit the working class and peasantry. But it failed to unite all the landlords against U.S. imperialism and lowered its struggles to mere reforms, such as a better way of life. In 1917, when a general call for a plebiscite was made, Jose de Diego, delegate of the Unionist Party, declared that Puerto Ricans should be American citizens and should serve U.S. imperialism in World War I. Just one example of his collaborationist nature.

In 1899 the first Socialist Workers Party arose, led by Santiago Iglesias Pantin, based on the labor aristocracy and Unionists. It was converged into the island branch of the SWP of the U.S. and adopted the same program. In 1900 the Free Federation of Workers of Puerto Rico was founded by Iglesias Pantin. On December 6, Pantin, located in Brooklyn, presented a proposal to the American Federation of Labor to convert the FFWPR into a branch of the AFL. Samuel Gompers designated Iglesias Pantin as his organizer in Puerto. These were direct agents of U.S. imperialism. Their aim was to corrupt the nascent workers' movement, which was beginning to create a consciousness of its class interests.

From 1900 to 1930, there were struggles against the colonial regime on the part of rural workers, which were a majority of all workers. At that time the industrial proletariat, born in the tobacco industry, was too weak to take a vanguard position and lead these struggles. Throughout all of Latin America in that period, thousands of workers and poor peasants rose up against U.S. imperialism. The bourgeoisie understood the danger and threat of a revolutionary movement throughout Latin America, and introduced the AFL all over to corrupt and deviate the workers and peasants from these struggles.

"The North American bourgeoisie understands the danger which threatens it, due to the revolutionary workers movement. That is why it attempts to control by any means the trade union movement in Latin America, carrying this out through the American Federation of Labor which is simply an auxiliary organ of the North American bourgeoisie. It is used to corrupt the working class of Latin America. The leaders of this organization are the direct agents of North American imperialism." (*Intervention of the Latin American Delegation on Bukharin's Report, Sixth Congress of Communist*

International, Edición Cuadernos Pasado y Presente, segunda parte, p. 83, our translation).

In 1917, at the onset of World War I, the U.S. granted the Jones Law to Puerto Rico, which included new reforms such as a House of Representatives, the Senate, and U.S. citizenship, with the aim of drafting Puerto Ricans to serve as cannon fodder in World War I. They recruited 20,000 to serve in that war. From that war until 1935, agriculture declined to only 45% of the labor force. Sugar, which was the principal product, was reduced to 31.1% of the national income, while a slight increase of 12% took place in manufacturing. In 1915 there were 15,000 workers concentrated in the manufacture of cigars and in the needle trades. Between 1920 and 1930, women were predominant in the labor force in manufacturing.

Table 2
Employment by Industry
1910 to 1940 (in thousands)

Industrial Group	1910	1920	1930	1940
Tobacco	7	30	n.a.	18
Coffee	38	48	n.a.	26
Manufacturing	45	62	98	101
Commerce and transportation	35	35	57	74
Construction	8	9	13	16

(Labor Migration, p. 122)

This Table shows the decline of tobacco and coffee, while the sectors of manufacturing, commerce, transportation and construction continued to increase.

In the period from the invasion until 1920, the U.S. had intervened militarily in several Latin American countries, principally after World War I. It became one of the most powerful world powers. Its aim was to colonize all of Latin America, since this region is rich in raw materials, such as oil, all types of metals (of great importance for war industries), nitrates, etc. It has great agricultural wealth, such as rubber, cotton, cocoa, coffee, grains, meat, etc. In 1928, U.S. capital investment was 46% of all foreign capital in Latin America. This indicates the importance that Latin America had for the U.S. Its principal imperialist rival was British imperialism, with which it was in constant conflict to gain domination over this strategic position, particularly in the Caribbean and over the Panama Canal area.

By the time of the Depression, unemployment had increased to 37% of the labor force. By the last years of the 1930's, sugar, tobacco, coffee, and the manufacture of cigars and needlework had declined disastrously. It was during this time that the most significant strikes took place, those that were against the big U.S. sugar companies.

In April 1922, a nationalist assembly took place in Ponce, at which was adopted an agreement to organize the Nationalist Party. On September 17, it was established as a new party. The majority of its members came from the decaying *hacendado* (landlord) class, originating from the Unionist Party. It was not until 1924 that Pedro Albizu Campos resigned from the Unionist Party and entered the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. In May of 1930 he was elected Presi-

dent of the Party. That decade was the most active for the Nationalists, and it was the one in which the Ponce Massacre took place. The Massacre was on March 21, 1937 (Palm Sunday) and resulted in dozens of deaths and hundreds of wounded. The order to fire was given by Gov. Winship, to prevent a march and rally that was planned by the Nationalists for the Plaza of Ponce. It resulted in intense unrest and anger among the masses throughout the country.*

On September 23, 1934, fourteen delegates from fourteen towns met in an assembly in Ponce and formed the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, led by Alberto Sanchez, Juan Santos Rivera, and several others. It was founded under the influence that the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union had in Puerto Rico. On August 20, 1935, it was admitted to the Communist International at the Seventh Congress.

"The Communist Party" — as expressed by the program of this Party of Puerto Rico — 'is the leader and organizer of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary workers movement for national emancipation. It struggles for the aims and principles of communism, for the winning and organization of the majority of the working class and of the sectors of landless peasants, indigent poor peasants, and middle peasants; for the constitution of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Puerto Rico and for the formation of the Soviet Socialist Federation of the Antilles; for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat; for the creation of the World Union of Soviet Republics'" (Cited in Pagan, Bolivar, *Historia de los Partidos Políticos Puertorriqueños*, p. 56, our translation).

Although it was not a mass party, it did become the communist section of Puerto Rico in the Comintern. It carried the Bolshevik line of the International, of leading the anti-imperialist, revolutionary workers movement for national liberation, toward the construction of a Socialist Republic of Puerto Rico, for the formation of the Soviet Socialist Federation of the Antilles, and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. This Party abandoned the ranks of the Communist International in 1940, due to the change in line made by its leaders who took the revisionist path. Later this Party degenerated into social chauvinism by the end of that decade and the beginning of the 1940's. The reason was the "New Deal" of Roosevelt, which brought certain economic reforms. This Party, following the line of the Communist Party of the United States of America, betrayed the class struggle of the workers and made a call to the working class to support Roosevelt and the U.S. Democratic Party, to help the bourgeoisie get out of its crisis. The CPUSA united with the Democratic Party and the C.P. of Puerto Rico, together with the Popular Democratic Party (of Puerto Rico) to help to consolidate the positions of the imperialist bourgeoisie in Puerto Rico.

At the beginning of the epoch of U.S. colonialism,

*In certain studies which we have carried out on the Nationalist Party, we have stumbled upon certain similarities with the Italian fascists of Mussolini. For example, similar uniforms of the Cadets, the slogan "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," the same star on their flag. In a future edition of *Linea Bolchevique* we will undertake a more complete analysis of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party.

at the beginning of the 20th century, Puerto Rico was a completely agricultural country. We have seen how, in 40 years, the process of converting Puerto Rico to a capitalist colony was already in operation. By 1935, in fact, it was not possible to speak of an alliance with the national bourgeoisie and rich peasants. This is clear in the program of the Communist Party, when they say: "For the winning and organization of the majority of the working class and of the sectors of landless peasants, indigent poor peasants, and middle peasants." (Pagan, loc. cit.)

Situation from 1940 to 1950

From the period of 1940 and the Second World War, U.S. imperialism, in order to assure its colonial reserves, reinforced its military positions throughout all the Caribbean and Latin America. It sought to strengthen its position to ensure control of the Panama Canal. This control assured the maritime routes of the oil tankers headed for the Eastern and Southern coasts of the U.S., as well as all commercial and military shipping. This gave North American imperialism the possibility of reuniting the Atlantic and Pacific fleets in one naval unit.

U.S. imperialism constructed new military bases in Puerto Rico, both air and naval bases, and drafted thousands of Puerto Ricans into military service. In exchange, the U.S. flooded the colonial government with millions of dollars, which increased the bank deposits by \$222 million in only five years (from 1941 to 1946). (Pagan, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 394).

This represented the bribery of the local bourgeoisie in Puerto Rico. With this the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie assured the loyal service of the colonial government, which was on the upswing, through the Popular Democratic Party (PDP). While all this money ran through the hands of the sold-out bourgeoisie, the peasants found themselves ruined, and the working class faced unemployment and terrible inflation.

There has never been in Puerto Rico a bourgeoisie that has led a struggle for national liberation. From the *hacendados* to today, it has served either the Spanish conquerors or the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the years of the 1930's had reflected a decade of discontent on the part of the peasant and worker masses. It was the epoch of the Great Depression, in which the great sugar strikes took place, directed against the big U.S. monopoly companies, and in which the Ponce Massacre shook public opinion against the colonial regime. For all these reasons, imperialism was forced to pass certain democratic reforms, to try to calm and put an end to the opposition of the broad and discontented worker and peasant masses.

The instrument utilized by the U.S. to achieve this objective was the Popular Democratic Party with its leader, Luis Muñoz Marín, and its broad program of agrarian and democratic reforms.

"Operation Bootstrap" (plan for industrialization) was in the plans of the imperialists already by the end of the 1930's, but it was not carried out openly until 1947, when the Industrial Incentives Law passed. This law covered not only a tax exemption of

10 to 17 years, but also exemption from individual taxes for the entrepreneurs.

This law was amended in 1954 and 1963, to give even more benefits for the entrepreneurs. Before proceeding to explain the process of industrialization, we would like to show a brief table of the concentration of land and key economic characteristics of conditions in 1940.

Table 3
Concentration of Land — 1940

Size of Farms	% of Farms	Value
Less than 20 acres	73.2	12.0%
More than 500 acres	.6	42.8%

(Curet Cuevas, *Desarrollo Economico de Puerto Rico: 1940-1972*, p. 39)

The local bourgeoisie was weak. It was concentrated mainly in light industry. But with U.S. imperialism building the gigantic naval base at Roosevelt Roads, and with the necessity of having a supplier of cement nearby, a loan was granted to the Ferre family to establish Ponce Cement. They later acquired several government-owned industries by means of a multi-million dollar loan from Chase Manhattan Bank. These government-owned industries were Puerto Rico Cement, glass, footwear, etc. Certain *hacendados* controlled a minimal percentage of the land, but the majority was in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The peasantry began to disappear. Many were immigrating to the cities and becoming integrated into the ranks of agricultural workers. In the process of capitalist industrial development, the peasantry is a class that inevitably disappears.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product." (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, FLP, p. 46)

In this period, the working class was mainly in the agricultural sector, concentrated in the sugar refineries, in the tobacco industry, and in sewing. The industrial worker began to be born.

Table 4
Economic Characteristics 1940-1941

	Agriculture	Manufacturing
Labor		
Force	52.1%	10.4%
Sugar		(53.9%)
Coffee		(11.1%)
Tobacco		(7.9%)
Net		
Income	31.1%	12.0%
Sugar		(51.0%)

(Curet Cuevas, *Desarrollo Economico de Puerto Rico*, p. 39)

Toward Industrialization

(This process can be divided into three phases.)

First Phase

The first phase of development covers the decade of the 1940's, precisely beginning in 1942. This period was one of experimentation by the bourgeoisie with different alternatives, methods, and instruments. This was the period in which the basis of the infrastructure was established (highways, communication, telephones, water system, port construction, etc.)

U.S. imperialism began to build all these facilities for the benefit of its military forces and to assure its pillage of raw materials. Once more the Sixth Congress of the Comintern teaches us that: "In general, imported capital is concentrated in the colonies almost exclusively for the extraction and supply of raw materials, or for the first stages of their utilization. Exported capital is used also for extending the system of communications, (railways, ship-building, harbour works, etc.), thus facilitating the transport of raw material and binding the colonies more closely to the metropolis." (op. cit. Sec. 14)

These were the years of industries which used the local resources, materials, and products. The government set up five plants, which used limestone, sand, silica, clay, and waste paper. Among these were the plants bought by Ferre later or in the 1950's. Other enterprises in this first phase were involved in the elaboration of agricultural products: sugar, honey, tobacco, wool, fruit, etc.

The plans of the first phase aimed for the development of local industry and the mechanization of agriculture. But with the rise of the second phase, and particularly the third, these plans were eliminated.

Second Phase

The second phase of industrial development in Puerto Rico took place in the decade of the 1950's. As a result of the Industrial Incentive Law and the tax exemptions, the major portion of the monopolist enterprises that were set up in that decade were light industry, labor-intensive, and oriented to cheap labor. In this phase, the most important industries that arose were textiles, garment, electrical, and electronic products. They involved the elaboration of materials imported from the U.S. and later exported back, and they used relatively simple machinery. Foreign capital investments in 1947 were \$28.8 million. In 1960 they had gone up to \$227.5 million (*Desarrollo Economico*, p. 282).

This indicates that as more capital is invested by imperialism in the colonies and semi-colonies, industrialization develops more, and along with it, colonization develops more, as well. This confirms what was said at the Sixth Congress about the industrialization of Latin America: "On the contrary, as more capital is invested in Latin America by imperialism, industrialization develops more, and with it the colonization of these countries is also developed more." ("On the Countries of Latin America," intervention by Jules Humbert-Droz, op. cit., p. 309, our translation).

By the decade of the 1960's, the Administration of

Economic Development (Fomento) controlled only 10% of the investments. While 31% of national income in 1940 came from agriculture, by 1960 that part had diminished to 5%. (*Labor Migration*, op. cit., p. 128).

In 1950, the population increased to 1,289,000, and the labor force in agriculture went down to 210,000. This represented a loss of 20,000 jobs in less than 10 years. By 1960, there were 80,000 jobs lost in agriculture, and there was an increase to 18,200 in manufacturing. But this increase did not cover the jobs lost in agriculture.

Table 5

Decline of Agricultural Development Labor Force 1950-65

Agriculture (per cent)	1940	1950	1960	1965
	45	33	25	20

Table 6

Concentration of Cultivated Lands

	1940	1969
Acres Cultivated	740,000	362,622

Table 7

Quantity of Agricultural Workers Employed in Agriculture and Manufacture (e.g. Sugar Refineries)

	1940	1965
Agriculture	124,000	32,000
Manufacturing	20,000	7,000

Emigration in the 1950's

Massive emigration toward the U.S. began in the decade of the 1950's, when the total population was 2,210,703. About 583,000 people emigrated then. The unemployment rate, which was at 16%, stayed at 12%, and never went lower than 10%. Salaries went up from 29% to 40% of the average U.S. salaries. This emigration was brought about with the supposed purpose of reducing the population and the high unemployment rate. But it served really to reduce the increase of political pressure, which might have been able to culminate in a massive rebellion against U.S. imperialism.

Parties and Political Movements 1940-1950

With the political changes that began to arise by the 1940's, the PDP already held the majority in the Senate and the House of Representatives, with Muñoz Marín as President of the Senate. But the incessant clamor against the colonial system continued, as a demand for a greater measure of self-government and a final solution to the question of political status. To calm and to group the masses, the PDP introduced a broad program of agrarian reforms,

limiting the land holdings to no more than 500 acres, promising aid to the poor peasants, more democratic rights, and that independence was just around the corner, etc. But already by July 1946, Muñoz Marin took a position against independence, saying that Puerto Rico needed 14 or more years to resolve the economic problems of the people. This resulted in a split in the ranks of the PDP, which occasioned the formation of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) on October 20, 1946.

While this was taking place, U.S. President Harry Truman, taking advantage of the period in which the United Nations was structured and on its way, when the old colonies of Asia and Africa were passing from the status of colony to that of semi-colony, decided to use Puerto Rico as a "showcase" of democracy in the Caribbean. He used it as an example for Latin America, trying to fool the broad peasant and worker masses of Latin America about the "great" "democratic" system. On July 25, 1946, he named Jesus T. Pinero (then Resident Commissioner under the PDP) as the first Puerto Rican governor named by the U.S. colonial government. When the U.S. was assured that Muñoz Marin would serve its interests with loyalty and fidelity, they approved the law (H.R. 3309) which conceded to Puerto Ricans the right to elect the Governor — this took place in 1947. Later, openly opposing independence, Muñoz Marin began to elaborate the formula of the Free Associated State (Commonwealth), permanently associated with the U.S. In the November 1948 elections, he was the first to be elected as Governor of Puerto Rico. All these steps were taken toward the aim of annexation of Puerto Rico to the U.S.

The Nationalist Party resumed its activities, after its leader, Albizu Campos, returned from completing a ten year sentence for conspiracy in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, in the 1940's.

In 1950, in a final desperate attempt to achieve national liberation, the Nationalist Party carried out simultaneous terrorist actions, isolated from the masses, in various parts of the country. The confrontation with the police, assaults on police stations, the seizing of the police station in Jayuya, and including an attack on La Fortaleza on October 30, all resulted in about 25 Nationalists dead. The following day, they continued their attacks, through actions by Nationalists located in New York. They attacked Blair House, where President Truman was residing. Four years later, in 1954, still another attempt in the form of the attack on the U.S. House of Representatives. These actions were the useless desperate attempts of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico, after its treason to the international proletariat, in its first assembly in 1940, changed its program to one of electoral reforms for the elections of that year, and made a call for a "People's Democratic Front" with the PDP (bourgeois party). In 1944 in another assembly, it was proposed by the revisionists Alberto Sanchez and Juan Santos Rivera, to dissolve the Party. It was then dissolved, following the same revisionist line as Browder in the CPUSA. By 1946, the Party was reorganized under the leadership of Cesar Andreu Iglesias. By the elections of 1948 and 1952, it made a call to its members and affiliates to vote for PIP. After removing Andreu Iglesias in 1954, they named another revisionist, Ramon Mirabal, as the new leader. They decided to sign up this insignificant Party

for the 1956 elections, to run independent candidates for Senator and Representative, using their new slogan of "against colonialism, for independence and peace." This demonstrates the decayed pacifist line that this Party had engendered, defending the interests of bourgeois nationalists. After these elections, this Party was practically non-existent.

Present Situation — Capitalist Colony

Third Phase of Industrialization

The upsurge of the third phase of industrialization took place in the decade of the 1960's, and even into the 70's. It is concentrated in heavy industry. This phase covers the petrochemical, chemical, and metal industries. It is a change in emphasis from light industry to heavy industry, from labor intensive methods of production to capital intensive methods. The first refinery plant which was set up in Puerto Rico was Gulf, otherwise known as Caribbean Gulf Refining Corporation, in 1955. In 1956 Commonwealth Oil Refining Co. (CORCO) was set up. After these came Union Carbide in 1956, the first petrochemical industry, producing ethylene glycol. Since then a large number of U.S. petrochemical monopolies, independently or in joint ventures, have established plants for production of a large quantity of petrochemical products. Among these are the following:

- Philips Petroleum
- Hooker Chemical
- Hercules, Inc.
- W.R. Grace Co.
- PPG Industries
- Royal Dutch Shell
- Sun Oil

and others. By 1972, the investments of CORCO were estimated to be \$350 million, and those of Union Carbide at \$411.5 million. The total of investment in this industry by 1972 was \$1.2 billion, going up to \$1.6 billion by 1976 and to around \$3 billion by 1980. This is a capital intensive industry, technologically very advanced, requiring few employees. Its labor force is highly paid, and highly skilled, such as technicians, engineers, etc. To give a brief example of the few employees utilized in these industries — the 7,700 employees before the June 1974 recession were reduced to 4,800 by August 1975. The direction in which this industry is moving in Puerto Rico is that of establishing a chain of plants, based on petrochemicals: for example, products such as synthetic rubber, synthetic tires, plastics, and paints. The chain consists of the refinery which produces the raw material, the plant which produces, for example, plastic made from the raw material, and the plant that produces plastic tubing or plastic sheets, as a final product. A good example of this industrial chain of production of raw material and the final product here in Puerto Rico is the PPG Industries, Rico Chemicals, and Vassallo Plastics, which represents the first chain of this type (see *Journal of Commerce*, May 12, 1975, p. 208).

To demonstrate the very high level of capital investment by the U.S. in this sector, it is estimated that by 1980 (today) the investments in refineries and

related petrochemicals, would reach the extraordinary sum of \$3 billion. (*Journal of Commerce*, loc. cit.)

To demonstrate further the nature of the investments in this industry, in 1974-75 there was a joint venture between CORCO, with 10% of the stocks, and two Japanese companies, which were Mitsubishi Corp. of Tokyo with 40% of the stocks and Nippon Zeon Co. with 50%.

This level of investments demonstrates the economic importance of this sector for the monopolies. It also demonstrates the level of integration of the Puerto Rican economy with that of the U.S. Puerto Rico is not a producer of oil. It receives the oil from Venezuela and other countries, refines it, and sends it to the U.S. Other evidence of how imperialism establishes in the colonies the type of industry that serves its own interests, is that CORCO supplies a substantial quantity of raw material to the U.S. chemical industry.

Another heavy industry that is being developed is the steel and metallurgy industry, which makes steel sheets, by hot and cold processes. These sheets are not only used in automobile assemblies and appliances for the home, but also provide the basis to construct a shipyard, a place to build and repair ships, particularly, war ships (*El Desarrollo Economico de Puerto Rico, una Estrategia para la Proxima Decada*, p. 30).

Another proof of the Comintern analysis: "Only under the pressure of special circumstances may the bourgeoisie of the imperialist states find itself compelled to cooperate in the development of big industry in the colonies. Thus, for example, requirements for preparation or conduct of war may, to a limited extent, lead to the creation of various enterprises in engineering and chemical industry in certain of the most strategically important colonies. . . . With the object of buying up definite strata of the bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, especially in periods of a rising revolutionary movement, the metropolis may, to a certain degree, weaken its economic pressure." (Thesis, op. cit., Sec. 15)

The increase of petrochemical, chemical, steel and metallurgy industries, serves not only the economic interests of the imperialists. It also serves the continuing war preparations which the U.S. is increasing against the Russian imperialist bloc. The Russian bloc is carrying out the same preparations, for a new redivision of the colonies and semi-colonies. These industries are of the highest importance for military industrial production. With today's world situation, and the inevitable danger of the outbreak of a world imperialist war, the U.S. has been pressured and forced to promote and develop this large industry in Puerto Rico. Strategically, also, Puerto Rico is of the highest importance for the U.S. in the Western Hemisphere.

Other Industrial Sectors

Other industries being developed are modern light industries: machinery, electrical appliances, electrical and electronic parts and pieces. Many are highly technological, such as tools, electronics, computers, scientific instruments, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, although several of the latter are already established.

Revealing the level of U.S. economic domination of Puerto Rico, there are over 70 of the most important U.S. monopolies set up there with 2 or more plants, and a total of 100 of the 500 biggest U.S. monopolies represented.

A Brief List of Some

ITT (which says it was born in Puerto Rico)

Electronics Industries	Total Plants
General Electric Co.	9
Westinghouse	5
R.C.A.	2

Companies with Principal Plants

Baxter Laboratories	10
Cluett, Peabody Co.	8
Consolidated Cigar Corp. (Gulf and Western)	9
Kaysar Roth	14
Warnaco	7

Pharmaceutical Chemical Companies with Two Plants

Abbot Laboratories
Air Products and Chemicals
Bristol Myers
Eli Lilly
Merck
Searle
Smith, Kline, & French
Squibb
Sterling Drug
Warner Lambert
DuPont

(Oil and petrochemical companies with multiple plants are mentioned in the beginning of this section.)

The U.S. controls 90% of the total investments in the country, and 80% of the foreign commerce, revealing once again the level of domination. The imperialists have made Puerto Rico into a subdivision of the U.S. economy.

"The imperialist colonial regime is essentially based not only on economic pressure but also on the extraeconomic compulsion of the monopoly of the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries in the corresponding dependent countries. This monopoly, however, expresses itself in two basic functions: on the one hand it serves the purpose of merciless exploitation of the colony (various forms of immediate and indirect exaction of tribute, superprofits in connection with the sale of its own industrial goods, with the obtaining of cheap raw material for its own industry and with the utilisation of very cheap labor power, etc.); on the other hand the imperialist monopoly serves for the preservation and development of the conditions of its own existence, the functions of enslavement of the colonial masses.

"In its function as colonial exploiter, the ruling imperialism in relation to the colonial country acts primarily as a parasite sucking the blood from the economic organism of the latter." (Sixth Congress, Thesis, op. cit., Sec. 11)

Confirming this analysis, a great proportion of workers are still concentrated in textile and clothing industries. By March 1980, of the labor force of 997,000 people, some 33.3% are concentrated in

these light industries, labor intensive and with low pay. These still predominate in Puerto Rico today. Although light industry still dominates, the plans of the imperialists are to convert Puerto Rico into a reserve of petrochemicals and chemicals. Light industries needed by the imperialists are being concentrated in Santo Domingo and Haiti to make use of cheap labor.

Activities of Rockefeller and His Stepson, Ferre

Through all these phases of industrialization, the Rockefeller family has been involved in the financing of key enterprises. Chase Manhattan Bank has been one of the two commercial U.S. banks controlling the finances of Puerto Rico (the other is First National City Bank. Also there are two Canadian banks, Royal Bank of Canada, and Bank of Nova Scotia) (Curet Cuevas, *Desarrollo Economico*, p. 302). Today Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty Trust, and Banco Popular of Puerto Rico, all of which belong to members of the Rockefeller network, were members of the group that sold \$300 million of Puerto Rico bonds. These bonds are completely free of any form of tax — federal, local, state — and are guaranteed by the Constitution of Puerto Rico. For that reason they provide tremendous superprofits (*Business Review*, May 1980).

The connections of the Rockefeller and Ferre families (the Ferre's control the Banco Popular, as well as the other two principal Puerto Rican banks) go back to the years after World War II. The Ferre's, who had set up their cement enterprises with a federal loan, received a loan from the Rockefellers in 1950 to buy the Fomento enterprises (previously mentioned). This fit in with the Rockefeller plans to put an end to the public sector and open the door to private investment. They praised the tax exemption law and the development of the heavy industry sector, in which they play a key role. They said: "Although light industries still dominate the industrial scene in Puerto Rico, the most dynamic industries are metallurgical, chemical, and the most capital-intensive branches of the electronic industry." !! (Chase Manhattan Bank Report, 1967, quoted in Curet Cuevas, *Desarrollo Economico*, op. cit. p. 233, our translation).

Since 1940, when Nelson Rockefeller recommended to President Roosevelt that the U.S. strengthen its position in Latin America, the Rockefeller interests have been well represented in the planning for "Operation Bootstrap," culminating in the third phase.

Undoubtedly using Ferre cement, the Rockefeller built and sold 14,000 houses in the 1950's, many for the technicians and engineers who work in heavy industry. They are also owners of the Dorado Hilton Hotel, and 1500 acres in Dorado Estates (their private town).

They are now influencing the establishment of closer commercial relations between Puerto Rico and Venezuela, particularly in petrochemicals. In 1979 exports to Venezuela reached \$85 million. It is well known that the Rockefellers have great economic interests in Venezuela, principally in oil (*Business Week*, May 1980). The collaboration between bourgeois elements like the Ferre family and the imperialists is clear to see. They owe their very existence to the imperialists. It is evident that the

Rockefeller group in particular plays a strong role in maintaining the subjugation of Puerto Rico.

Capitalist Agriculture

Agriculture in Puerto Rico was never mechanized to the capitalist industrial level. The majority of farms based their production on human labor, on one crop, because the majority were small and continued that way until the present. The machinery used on the farms in 1940 remained relatively the same until the present. The next Table points out the low level of machinery used in agriculture.

Table 8

Types of Equipment	Numbers	%	Total of Farms
Trucks	1106		2.0
Tractors	723		1.3
Electric machines & Motors	1729		3.1

(Curet Cuevas, op. cit., p. 42)

The employment level in agriculture was reduced from 200,000 in 1950 to 62,000 in 1972. The value of the traditional principal crops — sugar, coffee, tobacco — was reduced (even at levels of 1972 prices) from \$118 million in 1950 to \$55 million in 1972. This signifies that these three agricultural activities lost all their economic importance and are in the process of disappearing (*Ibid.*, p. 141). Agriculture, which was the principal source of income for the majority of the people in the 1950's to 1960, today provides only 4% of net national income.

In 1950 there were approximately 220,000 persons employed in agriculture, almost one third of the labor force (*Plan Estrategico*, p. 87), with 40% of these (about 80,000) employed in the sugar industry. This percentage of the labor force in agriculture was reduced to an almost insignificant number in the decade of the 1970's, less than 3%.

One example of the simultaneous reduction is the land cultivated in sugar. Approximately 122,000 acres of sugar were harvested. This equals one third of that harvested in the 1950's.

Demonstrating the impoverishment of the peasantry, and the ruin of agriculture, a large part of farmers today earn less than \$5000 per year per family. With the destruction of agriculture (which was part of the industrialization plan of "Operation Bootstrap"), unemployment has risen barbarously to a permanently high level. The government, to try to control the high percentage of unemployment, has plans to develop a system of family farms, placing about 20 farms in "production complexes" with certain implements, which the government will supply for the use of each "complex." Only one person per family will receive a minimum salary, while the women and children will work for free (*Plan Estrategico*, p. 87). They also have plans for the immense majority of the youth, to develop cooperatives located in the rural areas, involving them in a series of productive programs around forestry, agriculture, and light manufacturing. (This has certain obvious similarities to the Civilian Conservation Corps, the CCC, program which was developed during the New Deal in the U.S., responding to the critical level of

unemployment. This took place in the 1930's, in the years of the Depression that wracked all the capitalist countries) (*Plan Estrategico*, p. 126).

Social Conditions, Poverty and Unemployment

In Puerto Rico, the food prices go up more rapidly than in the U.S. One example of this is sugar. Although Puerto Rico produces sugar, working people in Puerto Rico have to pay seven cents more per pound than the New York price. In 1977, the people of Puerto Rico paid \$100 million more for sugar over the U.S. price level that year.

About 70% of the population of Puerto Rico receives food stamps. (*Economic Study of Puerto Rico*, U.S. Government publication, p. 309).

By 1976 around 25% of housing was inadequate. In the rural areas, sewage systems are practically non-existent. In total 76% of the rural families are without such systems. For this reason, the rural families have been forced (those who can) to build septic tanks where the sewage stagnates and little by little penetrates the earth, with the danger of contaminating wells and streams. Eleven percent of the inhabitants still depend on these waters.

In 1976, 40% of rural families had an annual income less than \$4000. Official unemployment in 1977 was 19.9%, and going up by the minute (*Economic Study*). This demonstrates that unemployment was three times higher than in the U.S.

The labor force in 1978 was 768,000, going up to 997,000 by March 1980, with more workers entering the ranks of the unemployed. We are citing figures on the unemployment situation in various industries in 1978, conscious that these figures have gone up.

Table 9
Unemployment Level 1978

Manufacturing	21.2%
Construction	48.6%
Agriculture	46.8%

Other calculations cite a figure of 50%, including both unemployed and underemployed (*Laber Migration*, op. cit. p. 140).

Conditions are inadequate in public hospitals, with a lack of medical attention and necessary equipment. Even today there are towns in various parts of the country still without public hospitals. Workers have to travel a long way to get medical attention. Many arrive dead, due to the deficiencies in public ambulance services.

Preparation of Imperialist War in Puerto Rico — Vieques

Certain steps in this direction are being taken in Puerto Rico. The large capital investments by U.S. monopolies in the heavy industries of petrochemical, chemical, and metallurgy, are a large part of these preparations. Amertex Enterprises, recently established in Humacao, which manufactures military uniforms and special clothing for chemical warfare, is another indication of the preparations. (*Business Review*, p. 16)

The broad television promotion to join the U.S.

Army, the registration of youths of 19 and 20 declared by Carter, the amendment to the bail law under a mask of anti-criminality, the restriction of the right to vote through forcing voters to be photographed for an identification card, are all measures to secure the positions of U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico and to reinforce its military strength. Thirteen percent of the territory of Puerto Rico is utilized for military training and bases. The command center of training facilities for the Atlantic Armed Fleet is located at Roosevelt Roads (on the east coast of Fajardo), the largest U.S. imperialist base in the world, in terms of physical size. Not only the naval forces of the U.S. use these facilities. They are also used for the naval forces of NATO and its allies in South America (such as Argentina, Venezuela, Santo Domingo, and Brazil).

They carry out joint or individual practice in a zone in the south of Puerto Rico which covers an area of open sea of about 200 square miles. It is only 8 miles from Roosevelt Roads to Vieques, which facilitates the practice and training of the American Navy in disembarking amphibious vehicles, and support for naval bombardment. They call this "war games," but the truth is that these are intensive preparations for a real imperialist war.

This analysis confirms that the last decades of economic development have resulted in Puerto Rico becoming a capitalist colony, at a relatively high level. But this industrial development has not led Puerto Rico toward independence. On the contrary, under imperialism this has led to strangulation of the nation and suffering for the masses.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International says, "The export of capital to the colonies hastens the development in them of capitalist relations. A portion of the exported capital, dispatched to the colony for productive purposes, does in part conduce to an acceleration of industrial development; by no means, however, in the direction of independence, but rather in a direction which strengthens the dependence of colonial economy on the finance capital of the imperialist country." (Thesis, Sec. 14)

Conclusion

This socio-economic, historical analysis of the concrete conditions of Puerto Rico has been necessary in order to be able to determine the concrete tasks of the Puerto Rican proletariat. We take it as our starting point, to arrive at the conclusion that Puerto Rico is a capitalist colony. Under the colonial regime of the PDP a certain level of agrarian and democratic tasks were completed (even to the point of destroying agricultural development and the peasantry as a class), from universal suffrage to freedom of speech. The only exception is political independence. The purpose of this was to use Puerto Rico as a model in Latin America and other colonial and semi-colonial countries. The U.S. utilizes Puerto Rico to spread the influence of the "democratic marvels" of imperialism, and to assure its political, military, and economic domination. This is also due to the fear of losing Puerto Rico, fear of a revolution, inspired by the Cuban Revolution of 1959.

It is not possible to achieve more democratic rights under capitalism. To complete them the only thing lacking is proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and a Soviet government.

Only the proletariat will be capable of leading this struggle, since it is obvious that the national bourgeoisie is at the feet of the imperialist bourgeoisie; and the petty bourgeoisie is vacillating between imperialism, the national bourgeoisie, and the working class. Based on the analysis of concrete conditions in Puerto Rico, although it is a colony, what is needed is a one-stage revolution. On the other hand, for example, the Ivory Coast in Africa needs a two-stage revolution of a democratic character, with a dictatorship of workers and peasantry. This is based on an analysis of its concrete conditions, with a supposed political independence, and without having accomplished the democratic and agrarian tasks. We use this as an example to reveal the counter-revolutionary nature of Mao Zedong and his dogmatic theory of carrying out a two-stage revolution in all countries of the "third world." What "New Democracy" means is an alliance of the national bourgeoisie, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and the workers, for a dictatorship of all the "revolutionary classes." This denies the necessity to destroy the bourgeoisie. It negates the hegemony of the proletariat, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Following the Leninist-Stalinist line and the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, we understand that only Bolshevism gives the capacity to analyze historical development and the particularities of the proletarian revolution in Puerto Rico.

Several parties exist today in Puerto Rico. These represent the different international opportunist trends. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), social chauvinists, seek a two-stage revolution. They call for a first stage of "national independence," and later "socialism," negating the specific concrete realities of the country. Their methods are electoral.

They deceive the workers with the illusion of depending on bourgeois, semi-colonial resolutions formulated by the capitalist and imperialist countries of the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations. But all Bolsheviks know that this is nothing more than trickery, treason to the working class, and we affirm the teachings of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern that:

"All the chatter of the imperialists and their lackeys about the policy of decolonization being carried through by the imperialist powers, about cooperation in 'free development of the colonies,' reveals itself as nothing but an imperialist lie. It is of the utmost importance that communists, both in the imperialist and in the colonial countries, should completely expose this lie." (Thesis, Sec. 15)

PSP seeks to turn Puerto Rico into a semi-colony of Russian imperialism, raising Cuba as the "great" example of socialism in the Caribbean and Latin America. To achieve their aims, they base themselves fundamentally on the counter-revolutionary essence of Maoism, its "New Democracy."

In its Program, PSP talks about the "conquest" of independence by means of an alliance of the working class with "the classes and social groups which make up the immense majority of the population." (p. 32, our translation) Their class analysis makes it clear that they include the bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie in this alliance. They also include "the police and other members of the repressive bodies," which they call a "social group" (undoubtedly part of the alliance) that are "salaried workers" and

at the same time "enemies of the people." But PSP "places them as possible allies of the working class . . ." (Ibid., p. 18, our translation) Thus under the Maoist version of "national unity," even the spies and assassins of the people are included.

Another echo of Maoism is in PSP's plans to give all the benefits of "socialist democracy" to the bourgeoisie. They say, ". . . including the bourgeoisie, if they renounce their class aspirations to restore their power and possess the means of production, and integrate themselves in the collective effort to construct a new society, they will become full participants in socialist democracy." (Ibid., p. 33, our translation) Just as Mao did in China, PSP has plans to allow the bourgeoisie to organize itself in parties, to direct the enterprises, and in effect to remain as the ruling class.

PSP has been oriented toward Russia since its origins in the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI). It has always raised Cuba as the model of socialism for Puerto Rico. Just as the U.S. does with Puerto Rico, Russian imperialism uses Cuba as a "Caribbean showcase," sending billions of dollars to Cuba annually to try to cover up the country's economic crisis, using it as a market for surplus Russian products (for example, television sets that are not needed by the Cubans, as Castro himself conceded). They have made Cuba a part of their international military network, utilizing unemployed youth as cannon fodder in African countries, the same as the U.S. utilized Puerto Rican youth in Vietnam. This is done to serve their imperialist interests. In the intense inter-imperialist rivalry, Russia and the U.S. are building military bases in Cuba and in Puerto Rico, respectively, as part of the preparations for imperialist war for a new redivision of the colonies and semi-colonies. In such a war, the Caribbean region would be strategically essential. That is why the two imperialist powers are competing for spheres of influence in the Caribbean, for regional control, and for Latin America, in general. Indeed, Russia is gaining certain inroads into the Caribbean region with the help of Cuba.

Russia and the U.S. also use Cuba and Puerto Rico in big international propaganda campaigns, to try to convince the masses of workers and peasants in the dependent countries to follow the path of one or the other imperialist power.

Another social chauvinist party is the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), part of the social democratic trend of the Second International (Socialist). This party, which does not even pretend to be revolutionary, calls for "electoral assemblies" by means of which "independence" would be achieved. They are going to "demand" that the U.S. recognize "the independence of Puerto Rico." (PIP Program, p. 63, our translation) They say that they are going to respect the property of the imperialists. They will give "just compensation for any expropriation." (Ibid., p. 66)

The essence of PIP's plan is to achieve semi-colonial status through negotiations. As historical representatives of European capital, the Second International wants to open the doors to European investments in Latin American countries. Their message to the U.S. is that it would be better to negotiate an agreement with PIP, and share with the Europeans the superprofits extracted from Puerto Rico, instead of risking the loss of all their property in a future revolution.

"The struggle against the colonial policy of social-democracy must be looked upon by the communist party as an organic constituent part of its struggle against imperialism. . . . The colonial policy of social-democracy is a policy of active support of imperialism in the exploitation and oppression of the colonial people. . . . In order to deceive a portion of the working class and to secure its cooperation in the maintenance of the colonial regime of plunder, social-democracy, in the most shameful and repulsive manner, defends the exploits of imperialism in the colonies. It disguises the real content of the capitalist colonial system, it wilfully ignores the connection between colonial policy and the danger of a new imperialist war, which is threatening the proletariat and toiling masses of the whole world. Wherever the indignation of the colonial peoples finds vent in the emancipatory struggle against imperialism, social-democracy, notwithstanding its lying phrases, in practice always stands on the side of the imperialist executioners of the revolution." (Sixth Congress, Thesis, op. cit., Sec. 41)

Organizations such as the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), Popular Socialist Movement (MSP), and Circle of Communist Work (M-L), are centrist groups of one form or another. For example, the "Work Circle" in words is opposed to Russian imperialism and Cuba, but supports them in deeds, through its support of the Sandinistas, Vietnam, Kampuchea, etc., where the pro-Russian-imperialist, national bourgeoisie is in power; this includes their support to the reactionary Islamic revolution in Iran. The Iranian government, led by Khomeini, is made up of kulaks (rich peasants) and extraordinarily reactionary elements.

This Moslem government is assassinating and torturing the broad worker and peasant masses of Iran. As this is taking place, the "Work Circle" says that "Marxist-Leninists have to support every struggle that weakens imperialism, independent of whether or not this struggle is led by the proletariat, that is why we support the Islamic government in its positions toward imperialism."

It appears that this group jumped over what Lenin said, in reference to the Islamic movements in which the mullahs raise "anti-imperialist phrases" to try to turn back the wheels of history and establish a feudal regime, and subject workers and peasants to the most horrible conditions of exploitation.

In words they criticize individual terrorism but in practice they support the four Nationalists and the FALN. In their position on Mao Zedong, they say that he was a "Marxist-Leninist," but that "this is not a finished position because we have not yet studied a large part of his works." ("Tactica de Construcción del Partido Comunista," document of the Circle of Communist Work, p. 50, our translation)

It is obvious that this group is Maoist. Is it necessary to study all the writings of Mao to learn that he was a revisionist? It is also obvious that this Circle of Work does not think of expropriating the bourgeoisie, since they are going to "resolve contradictions" based on the philosophy of Mao Zedong. In a defensive response they say, "We want to clarify that we have quoted Mao only once as to the dialectical materialist conception of contradictions, because it is he who most clearly expresses and synthesizes this problem." Perhaps the leaders of the Circle of

Work do not understand that the "quotations" of Mao on contradictions are aimed at deceiving the broad masses of workers and peasants worldwide, by saying that the contradiction with the bourgeoisie is not an antagonistic contradiction under socialism.

On the other hand we have the PSR and MSP, which criticize Russian imperialism only for certain revisionist positions, and criticize only the revisionist gang of China of Hua Guo-feng and Deng Xiao-ping, without including Mao in this category. The centrists use a lot of Marxist-Leninist phraseology to cover up their hidden opportunism, their collaboration with the social chauvinists. For that reason, to defeat all forms of opportunism, it is necessary to direct the main blow at centrism.

These centrist groups raise the same line as do Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labor of Albania internationally. The PLA calls for opposition to Russian imperialism in words. But it says that Vietnam is socialist and that Nicaragua is the great example of revolution for Latin America. Those in power are the reformist Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. Albania also has commercial relations with Cuba, mercenary country of Russia in Latin America.

Tasks of the Bolsheviks

The principal task of all Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers is the construction of the Bolshevik Party, based on the model of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, for the struggle for proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must struggle for the formation of a revolutionary, anti-imperialist workers' movement, for national emancipation, under the hegemony of the proletariat, assured by the leadership of the Bolshevik Party; the formation of the Soviet Federation of the Antilles, which unifies and organizes all the countries of the region in one force, to combat and to resist the attacks and counter-attacks of imperialism, to assure the final victory of proletarian revolution. As Lenin said in relation to weak and dependent nations: "Under present-day international conditions there is no salvation for dependent and weak nations except in a union of Soviet Republics." ("Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," for the Second Congress of the Communist International, June, 1920)

Today Puerto Rico is collaborating in an imperialist plan, which consists of intensifying the exploitation of the working class and peasantry of the Caribbean and Latin America. This plan, which extends over Puerto Rico and the Caribbean region, aims at obtaining even more superprofits. As an example of the workings of this plan, Puerto Rico's plans for the 1980's include further economic integration in terms of development and expansion, with the economies of the Dominican Republic and Haiti. They are sending a series of light industry plants, such as garment manufacture, which are labor-intensive, and which use cheap labor paid at 25 to 50 cents an hour. In relation to Venezuela, the plan consists of the joint operation of various petrochemical enterprises, assuring oil imports, and being integrated in a very close collaboration. The imperialists state that better benefits would be obtained if Puerto Rico could deal with these countries on the level of "government to government" in these arrangements. This

indicates the possibility of a passing over to semi-colonial status, in which imperialism will obtain the best benefits.

The building of the Leninist Party of the new type is the fundamental task of Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers, in order to successfully combat imperialism and its lackeys until victory. But this will not be possible if the Party's program does not include the necessity to struggle for the unity of the entire revolutionary workers' movement of the whole Caribbean region, with the goal of forming the Federation of Soviet Republics of the Antilles. This can be achieved only under the voluntary unity of the colonies and semi-colonies in close unity with the proletariat of the United States, the oppressor nation.

Extract of *Linea Bolchevique* no 3

MALI

Reply of the Communists of Mali to the Appeal of the Six

Sur la Voie du Bolchévisme

Modern revisionism is the product of the whole historic epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. It conspired with world imperialism, with the US at the head, to assassinate the eminent Bolshevik J.V. Stalin in 1953, to capitulate to the imperialist encirclement, to bury Bolshevism, liquidate socialism in the USSR, liquidate the world socialist camp and market, which were integrated into the imperialist system for the redivision of the world, and finally, to plunge the "ICM" ("International Communist Movement") into a real ideological crisis.

The terrible predictions of Stalin were confirmed. The "positions of international communism" were "lost." Instead of imperialism being "seized by the throat," it was the working class and oppressed peoples. The "blackest reaction" set in, in all the capitalist countries of the east and west as well as their colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

The revisionist parties in power and all the other revisionists of the present "ICM" may well struggle under the disguise of Marxism-Leninism, their opportunism does not represent anything new and one finds among them the same tendencies characterized by Lenin on the eve of the first imperialist world war of 1914-18:

— social-chauvinism and social-imperialism, that is "... defence of the privileges, advantages, plunder and violence of 'one's own' imperialist bourgeoisie (or, in general, any bourgeoisie) . . ." (Lenin, LCW 21, our translation — ed.)

— and centrism, which is nothing other than a social-chauvinism and a social-imperialism covered over with hesitation and vacillations aiming to subordinate the real internationalists to the avowed social-chauvinists by fine, Marxist-sounding phrases.

Today, the economic and political crisis that is shaking and ravaging the whole world is strengthening the frenetic struggle of the two imperialist blocs of the Warsaw Pact and NATO for the conquest of external markets, for the control of strategic materials and energy, and is putting on the agenda a world war as the only way to redivide the globe through force in keeping with the nature of imperialism.

These two military blocs which are armed to the teeth are actively and obviously preparing this 3rd, imminent imperialist war, which may come from one of any of the numerous, large powder-kegs of the present world (the Balkans, the Middle-East, the Near East, South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America). — The Western imperialist bloc, supported by the social-chauvinists of the Social-Democratic International to which can be added the Chinese imperialists and all their supporters, are deceiving the working class and the labouring masses by spreading lying appeals for a war to "defend the fatherland" against "Russian fascism," the "growing danger of communism," "destabilization" and a whole series of other sophisms about "liberty," "security," etc.

— The Russian imperialist bloc and all its social-chauvinist partisans whether in power or not, including the Trotskyites, are also spreading lying phrases, sophisms and calls to war against "destabilization," for "the defence of socialism and the socialist camp," to "liberate" the peoples oppressed by western imperialism.

Of course, all this is accompanied by a profusion of pacifist statements of faith which aim on both sides to place responsibility for the outbreak of war on the other side.

But today as in 1914-18, the world war to come "has the clearly defined character of a bourgeois, imperialist and dynastic war. A struggle for markets and for freedom to loot foreign countries, a striving to suppress the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and democracy in the individual countries, a desire to deceive, disunite, and slaughter the proletarians of all countries by setting the wage slaves of one nation against those of another so as to benefit the bourgeoisie — these are the only real content and significance of the war." (Lenin, "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War," LCW 21:15)

Six revolutionary communist organizations, the Bolshevik Union of Canada, the Bolshevik League of the United States, Linea Bolchevique of Puerto Rico, La Voie Ouvrière of the Ivory Coast, Union de Lutte Communiste of Upper Volta and En Avant! of Togo have held a conference on the war, clearly defined its inevitable, imperialist and imminent character, re-established the line of revolutionary communism on imperialist war, and called for internationalist action against it, for the proletarian revolution.

We, communists of Mali, salute and firmly support this conference and the Appeal of the six as revolutionary acts of a new truly internationalist current which is breaking with the dominant social-chauvinism and centrism of the present "ICM."

We believe it our revolutionary duty to proclaim with Lenin that: "Whoever ignores reality and refuses to recognize the existence of these three trends, to analyze them, to fight consistently for the trend that is really internationalist, is doomed to impotence, helplessness and errors." (Lenin, "The Tasks of the

Proletariat in Our Revolution", LCW 24:75) Why?

Because this appeal is, according to us, solidly suited to the terrain of today's reality, putting in the forefront the imminent imperialist war as a pivot and decisive criterion, at the international scale, of the rupture with the social-chauvinists and centrists and reconstruction of a new Communist International.

That is why we are fundamentally in agreement with the Editorial Committee of *International Correspondence* no. 2 when it writes: "The question of war and proletarian revolution, however, is not just one question among many. Only those who deny the inevitability of imperialist war, or those who take an eclectic view of 'question of principle' like a laundry list, can think so. It is on this question that the Second International collapsed and was split by the Bolsheviks. It is the lines of demarcation on this question that formed the basis of the Communist International. It is the revision of Leninist-Stalinist principles on this question that is a cornerstone of modern revisionism with its theories of 'peaceful coexistence' and 'peaceful transition to socialism.' If organizations take a social-chauvinist or social-pacifist position, their disputes about Mao's "hundred flowers" campaign, etc. are the sterile twaddle of opportunists trying to prevent the rupture with opportunism."

In fact, the dispute, the opportunist calls for unity of this kind are coming forward and they are numerous.

There is the centrist appeal for "the unity of forces which defend Mao", the social-chauvinists, against Bolshevism.

There is that of other centrists who, refusing this demarcation on Mao, are calling for a conference of Marxist-Leninists on their "laundry list" of questions of principle, serving to mask their opportunism and their social-pacifism.

And to crown and promote all this, there is the miserable, neutralist rag of IN STRUGGLE! of Canada: *International Forum*, a real "word-mill," without polemic or debate and which serves the opportunists to mutually caress their opportunism.

The Malian communists say 'no' to all this rottenness that is the by-product of the bankruptcy of the centrist international of the CCP and the PLA after the turn of the Chinese revisionists to avowed social-chauvinism. But the PLA is not resigned to this defeat. It declared, as we know, at its 7th Congress: "The situation may ripen and lead to a great meeting of all the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties." But what are these "communist and workers' parties"? All of its own centrist, social-nationalist and social-pacifist followers!

If the PLA has the audacity to emerge from its cowardly silence in the present debate and convoke this "great meeting," the revolutionary communists will help all this riff-raff to "worship their gods," because they know in advance that it will be an international meeting of agreement and adoption of opportunism, around a honeyed phraseology expressing the bourgeois pacifism of the centrists and their petty-bourgeois dream of a peace without the overthrow of the yoke and the domination of imperialism, around evasions of all sorts tending, as Lenin said, "to deny the possibility, or the appropriateness, or the timeliness of a proletarian revolutionary struggle and of a proletarian socialist revolution in con-

nection with the present war" (Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," LCW 24:78).

NO TO WAR! NO TO NUCLEAR WAR! STRUGGLE FOR PEACE! NO TO THE 3 SUPERPOWERS! STAY THE HAND OF THE HANGMEN! TRANSFORM THE WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION! Such is their opportunist credo.

But these are only vain attempts to deny the inevitable, imperialist character of the war, to continue to disorient and disarm the proletariat by adapting Marxism to the sauce of nationalism and imperialism.

The Appeal of the Six correctly emphasizes "It is not enough to oppose the war with words, and to favor peace it is not enough to utter empty phrases about proletarian internationalism as the centrists do. There is no possibility of real peace under capitalism. To preach peace instead of revolution is to betray the proletariat and condemn the world to an endless series of wars. These social-pacifists also serve the imperialists by sabotaging the preparation of civil war and its execution by spreading pacifist illusions. They mystify and deceive the proletariat and try to deroute it from the only path to end imperialist war. We must break with those deceivers of the proletariat and once again re-establish the principles of revolutionary communism. We must uphold the programme of revolutionary defeatism, the transformation of the war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie and support and conduct national revolutionary wars in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries against imperialism."

The Appeal of the Six is for us both an outcome and a sign of the times.

— It is the outcome of the exemplary, merciless struggle waged by the Bolsheviks of North America, with the Bolshevik Union at the head, in their respective countries and at the international level for the split with social-chauvinism and centrism. This struggle of principle to again raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism could not fail to meet that of the African communist groups engaged in a process of rupture notably with the self-proclaimed social-nationalist parties of the "PCD" (Dahomey), the "PCRV" (Upper Volta), the "PCT" (Togo) and the social-chauvinist group, the "Ligne M-L" (Senegal).

We, Malian communists, in gestation for a certain time and engaged in the same process of rupture with a very disguised social-chauvinism widely distributed in the "Bulletin du Peuple," an organ of the centrists which does not even dare to say it adheres to Marxism-Leninism, have learned much from all these different struggles, from their being brought together in *International Correspondence*, and we have discovered the path of Bolshevism.

Having decided to Bolshevize ourselves and to rally to the raised banner of Marxism-Leninism, we are happy to use the occasion of this reply to announce the coming publication of our journal of propaganda "SUR LA VOIE DU BOLCHEVISM" (ON THE PATH OF BOLSHEVISM), in application of the Leninist ISKRA plan, to work to give the Malian proletariat its Marxist-Leninist Vanguard party, taking for a model the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Stalin. Such a party has never existed in our country, since the P.M.T. (Parti Malien du Travail), the centrist continuation within Mali of the Khrushchevite P.A.I. (Parti Africain de l'Indépendance), died, defeated by opportunism. To those who are

still doubtful and hesitant, it is enough for now to dedicate these words cited by Lenin: "Let the dead bury their dead. Whoever wants to help the waverers must first stop wavering himself." (Lenin, "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," LCW 24:84)

The revolutionary communists of Mali must go forward!

We have said that the Appeal of the Six is also a sign of the times. Above the deafening rattle of weapons, the noisy chauvinist and social-chauvinist propaganda of the two imperialist blocs, the social-pacifist demagogy of the centrists and their opportunist calls for unity, there is the clear, strong voice of a reborn international Bolshevik current which is arising through having realized the start of a joining of the two fronts of the proletarian revolution: that of the Bolshevik revolution in the imperialist countries for the dictatorship of the proletariat and that of the Bolshevik revolution in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry under the hegemony of the proletariat, as a first stage of the socialist revolution.

The Appeal of the six sounds the knell for the existing triumph of modern revisionism and we support *International Correspondence* as a forum for debate for the bolshevization of the communist organizations in the struggle against the imperialist war.

We are convinced that the Appeal of the Six will be heard, supported, taken up and distributed, as we have done and will continue to do, by all the revolutionary communists who are truly aware, on one hand, of the depth of the imperialist crisis and the depth of the crisis into which the proletariat has been submerged by the social-chauvinists and centrists of all kinds, and on the other hand, the necessity to merge the struggle against these two crises into one single truly internationalist current of struggle to transform the imminent imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. "It is impossible," said Lenin, "to escape their inferno, except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution." (Lenin, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," LCW 33:56)

To learn from the experience of the Zimmerwald Left and the IIIrd International, to call on the workers of all countries to break with the social-chauvinists and to rally the revolutionary communists who "in spite of everything, exist in many countries" against the centrist swamp where the PLA and its followers flounder with all the defenders of "freedom" of "criticism" and "Mao Tse-tung Thought" against Marxism-Leninism, that is what the international proletariat needs to reconstruct its unity and authentic Bolshevik parties without which, it is impossible to transform the imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

Mali, like most of the countries of West Africa, is a semi-colony of French imperialism, a backward agricultural country that has not yet completed its bourgeois democratic revolution. It is known for having been, from 1960 (the date of its formal political independence) to 1967, one of the sadly famous "states of national democracy" of the sphere of influence of the Russian imperialists, who dragged behind them all the social-chauvinist and centrist vultures of the ex-socialist camp.

But the national-bourgeoisie in power, in spite of its pseudo-socialist phraseology, never broke with

western imperialism as a whole, still less with French imperialism, the ex-colonizer. Organized in the party, Union Soudanaise (Mali was called French Sudan under the colonization), a section of the national-reformist RDA (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain), this bourgeoisie ended up, under the impulse of an exacerbated economic, social and political crisis and the popular struggles shaking its base, again selling itself to French imperialism by signing the Franco-Malian monetary agreements of 1967 signifying the return of the country into the hold of the West.

An openly pro-French coup d'état followed in 1968, bringing to power a so-called Military Committee of "National Liberation," having at its head Lieutenant Moussa Traoré, for the consistent application of the aforesaid agreements. He swept away and then into opposition the national-reformists of the USRDA. The Malian people thus lived through "ten years of black reaction." Then, by means of another coup d'état by the same Moussa Traoré who had since become a general, a coup followed by calls for "national reconciliation," "democratic change," there was the brief period of open class collaboration of all the centrifugal and national-reformist political forces of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie (USRDA, RPM (Regroupement des Patriotes Maliens), PMT and BP) for the creation of a new single reactionary party under the aegis of the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. Defeat all along the line!

The national-reformist opposition got nowhere in its attempt to control this party and to orient it in the "non-capitalist road of development" or "scientific socialism," that is, a peaceful movement once again into the fold of Russian imperialism.

For their part, French imperialism and its vassals in the national bourgeoisie, entangled in an unprecedented economic, social and political crisis are experiencing fierce popular resistance marked by the development of the struggles of the students and teachers and the failure of the attempts to draft the masses into the new, single bourgeois party, the U"D"PM (Union "Démocratique" du Peuple Malien) and its puppets, the UN"J"M (Union Nationale de la "Jeunesse" du Mali) and the UN"F"M (Union Nationale des "Femmes" du Mali).

The aggravation of the imperialist crisis and the imminent war is leading the national bourgeoisie, now organized in its miserable U"D"PM to strengthen its alliance and its submission to the western imperialist bloc, especially its gendarme in Africa, French imperialism, to face the expansionist ploys of Libya which is armed and supported by the Russian imperialists. It is attempting new con-jobs to strengthen the base of its party, while bringing down fierce repression on the students' and teachers' movement (assassinations of pupils and students, arrests, arbitrary changes and transfers of teachers) so as to be better able to introduce new so-called reforms of "regionalization" and "ruralization" of teaching. These anti-popular reforms are presently being carried out through the closing of centers, the sending home of 12,000 pupils and students and the suspension of 25,000 others, and they aim to throw onto the back of the popular masses the costs of the failure of its bourgeois educational system and to adopt it to the needs of safeguarding its domination and that of imperialism.

The working-class is not far behind and must face

massive loss of jobs in the framework of the restructuring and rationalization of state companies and enterprises that have been sought and obtained by French imperialism as conditions for the integration of Mali in the UMOA (Union Monétaire Ouest-Africaine).

The national-reformist opposition has once again become active: creation of the FDP (Front Démocratique des Patriotes Maliens) on the initiative of the national-reformist debris of the USRDA dragging behind a rag-tag collection of Trotskyistes, Maoists, and other pan-Africanists, a front supported by the social-chauvinists of the P"C" (Parti "Communiste" Français) whose commandoes are distinguishing themselves in social-fascist coups against immigrant workers in France, in the municipalities that they control.

From all sides come calls for the "unity of all patriotic forces" (FDP), for "a front of national salvation" (Bulletin du Peuple no 26) to get rid of General Traoré and establish a so-called "regime of popular democracy." All of these unremitting nationalists and chauvinists are convinced of the existence of a revolutionary situation in Mali and are ready to promote or support any reformist and putschist solution (such as the recent abortive coup d'état of 31 December 80 by "populist" junior officers) to gain power and call on the Malian workers and peasants to serve as cannon fodder for the next imperialist butchery.

But only a Bolshevik revolution of soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers of Mali, transforming the inevitable and imminent imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat and peasantry against the national bourgeoisie and establishing the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants under the hegemony of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the proletariat will be able to resolve the bourgeois democratic tasks of the Malian revolution and build the foundation for its passage to socialism.

"ON THE PATH OF BOLSHEVISM" most appear as quickly as possible, to take advantage of the "peace" that remains, to give battle to all these opportunists to "rally the vanguard to communism" by breaking with social-chauvinism and centrism.

Such are the foremost tasks of the Malian revolutionary communists.

They are sure to benefit in this from the precious aid of the reborn Bolshevik current which held an international conference on war, from that of the comrades of Vive le Marxisme-Léninisme of Senegal and of all the revolutionary communists who will support the Appeal of the Six and who will commit themselves, like them, to achieve all the tasks relative to it, never forgetting these words of Lenin: "The International consists in the coming together (first ideologically, then in due time organisationally as well) of people who, in these grave days, are capable of defending socialist internationalism in deed, i.e. of mustering their forces and 'being the next to shoot' at the governments and the ruling classes of their own respective 'fatherlands.' This is no easy task; it calls for much preparation and great sacrifices and will be accompanied by reverses. However, for the very reason that it is no easy task, it must be accomplished only together with those who wish to perform it and are not afraid of a complete break with the chauvinists and with the

defenders of social-chauvinism" (Lenin, "Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism," LCW 21:99).

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

LONG LIVE REBORN BOLSHEVISM!

Produced for *International Correspondence*
January 1981

FRANCE

Against the Revisionist Concept of "Superpower"

Combat Prolétarien

"We are still in agreement with the basis of 'International Correspondence' formulated in the 'proposal for a journal of International Correspondence' which you published in September 1979. We are also in agreement with the 'Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists' published in *International Correspondence* no. 2. On this basis, if you think, as we do, that the text on the 'superpowers' contributes to the analysis of imperialism in the Marxist-Leninist movement, we are ready to discuss its publication in *International Correspondence* with you."

Extract of a letter from Combat Prolétarien
November 6, 1980

The term superpowers has never been the object of precise definition. "Superpowers," or "superbig powers," is commonly used by the bourgeoisie to designate the USA and the USSR, the leaders of the two large imperialist blocs which today confront one another.

In the Marxist-Leninist press, the term superpowers has appeared to designate, in the recent world conjuncture, the relation of strength established among the imperialist powers following the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, when two imperialist states — the USA and the USSR — occupied the dominant position in the camp of imperialism because of their economic and military potential, the advanced character of the concentration of capital and the extent of their zones of influence.

We are not able to go back exactly to the first use of the term superpower. We see that the CCP used it from 1963 in its polemic against Khrushchevite revisionism: "The present leaders of the CPSU (. . .) are terribly afraid of conflict with the imperialist coun-

tries, and they have taken it into their heads to oppose the national liberation movement. And the idea of two superpowers establishing spheres of influence in the world makes them giddy." ("Apolo- gists of Neo-colonialism," Comment on the Open Letter of the CC of the CPSU. IV. 22 October 1963, FLP, our translation from French)

It seems that the use of the term superpower becomes general only in the seventies, with the denunciation of the USSR as social-imperialist. In 1967, at its Fifth Congress, the PLA speaks of world "great powers" in regard to the imperialist countries and defines US imperialism as "the ferocious and dangerous common enemy" of "all the revolutionary forces of our time." It was at the Sixth Congress of the PLA (November 1971) that the term superpower appeared, in regard to the USA and the USSR and united Europe that is seeking to become "a new imperialist superpower, having the same claims to hegemony and domination as the United States of America and the Soviet Union." (Tirana, p. 21, our translation from French) Then, in *Imperialism and the Revolution*, E. Hoxha also uses it on the subject of China.

But it is above all the reactionary theory of three worlds developed by the C"CP that has used the term superpower, the two superpowers constituting the "first world" that little by little reduced itself to Soviet social-imperialism alone, characterized as the more "aggressive" and only instigator of war.

Most of the time the superpower is characterized by its "hegemony," its "expansionism," its aggressiveness. With the theory of three worlds, the superpowers constitute the main enemy of the peoples, and become the target of the "World United Front" that grouped all the classes and all the countries opposed to the superpowers.

The criticism of the theory of three worlds by the PLA, while combatting the main thing in this theory, which is to deny the class struggle as the motor of history, and our epoch as that of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, however designates US imperialism and Russian social-imperialism as "the main and the most dangerous enemies of the peoples" (Seventh Congress of the PLA), the "most aggressive and bellicose powers" (*L'impérialisme et la Révolution*, p. 293, our translation).

In the absence of any definition of the term superpower, and according to its use, we can summarize thus what it refers to:

1-Large imperialist states noteworthy for their economic and military development, having a "leadership" position in the imperialist blocs (USA and USSR), or tending to acquire these positions (United Europe, China).

2-These are characterized as "expansionist," "hegemonist—or tending to hegemony," "aggressiveness" . . .

3-Lastly, these states constitute the most dangerous enemy—or enemies, and even the main enemies at the world level for the peoples and the forces of revolution.

Our criticism of the term superpower bears on these three points.

1-In isolating one, two, or several imperialist states from the whole of the imperialists because of the special quantitative development of their economic and military potential, one tends to introduce a new definition of imperialism under the pretext of con-

crete analysis of the relation of forces within the imperialist camp at a given time: imperialism ceases to be "a world system of financial enslavement and colonial oppression of the vast majority of the population of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries" (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, FLP, p. 24-25) and becomes the characteristic of a few countries only. In other words, for the definition of imperialism as an economic, political and social world system, which manifests itself by the interaction of four contradictions (bourgeoisie / proletariat; socialism / capitalism; dominated countries/imperialist countries; interimperialist contradictions), there is substituted imperialism as a characteristic of a few countries.

Because of this, the contradictions between the superpowers, between the two imperialist blocs appear as a fixed, permanent element which is the motor of the world situation. One comes to underestimate, on one hand, the whole of the interimperialist contradictions which manifest themselves not only between the blocs presently led by the USA and the USSR, but also within each of these very blocs; and, on the other hand, the contradictions between imperialist countries and dominated peoples, as well as the class contradictions.

The predominant role of the USA and the USSR within each imperialist bloc, and the very existence of these two blocs at the present time, are not fixed, stable factors of the international situation.

The alliances between imperialist states are always founded on the relation of strength existing between the partners, to each according to his strength and his capital. These alliances are made and unmade in accordance with the struggle against a common enemy, and they are susceptible to transformations.

Thus, before the appearance of Russian social-imperialism as a competitor of the "western" imperialist states, the relative domination of American imperialism after the war foretold, with the later strengthening of the imperialist countries weakened by the war, new struggles for the redivision of the world, once the economic and military potential of France, Great Britain, Germany and Japan were reconstituted. That is what Stalin foresaw in 1952. (*Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*)

The whole history of imperialism gives the example of transformations in the interimperialist relations of strength. The First World War ended the supremacy of British imperialism. The Second World War was launched by the necessity for a redivision of the world between the imperialists who had colonies (Great Britain, France) and the German and Japanese imperialists who had an intense concentration of capital and lacked outlets.

"Finance capital and the trusts do not diminish but increase the differences in the rate of growth of the various parts of the world economy. Once the relation of forces is changed, what other solution of the contradictions can be found under capitalism than that of force?" (Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," LCW 22:274)

It is the law of the *uneven development of capitalism* in the epoch of imperialism that puts into question the relations of strength between the imperialist countries themselves.

Consequently, by isolating the superpowers which seem unchangeable, forever hanging over the impe-

rialist camp, one tends to deny the law of the uneven development of capitalism.

The designation of an imperialism which is triumphant for the time being by virtue of the concentration of capital, the extent of its zones of influence or its military potential rests on quantitative criteria, which themselves are subject to the law of uneven development of capitalism.

In no way does this preponderance presume a change in character between the various imperialist states nor allow us to underestimate the fierce competition which pits all the imperialist states one against another and which is precisely a factor of war.

2-The characteristics of expansionism, hegemonism, aggression are those of imperialism itself, and not merely of the "superpowers."

Let us recall that imperialism took the place of competitive capitalism with the appearance of monopoly, with the predominance of the export of capital over the export of merchandise, which aims to subject to itself always greater zones of influence (markets and sources of raw materials). This is an objective law of capitalism, independent of the specific will of this or that capitalist, or such and such imperialist state. "... An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony, i.e. for the conquest of territory, not so much directly for themselves as to weaken the adversary and undermine his hegemony." (Lenin, *ibid.*, p. 269)

In this race for hegemony, all the imperialists commit aggression not only against each other, but against the peoples they seek to enslave. And in the last few years, in the wars fomented against the peoples, an imperialism such as French imperialism — which is never defined as a "superpower" — has been one of the most directly aggressive through its repeated interventions in Africa to look after its own interests and those of its allies.

Consequently, the attributing of the characteristics of imperialism to the "superpowers" alone, ends up by prettifying the other imperialist states, and derouting the proletariat from the revolution and from alliance with the peoples who are struggling against its own imperialist bourgeoisie.

The theory of three worlds gave the "second world countries" — imperialist countries — a progressive role in the struggle against the superpowers and openly called for class collaboration against "the main enemy" (the two "superpowers"), then only Russian social-imperialism, which alone was branded with "hegemonism."

But what is to be thought of the ambiguity of the characterizations that E. Hoxha gives in *Imperialism and the Revolution* to the other imperialist states, which are most often called, in contrast to American imperialism and Russian social-imperialism, "capitalist states," "developed industrial states" (p. 293) which have "imperialist tendencies"? (p. 48) Is this not also a tendency to reduce imperialism only to the "superpowers," and to leave the way open to the revisionist theses on ultra-imperialism?

The thesis of ultra-imperialism was put forward for the first time by Kautsky, who imagined that in place of a "struggle between national finance capitals," the imperialists could engage in "the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital." To this Lenin replied: "... The

only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the strength of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc." (Lenin, "Imperialism . . .", LCW 22:295)

The strengths changing, a redivision presumes recourse to war.

"Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system . . . 'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing all the imperialist powers, are inevitably nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars." (Lenin, *ibid.*, p. 295, emphasis added)

Today the revisionists call the proletariat to defend "its" nation against "anti-national" big capital, against the multinationals which would destroy the imperialist states themselves. The "oversight" of the revisionists consists merely in that imperialism, on the contrary, strengthens their national states, instrument of their domination over the proletariat and the workers, so as to preserve the best conditions of exploitation. The logical conclusion of these theses on ultra-imperialism is the call for a national grouping of all classes merged together for the strengthening of state monopoly capitalism.

Thus, by isolating the superpowers from the whole of the imperialist system, and by attributing to them alone the characteristics of imperialism, one makes of their blocs, not a temporary alliance of imperialist countries that rests on fierce competition, but a series of enslaved states, and one calls on the proletariat not to take advantage of the contradictions within each bloc to weaken its own bourgeoisie so as to overthrow it, but to wage a national liberation struggle.

Without arriving at this conclusion, E. Hoxha however suggests *national tasks* for the proletariat of the imperialist countries, vis-a-vis the superpowers: "To exploit the contradictions between the imperialist countries and the two superpowers means to deepen the rifts between them, to encourage the revolutionary and patriotic forces of these countries to oppose US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which want to subjugate them economically, politically and militarily, to exploit them and deny them their national identity, etc." (*Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 287)

Let us recall however that E. Hoxha states that the use of interimperialist contradictions "can never be, for the working class and for the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, an end in itself."

It is of course a question of tactics. But it is based on the analysis according to which the superpowers are imperialists of another kind which enslave, try to "colonize" the other imperialist states, imperialists who would occupy the terrain all by themselves, and not states which participate in a world, total system of imperialism.

3-By setting up main enemies, common to all the peoples, this concept of superpower can easily lead to the idea of a common strategy at the world level to defeat them. It implies that the revolution will only be able to triumph once the citadels of imperialism have been overthrown.

Now, if there is indeed a main enemy for the proletariat in each country, which is its own bour-

geoisie or that imperialism which dominates it, at the world level the enemy can only be the imperialist system itself. "Now the proletarian revolution must be regarded primarily as the result of the development of the contradictions within the world system of imperialism, as the result of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front in one country or another" (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, FLP, p. 27).

In the epoch of imperialism, revolutionary crises develop where the whole of the contradictions of imperialism are concentrated. The October Revolution was the first example of this.

Closer to us these past few years, we have seen the ripening of situations of revolutionary crisis set off in the weak links of imperialism: in Portugal in 1974 (colonial defeats, intense class struggle, effects of the crisis), in Iran, in Nicaragua, in El Salvador. . . If these revolutionary crises were not able to lead to a proletarian revolution, it is because of the absence of a proletarian leadership, consistent CP's, and an international communist movement.

The present crisis, one of the deepest and most serious that the whole of the imperialist system has known, proves the correctness of the Leninist analysis of imperialism as the rotting and moribund stage of capitalism, its highest stage, the "ante-chamber" of socialism.

Now the idea of superpower, which presents as stable and intangible the domination of the current two biggest imperialists, the USA and the USSR, leads to a denial of the Leninist thesis of the weak link, and the possibility of revolutions in one or a few countries because of the sharpening of all the contradictions, which would act in the sense of weakening the entirety of the camp of imperialism, and would facilitate the struggle of each people against those who oppress it, and of the working class of each country against its own bourgeoisie, whether imperialist or linked to imperialism.

It is not individual countries, the superpowers, which constitute the enemy of the proletariat and the peoples, it is the economic and political system of imperialism; the latter may give birth to new blocs such as Europe, to new rivalries or new alliances, without however changing the nature of the tasks of the world proletariat: the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the socialist revolution.

In conclusion, it appears that the term superpower is not only "descriptive." It conceals an erroneous political concept that:

- gives a metaphysical, ossified vision of imperialism, replacing the analysis of the imperialist system and the contradictions it causes by the designation of countries, the "superpowers" which concentrate within themselves alone all the characteristics of imperialism;
- moves toward the revisionist thesis of ultra-imperialism and tends to deroute the working class from its revolutionary tasks to the benefit of defense of national independence;
- contradicts the Leninist thesis of the possibility that revolutions will break out in the weak links of imperialism, and tends to substitute for it the thesis of a strategy and tactics at the world level, such as the "United Fronts" against the superpowers.

At the present time, these conclusions are not drawn from use of the term "superpower." Nevertheless, the ambiguities that the term provokes in the analysis of imperialism, the imprecision that

attaches to it in the definition of tactics and strategy, the erroneous character of the method that separates one or two countries from the whole of the imperialist system allows for criticism of this term as concealing an opportunist conception.

That is why, while approving of the main part of the criticisms that Combat Communiste makes of the term superpower in its platform, we cannot agree with it when it concludes:

"In an imperialist country such as ours, it would be better not to use this word that can be easily used as a concept and lead to the consequences inherent in this concept: the United Front of so-called 'national independence.'" (p. 30, our translation — I.C.)

One does not use words in order to say nothing. If the world really carries an erroneous concept, its use is wrong for all Marxist-Leninists, in an imperialist country such as ours and everywhere else. The prudence of Combat Communiste arises from the fact that it does not want to criticize the use of the term superpower by the PLA.

It is true that the PLA does not call for a United Front of national independence but the concept of superpower leads it to incorrect fluctuations on the characterization of imperialist countries other than the USA and the USSR and that is enough for us to criticize not only the use of the term superpower, but the concepts it carries, and the political conclusions to which it threatens to lead.

July 31, 1980

The International Significance
of the October Revolution
and the Coming Imperialist War

*Speeches, messages and
declarations at the public forum
in New York, November 8, 1980*

Introduction

On November 8, 1980 a public forum was held in New York City to commemorate the Great October Socialist Revolution and discuss its international significance in relationship to the coming imperialist war. The Forum was organized by the Bolshevik League of the United States, and was held under the names of the Bolshevik organizations that made the "Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists," as part of the work to prepare an international conference of revolutionary Communists against imperialist war.

International Correspondence is reproducing here the various messages, statements and speeches given at the Forum. In addition to those by organizations that signed the "Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists," there are also statements by three groups from the United States. After these presentations there was an open discussion with those who attended the Forum. Although no one was excluded at the door, almost all opportunist groups were in hiding and were afraid that their social-chauvinist and social-pacifist stand and practice on the question of war would be exposed. Only a lone Trotskyite sect dared to venture in, only to openly defend Trotsky's centrism against Lenin in the first imperialist world war, slander Stalin and the Communist International, and defend the views of Mao Tse-tung on the question of war. These Trotskyites graphically demonstrated to the participants in the forum how various opportunist trends may have certain differences among them but that they are united against Bolshevism, particularly on the question of war and proletarian revolution.

Almost all of the participants supported transforming the coming imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie and beginning now the work that is necessary to prepare it. The Forum closed with the singing of the *Internationale*.

Presentation of Linea Bolchevique of Puerto Rico

Comrades,

Today events all over the world are demonstrating the inevitability of the coming imperialist war. The two imperialist blocs, headed by the U.S. and Russia, are arming and rearming themselves to the teeth, preparing themselves to unleash a new imperialist war to redivide the world between these gangs of imperialist robbers.

There are false "communists" who try to deceive the broad masses of workers and peasants throughout the world, as to what should be the tasks of the proletariat in the coming war. The Chinese "communists" with their social chauvinist theory of "three worlds" are united and working to raise support for the Western imperialist bloc and NATO. This is due to the great threat which Russia represents in Asia, as well as to the bourgeois nationalist plans and interests of the Chinese.

We also have "communists" who, in the name of socialism, seek to arouse support for the Russian imperialist bloc and the Warsaw Pact countries (as for example, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Puerto Rican Communist Party in Puerto Rico). But the reality is that all these social chauvinist opportunists want the workers to die for the interests of one or the other imperialist bloc.

On the other hand, we have the so-called "communists" of the Party of Labour of Albania. These centrists, social pacifists, are being completely unmasked in their position on the coming war. In their position toward the war, they call for a peace movement to avoid imperialist war. Using the name of Stalin, they make this statement in order to attack the political line of Stalin and promote pacifist illusions. Hoxha says "that it is impossible to prevent an imperialist war through a peace movement" (*International Correspondence* no. 1, p. 101) and that if this movement cannot stop the war then it is "the task of the workers to unite with freedom-loving

forces in a war of liberation." Comrades, this is a fallacy, because these "freedom-loving forces" do not exist today. Who are they? The "well-intentioned" countries such as the imperialist powers like France, Canada, etc.? Or the reformist bourgeoisie of various countries of Asia, Africa, or Latin America, as for example, the reformist bourgeoisie of Nicaragua? No, comrades, we must not let ourselves be fooled by the fallacies of the PLA. These "well-intentioned" countries, like France, Canada etc., are also competing and preparing themselves to take their share of the booty in the coming imperialist war. In relation to the reformist bourgeoisie, in fact they also are leading the workers and oppressed peoples to the grave, besides being tied by a hundred thousand threads to one or another imperialist bloc.

They fail to call on the workers to transform the imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie. A war for socialism and for the abolition of imperialism forever. But the PLA is not interested in abolishing imperialism, much less in raising the banner of civil war. This clearly demonstrates to the international proletariat the treason of the centrism and social pacifism of the PLA. These "communists" are seeking to create pacifist illusions that are most dangerous to the international proletariat. In their deeds, they also support the slaughter of the workers of other countries.

The revolutionary tradition toward imperialist war has always been the Leninist-Stalinist position and that of the Communist International, of transforming the imperialist war into civil war against one's "own" bourgeoisie, and revolutionary national wars against imperialism in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

For the first time since the assassination of the teacher J.V. Stalin, an international conference of Bolsheviks was held. It was attended by representatives from imperialist countries, colonies, and semi-colonies, and it adopted an *Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists* to unite with us to prepare proletarian revolution against the imperialist war. This conference and the Appeal represent the principle of a total rupture with the two opportunist tendencies of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism, which have dominated the international communist movement.

In opposition to these two tendencies, the internationalist, Bolshevik, trend is arising, re-establishing the principles of revolutionary communism. Once more the banner of proletarian revolution is being held high, the banner of preparing the working masses in the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, into proletarian revolution. The Appeal also makes a call to all revolutionary communists to prepare an international conference to draw up a Manifesto to the international working class, defending the principles of communism, defining the character of the coming war, and the tasks of the working class against the war.

Those who remain silent in relation to the Appeal are revealing their own opportunism in their deeds. It is the duty of all revolutionary communists on an international scale to unite around the Appeal. The working class by itself will not be able to free itself from the yoke of capitalism, if the revolutionary communists do not unite to struggle under the true banner of proletarian internationalism against the world imperialist system.

Those who do not do this are in their deeds aiding the bourgeoisie in its preparations to unleash a new imperialist war for new markets, sources of raw materials, and spheres for capital investment.

Today's activity, sponsored by the Bolshevik League of the U.S., is of great importance. In this meeting, the character of the coming war will be discussed. The tasks of the U.S. proletariat will be defined, based on the Leninist tradition. All the Bolsheviks internationally, unite with them, working together to transform the imperialist war into civil war in our respective countries. This is the only path by which we can free the international working class from the horrors of war, war that is engendered by the worldwide imperialist system.

DOWN WITH SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM!

DOWN WITH SOCIAL-PACIFISM!

TRANSFORM THE COMING IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE!

Linea Bolchevique de Puerto Rico,
Nov. 1980

Message to the Workers of the
United States of America
on the Occasion of the
Commemoration of the
63rd Anniversary of the
Great Socialist Revolution
of October 1917

La Voie Ouvrière and En Avant!

The Great Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, and the Third Communist International created two years later, are incontestably the result of the transformation of the imperialist war of 1914-1918 into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. That is why, on the eve of an imperialist war in preparation, it is the duty of all Bolsheviks, all workers, to study all the more seriously this great experience of the international proletariat.

The success of the Great October Bolshevik Revolution was not the result of a single day's work. Long before the outbreak of the imperialist war of 1914-1918, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, had undertaken the work of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the Russian bourgeoisie. The first step, in this context, was the fact that the Bolshevik Party had split with the social-chauvinists and the social-pacifists, in Russia as well as at the international level. When we study the important Bolshevik press before, during and after the victory of the October Revolution, we see that in propaganda and agitation the Bolsheviks had waged an intransigent struggle against the social-chauvinists and the social-pacifists of the Second International. The revolutionary communists had showed the working class of all countries that opportunism, in the form of social-chauvinism and centrism, is the expression of bourgeois politics in the workers' movement of all countries, the expression of the politics of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the alliance of a very small section of bourgeoisified workers with their "own" bourgeoisie against the interests of the mass of proletarians, the mass of oppressed. They demolished all the unity schemes of the social-chauvinists and centrists, such as Kautsky, Plekhanov, Axelrod, etc., who in fact aimed to rally the workers to the bourgeoisie in the imperialist war in the name of the "defense of the fatherland."

The opportunists of all countries, who had openly gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie, combatted the Bolshevik tactics of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war. They voted war credits in parliament, supported their "own" bourgeoisie in the plunder and enslavement of the small and weak nations. The opportunists, in spite of their many schemes and bourgeois nationalist language, never succeeded in turning the Bolsheviks away from the just tactics of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie.

The victory of the Great Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 further exposed the social-democrats of the Second International and historically confirmed the correctness of the Bolshevik path. And the Third International systematized, at its Sixth Congress, these important teachings on imperialist war in a resolution entitled: "Theses on the Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of Communists." This is to say clearly that "the Bolshevik tactics were correct; they were the only internationalist tactics, because they were based, not on the cowardly fear of a world revolution, not on a philistine 'lack of faith' in it, not on the narrow nationalist desire to protect one's 'own' fatherland (the fatherland of one's own bourgeoisie), while not 'giving a damn' about all the rest, but on a correct (and, before the war and before the apostasy of the social-chauvinists and social-pacifists, a universally accepted) estimation of the revolutionary situation in Europe. These tactics were the only internationalist tactics, because they did the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries. These tactics have been justified by their enormous success, for Bolshevism (not by any means because of the merits of the Russian Bolsheviks, but because of the most profound sympathy of the people everywhere for tactics that are revolutionary in practice) has become world Bolshevism, has produced an idea, a theory, a programme and tactics which differ concretely and in practice from those of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. Bolshevism has given a coup de grâce to the old, decayed International of the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, Renaudels and Longuets, Hendersons and MacDonalds, who from now on will be treading on each other's feet, dreaming about "unity" and trying to revive a corpse. Bolshevism has created the ideological and tactical foundations of a Third International, of a really proletarian and Communist International, which will take into consideration both the gains of the tranquil epoch and the exposure of the epoch of revolutions, which has begun."¹

Today, if we take up the lessons of the Great Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 and Bolshevik tactics, it is certainly not for the purpose of creating an effect. We have the profound conviction that the approaching imperialist war will create, in its progress, a revolutionary situation. The proletariat will not be able to take advantage of this revolutionary situation to overthrow the bourgeoisie if it does not become imbued ideologically, politically and organizationally with the principles, experience and tactics of world Bolshevism, as well as the lessons of the Great October Revolution.

It was the external conditions, the internal circumstances in Russia created by the imperialist war as well as the correct Bolshevik tactics of the

C.P.S.U.(B) of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie that favoured the victory of the October Revolution.

As was pointed out by Comrade Stalin 53 years ago,

"... the victory of the October Revolution signifies a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destiny of world capitalism, a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organization, in the manner of life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses throughout the world."²

Whether or not it pleases the bourgeois and the opportunists of all hues, the October Revolution is a revolution of an international, world order.

The Great Bolshevik Revolution broke the imperialist chain at the weakest link in that epoch, Russia, and brought to power the class of oppressed and exploited which raised itself to the rank of the dominant class. It inaugurated a new epoch, the epoch of proletarian revolutions in the imperialist countries. It undertook, after the destruction of the old, capitalist order, the construction of the new, socialist order. The proletariat successfully built socialism in spite of the capitalist encirclement. Before the coming to power of the socialist proletariat, Russia was the 26th world economic power. The socialist Soviet Union, under the direction of the proletariat, rose to the second rank, in spite of capitalist hostility and the undermining activity of the enemies of socialism of all kinds.

The existence of the socialist Soviet Union was a dagger for the old capitalist system whose decomposition it accelerated.

The Great October Revolution showed all the oppressed and exploited classes of the world that it is possible, even indispensable, that various nationalities oppressed under capitalism should liberate themselves under the banner, not of bourgeois nationalism, but rather of internationalism, under the leadership of the proletariat, should live in one state, in reciprocal confidence and in a fraternal union of the workers and peasants belonging to the most diverse peoples, a union based on free agreement and internationalism. This is possible and rational and the existence of the USSR, a prototype of the future union of the workers of all countries in one single world economy, is the direct proof of this.

Fortified with this experience, the Third Bolshevik International, speaking to the nations oppressed by imperialism, stated: "Under present-day international conditions there is no salvation for dependent and weak nations except in a union of Soviet republics."³

The Great October Bolshevik Revolution taught the peoples of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries that their liberating revolution can come about only under the hegemony of the proletariat. It showed the proletariat of the imperialist countries and the workers and peasants of the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries that the union of the front of proletarian revolution and the front of emancipation of the peoples of the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries against imperialism was possible, rational, and indispensable to the success of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. It is the first step towards the world proletarian revolution.

The USSR, the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, constituted, during its existence, this powerful and open center of the world revolutionary movement that organized the single revolutionary front of the proletarians and oppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism. The Third Bolshevik International accomplished an enormous task of leadership of the union of the two revolutionary fronts against imperialism. The anti-fascist and liberating war of the USSR led by Comrade Stalin disintegrated the imperialist camp by taking away from it countries which formed a powerful socialist camp. This weakened imperialism still further, forcing the capitalists of all countries, once again, to reckon with the working class and oppressed peoples as a new serious factor.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR at the head of the socialist camp constituted the first universal, open forum in which to demonstrate and realize the aspirations and will of the oppressed classes of the world.

Finally, the Great October Revolution also caused a revolution in the ideology of the working class. It was created and strengthened under the banner of revolutionary Marxism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of Leninism-Stalinism. That is why it marks the victory of Bolshevism over social-chauvinism and centrism as well as all their variants: Kautskyism, Trotskyism, Bukharinism, Titoism, Maoism, Hoxhism, Khrushchevism, etc. All those who turned away from Bolshevism sank into revisionism. The Great October Revolution clearly drew the boundary line between Bolshevism, on the one hand, and all varieties of bourgeois reformism, on the other. It rejected them into the camp of the direct defenders of capitalism against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the proletariat.

Imperialism destroyed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics because the latter heralded the coming destruction of imperialism. This was a blow to the cause of the proletariat, of socialism. Comrade Stalin had predicted in 1927 that "there is hardly room for doubt that the destruction of this forum would for a long time cast the gloom of unbridled, black reaction over the social and political life of the 'advanced countries.'⁴

Imperialism has reconquered its pre-1917 position, that is, it exercises its domination over the entire world. The USSR and the socialist camp have rejoined the capitalist system of world economy. With it, opportunism in the form of social-chauvinism and centrism has subjected the workers' movement of all countries. The International Communist Movement has disintegrated and become the "transmission belts" of bourgeois politics and influence in the international workers' movement.

Imperialism and the "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class" have destroyed the USSR and have worked to bury world Bolshevism once and for all. They did not reckon with the prolonged existence of imperialism and the contradictions inherent in it which arouse the wrath of the working class, increase the oppression of weak nations, provoke imperialist wars and necessarily and unavoidably bring the workers of all countries to seek out the sole path of their liberation from the imperialist inferno. It was the Bolshevik Union of Canada, and then the Bolshevik League of the United States and Linea Boliviana of Puerto Rico, who were the first to under-

take the work of re-establishing world Bolshevism, confirming the teaching of Lenin put forward 62 years ago:

"But this one country, thanks to Soviet government, has done so much that even if Soviet government in Russia were to be crushed by world imperialism tomorrow . . . even granted that very worst possibility — it would still be found that Bolshevik tactics have brought enormous benefit to socialism and have assisted the growth of the invincible world revolution."⁵

Already workers of other countries are working to tread the path of reborn Bolshevism. Many workers of other countries will of necessity come there. The Bolshevik tendency is becoming international, is strengthening itself slowly but surely. It is developing against the bourgeoisie, the social-chauvinists and the centrists. In spite of difficulties, temporary halts, it will gain adherents and once again point out the path of proletarian revolution to millions of workers who languish under the capitalist yoke and the illusions created by the opportunists of all hues.

Comrades, we must at the present time face up to the tasks that the Bolsheviks took on more than half a century ago to achieve the success of the Great October Revolution.

We must not entertain idealist illusions about the difficulties that face Bolsheviks in the execution of these important tasks. The difficulties are many, but they can be overcome. This demands many sacrifices; we must make them in order to reach our goal, that of defeating the bourgeoisie and ensuring the transfer of power to the workers. Did Lenin not say, in a letter to the American workers in 1918:

"A real socialist would not fail to understand that for the sake of achieving victory over the bourgeoisie, for the sake of power passing to the workers, for the sake of starting the world proletarian revolution, we cannot and must not hesitate to make the heaviest sacrifices, including the sacrifice of part of our territory, the sacrifice of heavy defeats at the hands of imperialism. A real socialist would have proved by deeds his willingness for 'his' country to make the greatest sacrifice to give a real push forward to the cause of the socialist revolution."⁶

On the eve of this imperialist war which has long been prepared by the capitalist robbers in all countries, it is our duty to expose the pacifism in which all the bourgeoisies cloak themselves to mask their preparations and the real meaning of this unjust, reactionary war.

The Third Communist International wrote at its Sixth Congress:

"The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight against pacifism."⁷

The Bolshevik League of the United States, the American section of the reborn Bolshevik tendency, true internationalists, is waging this struggle with determination on the terrain of revolutionary communism, against all the varieties of pacifism. The Bolshevik League of the United States long ago split with the social-chauvinists and the centrists and is waging against them a struggle in the manner of Lenin and Stalin. It would not subscribe to the fiendish unity schemes of the centrists, nor drag the

burden of opportunism with it.

We, communists of the semi-colonies, are grateful to the true internationalists of the Bolshevik Union of Canada and the Bolshevik League of the United States. We have learned much from them and we are benefiting from their internationalist support. Well before our contacts with them, it was difficult for us to explain to the workers and peasants of the semi-colonies that there are workers in the imperialist countries who support their struggles against imperialism, so much did they equate the working class of the imperialist countries with "its own" bourgeoisie because of the alliance of the upper section of the workers' movement with imperialism. Today we are able to explain to them, concretely, that this thin stratum of workers allied to imperialism is corrupted, the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement. But also, we have your example to prove to them that not all workers are corrupted, that there exist workers who understand and support their struggles against imperialism. In this period of the imminence of imperialist war this is of great importance, because blinding chauvinism has already done too much harm to the workers' movement of all countries. An ever wider struggle against chauvinism and especially the social-pacifism of the centrists must be considered the first step in the direction of the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie.

Comrades, American imperialism is one of the most active in preparing the imperialist war. It already oppresses, within its borders as well as without, other nationalities. This war aims, not to liberate these oppressed nationalities, but rather to strengthen this oppression and to increase the number of nations subjected to its domination, just like the other imperialists.

The struggle of the oppressed nationalities against American imperialism is part of the Bolshevik revolution in the United States.

"... It is therefore impossible to fight for the socialist international revolution against imperialism unless the right of nations to self-determination is recognized. 'No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations' (Marx and Engels). A proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its 'own' nation cannot be a socialist proletariat."⁸

The international Bolshevik Conference of Summer 1980 defined the positions of the international Bolshevik tendency on the imperialist war, in conformity with the line of Lenin, Stalin and the Third Communist International. It says:

"The proletarians consider it a crime to fire at each other for the profit of capitalists, and must instead turn the guns against their 'own' bourgeoisie. The proletariat must struggle against the imperialist war preparations by preparing the proletarian revolution."

It continues:

"The line of revolutionary Communism has always been to transform imperialist wars into civil wars against the bourgeoisie. This stand started before the first imperialist war and was upheld against the betrayal of social-chauvinists and social-pacifists by the internationalists, the revolutionary Communists led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. (...) We call on all those who uphold the cause of proletarian revolution and socialism to break with the social-chauvinist "Communists" and the social-pacifist "Communists"

to build once again a real Communist International to lead the cause of world revolution."

The slogan that sums up the work of the Bolsheviks, in this period of imperialist war, that points out the link between the struggle against imperialist war and the struggle against opportunism, is that of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie.

At the present time, in order to be able to realize this slogan, we must continue to build the Bolshevik party according to the model of Lenin and Stalin. The building of such a party is in no way separable from the struggle against the imperialist war. Without a party built in the mould of the Iskra plan, the proletariat will be deprived of an organized and disciplined general staff in the decisive turns of events when the conditions for the taking of power by the proletariat, in a revolutionary situation created by the war, will be present.

Comrades, the international Bolshevik Conference has re-established the Bolshevik tactics to be followed in this period of imperialist war. If we correctly take up the tasks that flow from this, we shall be able to say with Lenin:

"And the millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and the approaching future war are more and more clearly realizing the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and imperialist peace (...) which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution."⁹

Long live the Great Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917!

Long live Leninism-Stalinism!

Long live world Bolshevism!

Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!

La Voie Ouvrière (Ivory Coast)

En Avant! (Togo)

Notes

1. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," LCW 28:292
2. Stalin, "The International Character of the October Revolution," in *Works*, London, vol. 10, p. 245
3. Lenin, "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," LCW 31:150
4. Stalin, *ibid.*, p. 252
5. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," LCW 28:293-94
6. Lenin, "Letter to American Workers," LCW 28:65-66
7. Quoted in *International Correspondence* no. 2, 1980, p. 148
8. Lenin, "Socialism and War," LCW 21:317
9. Lenin, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," LCW 33:56

Statement of the
Workers' Revolutionary
Organizing Committee

The struggle for markets, raw materials and spheres of capital investment creates increasing friction among the imperialist countries. In addition, the struggles of the peoples of underdeveloped countries to free themselves from colonialism and neo-colonialism generates greater pressure on the imperialist powers. This competition for markets, raw materials and spheres of investment, where the world is already divided up and people are struggling against oppression, is driving imperialism closer to world war.

It is the duty of all revolutionary communists to oppose imperialist war, and if it breaks out, to turn imperialist war into civil war, to overthrow the bourgeoisie to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this regard the Workers' Revolutionary Organizing Committee of Chicago supports the call for a conference against imperialist war and the drafting of an international manifesto opposing imperialist war. This manifesto should be a signal to the international proletariat and oppressed peoples that once again international co-operation is on the agenda. The manifesto should be a signal to the international bourgeoisie and their agents of social democracy that there is once again proletarian opposition of an international character to imperialism.

Comrades throughout the United States, we must take up the struggle to build a new party of the proletariat.

Internationally we must take up the task of building greater co-operation, greater unity to build a new international party of the proletariat — a new Communist International.

To All Participants of
the November 8, 1980
Forum in New York:

*Kansas City Marxist-Leninist Cell
and
Kansas City Revolutionary Workers'
Collective*

We thank the Bolshevik League for the invitation to attend the forum on November 8, 1980 in New York. Unfortunately, we cannot attend the forum, but we do wish to convey our views to all participants of the forum. We thus request that this statement be read and passed out at the forum. We also wish to receive the forum program, speeches, statements and summation.

First, a word of explanation as to our absence. We see that the forum is an important step in the convening of the conference against imperialist war, and we regret being unable to come to the forum. Our inability to participate directly stems from our goals in participating in the conference. These goals, which we will speak to more concretely below, are to clear up historical questions involving imperialist war, and deepen the analysis of current conditions, so as to provide more clarity to the analysis of the upcoming imperialist war and the tasks of turning imperialist war into civil war and national liberation. We have not reached these goals yet, thus our presence at the forum would not be contributory, but at the most the forum would provide some additional information for us to look at. We feel that receiving the speeches, statements and summation will give us some information. We would also encourage direct correspondence with us.

The main point we want to make at this time is the same one we made in our support of the "Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists": that is, are we going to have a conference which tackles head on the question of imperialist war in its current and historical situation and develops a firm, concrete, Marxist-Leninist line based on Marxist-Leninist principles, or are we going to have a conference which bypasses a study of history and current conditions and develops a general line which can be easily destroyed in

the complexity and vicissitudes of the development of imperialist war?

This is no sterile question. From the experience of World War I we can see the difficulty in maintaining the existence and developing an internationalist trend; that only with a clear Marxist-Leninist line based on a firm grasp of political economy, history and an analysis of the current situation, can the proletarian interests be identified and carried out during imperialist war. Our views on the upcoming imperialist war require this dialectical materialist, historical method in order to be Marxist-Leninist views. The current situation must be analyzed, and the history of imperialist wars must be grasped. Now, from any superficial understanding of history, it is obvious that different tasks were laid out and carried in the two world wars as being in the proletarian interests. In general, instead of the tasks being to turn imperialist war into civil war and national liberation as in World War I, the task in World War II was uniting with any "progressive," "peace loving" element of any class to fight fascism and to defend the Soviet Union. Was World War II an imperialist war? If it was, how could these tactics be used? What was the significance of fascism of the Soviet Union in defining the tasks of the proletariat in World War II? Will fascism become a big threat? If fascism is to become a big threat again, are we to follow the World War II example? How is the imperialist crisis developing and what forms will it take? What does the split in the working class mean to the proletarian movement? Where should the main blow be directed? To us, these are very pertinent questions of the history of imperialist war and analysis of current conditions.

Even if the conference were only able to accomplish the development of a general line of turning the impending imperialist war into civil war and national liberation, that would not be so bad if the participants' attitudes were ones of recognizing the severe deficiency and proceeding to develop the line and struggle for a more concrete Marxist-Leninist line internationally, if the participants realized that this line was so general as to be inadequate in providing clarity in all the twists and turns of an imperialist war. We await the views of others, but this is not the attitude we get from the Bolshevik League and the Bolshevik Union. To them, the World War II period is a settled question; it is "freedom of criticism" to raise it up. The importance for today of examining the line of fascism and the struggle against it in the World War II period is downplayed.

To put forward "freedom of criticism" as the main danger at this time among those who are breaking with Mao Zedong Thought and the Party of Labour of Albania centrism is dangerous. It prevents the thorough cleansing of our ranks and condemns us to, once again, unite with views and practice on an unprincipled basis. Our movement is just emerging from the dark ages of opportunism and revisionism. To hush up questions of communist line and practice at this time, among those who are beginning a break with the dark ages, is equivalent to unleashing the Inquisition on newly emerging science. To minimize the danger of fascism for our times, and connected to this upcoming imperialist war, is to make a great mistake.

BL and BU have tolerated our questions and have discussed these issues with us, giving us informa-

tion on what to study. However, with this attitude of wanting to stifle criticism, it is questionable how long we will be permitted to openly state our views, especially if what we discover is in opposition to what, in their eyes, has been settled.

We urge all who are at the forum and all who plan to attend the conference to struggle to open up the conference for discussion on historical questions around imperialist war, specifically World War II, and on current conditions, so that either a big step is taken in solving these questions at the conference and this is reflected in the Manifesto, or the Manifesto reflects the knowledge of the need to solve these questions. Concretely, we urge all to keep open our invitation to the conference and to prepare for discussion on these questions. We would like to see our statement discussed at the forum and a report of the discussion sent to us.

Marxist-Leninist greetings
to all forum participants!
Kansas City Marxist-Leninist Cell
Kansas City Revolutionary Workers' Collective
October 31, 1980

UNITED STATES

Support the "Conference Against Imperialist War"

*Kansas City Marxist-Leninist Cell
and
Kansas City Revolutionary Workers'
Collective*

Kansas City Marxist-Leninist Cell and Kansas City Revolutionary Workers Collective support the "Conference Against Imperialist War" called for by L'Union de Lutte Communiste (Haute Volta), Linea Bolchevique (Puerto Rico), La Voie Ouvrière (Côte d'Ivoire), Bolshevik Union (Canada), En Avant! (Togo), Bolshevik League (United States). This conference is being organized in order to draft a Manifesto which would define the character of the upcoming war and the tasks of the proletariat against the war. We are thus distributing the "Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists" in our work and to our contacts to make this conference known to workers and revolutionaries.

It is our view also that imperialist war, a war between imperialist powers to redivide the world, is looming on the horizon and the proletariat must be prepared to wage the proper struggle against imperialist war, world over. Rather than taking up nationalism, chauvinism, or pacifism, the proletariat must become conscious that exploitation, oppression and the horrors of war can only be ended through an end to imperialism itself. Workers of all countries must see that the enemy is not the workers of another country but the international bourgeoisie that exploits and oppresses them. Thus in capitalist countries the proletariat must turn imperialist war into a civil war against its own bourgeoisie for socialism, while the oppressed nations must wage a struggle against imperialism for national liberation and socialism.

Workers internationally must become aware of the basis for workers in imperialist countries taking up national chauvinism and pacifism. The proletariat must become conscious that there is a split in its own ranks. From the superprofits extracted from the oppressed nations and colonies, a small part is passed to the working class of the imperialist countries and

Speech at the November 8th Forum

Bolshevik League of the US

Comrades and friends,

We have been told by the mass media that Reagan's election was a "landslide" victory, even a so-called "Reagan revolution." Yet a closer look at the facts shows otherwise.

Reagan won barely 51 percent of the popular vote against two supposedly more liberal candidates. This is hardly a landslide. While he piled up a huge electoral vote victory, this came in an election in which just slightly over half the eligible voters actually voted. Thus, only about one-fourth of the eligible voters voted for Reagan. Despite predictions of the closest elections in years, a lower percentage of voters turned out for this election than in any presidential election in 32 years. This was the fourth straight presidential election that voter turnout declined. Particularly absent were working class, Black, and other exploited and oppressed peoples. While the Black vote in 1976 was 11 percent of all votes, this year it was only 7 percent. Nor were the so-called "radical" middle class third parties able to capitalize on this discontent among the working class and oppressed peoples. The largest of these reformist parties, the Citizens Party, got only about one-quarter of one percent of the vote. If there was any landslide, it was a landslide of disgust and rejection of the choices given us. Though certainly not yet revolutionary, it is the continued growth of this kind of sentiment that is extremely important, and, not coincidentally, downplayed in the media.

Reagan did, of course, win a decisive victory among those who voted. This should not be surprising, since Reagan was financed by decisive sections of the financial oligarchy that rules the U.S. Although his initial backers were mainly conservative capitalists chiefly from California and the Sunbelt, the Rockefeller wing of the bourgeoisie moved into his

creates a bribed sector among this proletariat. This sector basically identifies with its own bourgeoisie, promotes chauvinism and supports or is passive towards the nationalist war preparations, as it is partially in the interests of this section for "its country" to maintain its position in the world. Many workers in this better situated, comfortable strata will lose their privileges and take up a revolutionary stand as imperialist crisis deepens and the imperialists can no longer hand out benefits and are forced to go to war. In addition, the influence this privileged sector has over the working class as a whole will lessen as privileges in general are lost and the lot of millions of workers becomes unbearable. Thus the nationalism, chauvinism, pacifism and identification with the bourgeoisie will more and more turn into the realization of the irreconcilable antagonism between workers and bourgeoisie and a revolutionary temperament will develop.

With the split in the working class as its basis, the communist movement has been dominated by social-chauvinism and opportunism for decades. There are just recently forces who have begun to shake off the opportunist fetters and have begun a split with social-chauvinism, social-pacifism and all opportunism and revisionism.

The "Appeal" says communists have always, before, during and after wars, promoted class struggle. We know that before, during and after World War I the Bolsheviks in Russia under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, and other few internationalists, struggled against imperialist war. But we cannot say the same for World War II where workers world around were told to line up behind "their own" bourgeoisie and fight one another. Whether the fight against fascism and defense of the Soviet Union warranted this are central questions here. This and other questions around World War II still need to be answered. The "Appeal"'s wording is so vague as to gloss over the important questions of the activity of the international communists around World War II. This is a subject which should not be avoided, but should be struggled over at the conference.

We will struggle for a conference that makes possible a Marxist-Leninist manifesto. We will struggle for a Marxist-Leninist manifesto on the nature of imperialist war and the tasks of the proletariat, which lays out specifics on the upcoming imperialist war and proletarian tasks.

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!
TURN IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR!**

camp as Reagan began to cinch the nomination. Their first choice, Bush, had to settle for the number two spot behind the aging Reagan. Representatives from Rockefeller-dominated institutions like the Trilateral Commission and the Council on Foreign Relations soon began to assume key roles, such as Henry Kissinger, George Schultz, and Caspar Weinberger.

Carter, though himself a former Trilateral Commission member, lost much of the Rockefeller's groups' backing to Reagan. Carter did, however, maintain support from big capitalists and many Wall Street investment bankers, including George Ball and Felix Rohatyn, both of whom defected from Anderson. As always, all the major candidates represented only the giant banks and corporations. The only choice we had was between which one would rob us for the next four years.

Actually, the winner of this election had already been chosen for us by the capitalists long before election day. As the media, which they control through stocks, commercials, and other direct and indirect means, more and more dumped on Carter, the voters were led by the hand to vote for Reagan, or at least against Carter. Also, as the capitalists decided to abandon Anderson, himself also from the Trilateral Commission, his campaign utterly collapsed. This is American democracy for you, a total fraud and deception.

Although a coalition of capitalists united behind Reagan, this does not mean they are a monolithic group. On the contrary, there are great tensions and conflicts between various capitalist groups, especially between the Rockefeller forces on the one side and others who either come from the Sunbelt or are more inclined to favor protectionism and restriction on foreign trade. Many of the latter forces have funded anti-detente groups such as the Committee on the Present Danger and the American Security Council. An example of the conflict in Reagan's camp can be seen in what happened to Richard Allen, who had been Reagan's chief foreign policy adviser. Allen, himself on the Committee on the Present Danger, temporarily withdrew from Reagan's campaign because of revelations that when he was in the Nixon administration he used his position to make private business deals. Allen's absence can only strengthen the position of the likes of Kissinger and CFR director George Shultz. It is interesting that the timing of this first Reagan administration scandal occurs just when the final selections for his advisers are to be made. We should also note that those who would know best of the deals made under Nixon by foreign policy officials would be other Nixon foreign policy officials, like, say, Henry Kissinger. In any case, this is but the first of many scandals and rivalries to come under Reagan as the capitalists behave like capitalists and as the jockeying for position among rival monopoly groups goes on.

Reagan's victory, along with the victory of other conservatives, has been interpreted by some as a supposed "shift to the right." This is only partially true. As is well known, many people were just fed up with Carter. Only one in ten Reagan voters cited his conservatism as a key reason for their vote. Many voters blamed Carter for the economic crisis, and felt Reagan was the lesser of the two evils, or at least could do no worse. Polls showed that two-thirds of the voters saw economic problems as a key reason for their vote.

But these factors alone do not explain the significance of Reagan's victory. What stands out as the most significant trend of this election is that Reagan appealed to an open and strident chauvinism, and was victorious. Reagan's platform was the most openly warmongering, promising to "Make America Great Again" and achieve military superiority in the world. He hailed the Vietnam war as a "noble cause" to build support for similar wars in the future. Reagan gave unequivocal support to the bloody expansionism of the Israeli Zionists, and announced he would bolster support to right-wing military and fascist regimes from Latin America to South Africa to South Korea and Taiwan. Reagan's whole campaign was geared to preparing public support for imperialist war.

While Carter and Anderson, too, ran on war platforms of more military spending and stepped up U.S. military moves to grab Middle East oil, Reagan's jingoism was the loudest and least disguised. It was chiefly because the majority of the U.S. bourgeoisie thought Reagan the best to lead preparations for war that they backed him. And it was Reagan who most successfully mobilized this pre-war, pro-war sentiment. According to a recent poll, two-thirds of the voters wanted the U.S. to be tougher with Russia, even, in the wording of the poll, if it increased the risk of war.

Besides his well-known support for almost unlimited military spending, Reagan's whole platform calls for greater militarization of the whole society. His economic plans call for reduced government spending in every area but the military. Reagan wants an even greater acceleration of the arms race. The MX missile system, supported by both Carter and Reagan, would require the largest construction project in the world. It could cost well over \$100 billion, and needs 9000 miles of roadways, the equivalent of one-quarter of all U.S. highways. This is what the capitalists mean when they talk of "re-industrialization." Reagan's proposed massive tax cuts and reduction of government spending will only mean reduced jobs and services for the working class and oppressed peoples. We will be the real ones to pay the cost for Reagan's plans for war and to have the government guarantee even greater profits for the capitalists.

Just like Carter, Reagan will cater to virtually every wish of the oil companies. At the same time, he would re-introduce legalized discrimination by making a lower minimum wage for Black, Puerto Rican, and other oppressed nationality youth. As for the trade unions, Reagan sees them as reliable tools of the capitalists in whipping the working class into line. Reagan's aide George Shultz, along with many other ruling class leaders, wants to set up so-called tripartite committees of representatives of the corporations, the unions, and government. These committees would try to enforce class peace by squashing strikes, getting workers to accept speed-up and other attacks, directly subordinating the trade unions even more to the capitalist class and its state apparatus. This approach was outlined some years back in a report for the Trilateral Commission. It foreshadows the kind of measures that will be increasingly taken by the government and the unions to strangle the workers' movement in the face of growing preparations for war.

Reagan's platform of war preparations is not the result of some blind, ideological belligerence. True,

he has become the maestro for a vile chorus of chauvinism. His election is being taken as a signal to intensify attacks against the working class, the oppressed peoples, and working women. But all the flag-waving and arrogant pronouncements of so-called "Christian values" are not the motivation for this. On the contrary, the chauvinist hysteria is to build support for the war preparations by the American, Christian, pro-apple pie and motherhood capitalist class. Reagan is now their chief political representative, and thus the one chosen to lead the charge.

To win the election, Reagan, of course, had to insist that he was against war. It is typical of all capitalist politicians to plead they are for peace while planning for war. Woodrow Wilson was re-elected in 1916 during the first world war around the hypocritical slogan, "He kept us out of war." Five months later the U.S. entered the bloody contest to redivide the world. In 1964, Lyndon Johnson said he would never wage a major war in Vietnam. "Never" lasted only a few months, also. It was no accident that the issue of war was so pronounced in this campaign.

Reagan's war preparations are not the mere quirk of some extreme right-winger. Carter, with his draft registration, the establishment of rapid deployment forces for the Middle East and the Caribbean, and plans for a limited nuclear war, also ran on a war platform. The reason they both emphasized active war preparations is that the system they represent has no other solution to the crisis it is in than war.

The entire imperialist system is in a dire economic crisis. A crisis of overproduction, known popularly as a recession, that began in the U.S., Canada, and Britain, has spread to France, West Germany, and even to Japan. Unemployment in Britain is now over 2 million, the highest since the 1930's. The phoney "socialist" countries, like Russia, China, and their various allies, which are really revisionist, state capitalist countries, are also being hit by economic crisis and slowdowns in industry and agriculture. Hardest hit among the revisionist countries has been Poland. The severe economic crisis there and the attempts by the government to cut the living standards of the Polish workers and peasants to pay back the \$20 billion in debts owed to Western banks led to the recent strike wave in Poland.

The imperialists are trying to shift this crisis not only onto the backs of their own workers, but especially onto the colonial, semi-colonial, and dependent countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For years they have milked these countries for superprofits by exploiting cheap labor and grabbing their raw materials. They have forced usurious loans from private banks and supposedly public international agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Repaying these loans, plus the enforced backwardness of the economies of these countries, has resulted in a tremendous inflation there. Brazil, which is supposedly so economically strong, has a 97 percent inflation rate. Mexico, supposedly so stable since its oil boom, has a 27 percent inflation rate. The debts owed by these oppressed countries are well over \$300 billion. They need to borrow such vast sums just to pay back their old debts that they are heading soon for a disastrous financial collapse. At the same time, international bank loans are already over \$1 trillion. Thus, ac-

ording to a June speech by David Rockefeller to the International Monetary Conference, "international spending is nearing its limit." This means that the imperialists, especially those of the weaker economies such as the U.S. and Britain, must turn from the old methods of refinancing loans to the even older methods of enforcing austerity to guarantee loan repayment by sending in the troops to carry the booty home if need be.

All these economic problems are further complicated by the incessant world-wide inflation. This inflation is built into the system which today stays afloat on a mountain of debt, all to be repaid with interest, of course. Originally inflationary policies were supposed to stimulate the economy by stimulating demand. Yet instead of solving the economic crisis, inflation has actually cut the living standards of the working class, and thus intensified the crisis. Today there is both high inflation and high unemployment. Reducing one means increasing the other, and the end result is a further deepening of the capitalist crisis.

As Marx and Engels pointed out long ago in the *Communist Manifesto*, the bourgeoisie gets over its crises "by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by eliminating the means whereby crises are prevented."

On top of all this is the world-wide scramble for oil. The U.S. oil companies and their vassals in OPEC have engineered one phoney "oil crisis" after another to get higher prices and astronomical profits. Exxon set a record for profits in 1979 with more than \$4 billion. They have already surpassed that for the first 9 months of 1980. The imperialists need more oil, both for industry and war, and even greater profits to explore in more places.

At the same time, U.S. industry in particular is declining miserably. U.S. plants are older and more inefficient than those of Western Europe and Japan. The U.S. imperialists are finding it harder to compete in the world market and their share of world trade has been declining. They are desperately in need of new markets. They must quickly get new sources of investment that will return very high profits, lest they sink deeper into decline. They especially strive to exploit the cheap labor in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where profits are on the average five times higher than in the U.S.

All these crises lead to an even sharper political crisis in each imperialist country. As the economic pie shrinks, the various monopoly groups vie for greater political power. In Canada, the various sections of the bourgeoisie are fighting over economic questions like the price of oil from Western Canada's vast oil reserves. Unable to agree on a constitution, the break-up of Canada is a real possibility. In the U.S., the seeds of a similar situation are developing. Oil-rich Alaska passed a proposition this September calling for a commission to suggest altering Alaska's statehood status to the U.S. This was largely in reaction to a federal bill pushed by Carter keeping 100 million acres of Alaska wilderness off-limits for oil exploration. An August 7 *New York Times* editorial warned of an "energy war between the states," pitting energy-producing states versus energy-consuming states. This crisis can only heat up as the capitalist economy further collapses.

The combination of cyclical crises of overproduction with all the other economic and political crises

means that capitalism, imperialism, is not passing through a partial or temporary crisis. On the contrary, the entire capitalist system is gripped by an all-round general crisis. The overproduction crisis takes place on the basis of this general crisis. The multiplicity of crises and their gravity mean that there will be no boom following this recession, but, at best, stagnation. The capitalist economists only hint at this when they tell us there will be a "slow recovery."

The imperialists can only try to solve their economic and political problems through expansion. But herein lies the problem. Since roughly the beginning of the twentieth century, the entire world has been divided up among a handful of so-called "great" powers. Grabbing new areas for investments, markets, and sources of raw materials thus means re-dividing the world. Sometimes that can be done more or less "peacefully," through loans, trade alliances, etc. Once in a while an imperialist can oust a rival in an election in a semicolonial or dependent country. This was recently done in Jamaica. The pro-Russian and pro-Cuban regime of Manley had bucked the I.M.F. and said it would not repay its debts. The election that replaced him with the American stooge Seaga was really a bloody campaign of terror, murder and intimidation.

Yet ultimately, even such measures are not enough. The worsening economic crisis is forcing the imperialists to seek a radical redivision of the world soon. This cannot be accomplished by treaties, negotiations, and other peaceful means. It can only be accomplished by force, by war.

Thus Reagan's war preparations are part of the general war preparations being taken by the imperialists to redivide the world. The war they are planning will be an imperialist war, a war to see which set of robbers will plunder which set of countries. It will be an unjust war which the working class and oppressed peoples have absolutely no stake in supporting. It will be a war to see which countries' oil companies will dominate the Middle East, which banks can strangle the poorest countries with their vampire loans, and which corporations can run sweatshops in which countries. All the chauvinism, all the "love America" crap, is designed to hide the predatory, imperialist nature of this coming war. These are the vicious, capitalist aims that they will send the working people of so many different countries to slaughter each other for.

Reagan's plan of a North America Common Market must thus be seen in the light of war preparations. The US will not sit idly by while Canada, in which the US owns about half the economy, breaks up. It is not hard to imagine Reagan coming up with some pretext to invade Canada if U.S. interests, especially access to oil, were threatened. Similarly, the government of Mexico wants no part of such a scheme. Yet Reagan has taken an openly warmongering stance in regard to the Caribbean, and is likely to invade any country in which Russian interests gain. This would be to guarantee the oil routes to the U.S. which run through the Caribbean, and to grab more of Mexico's oil. An invasion of Mexico itself, no doubt to supposedly "protect" it, cannot be ruled out. It would not be the first US invasion and annexation of Mexican territory.

Reagan's prescriptions of a "tough" stance in the Middle East are all too obviously plans for a war for

oil. Another key area for Reagan's war plans is Asia. He wants a permanent Indian Ocean fleet, along with bolstered military support of militarist regimes like those in South Korea and the Philippines. Southeast Asia, described by the *Washington Post* as "a high growth, low-risk market," provides both oil and an enormous pool of cheap labor enforced by dictatorial regimes. Yet the Russians, the Japanese, and the Chinese are trying to move in at the expense of the U.S. The Russian-backed Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia is a prelude to greater confrontations. Asia, along with the Middle East, Africa, and the Caribbean, are all key points where the two imperialist blocs led by the U.S. and Russia are squaring off.

The U.S. and Russia are not the only imperialists preparing for a war to redivide the world. Military buildups by Britain, France, Japan, and others show the bankruptcy of the "two superpowers" theory that sees these countries as less aggressive or even progressive. The economic contradictions within the U.S.-led alliance and NATO could blow it apart, with France and West Germany pursuing their own predatory aims more independently. Such a development would not lessen the danger of war, but only heighten capitalism's general crisis and overall rivalry for world hegemony.

A key focus of war preparations is the oil-rich Middle East. The September 20 *New York Times* says, "Almost one-fifth of the Army's active divisions, one-third of the Marine Corps, half the Navy's carrier battle groups on patrol and a variety of Air Force wings have been allocated to the effort. This means strength hitherto committed to Europe would be diverted."

In light of this, the Iran-Iraq war must be seen not just as a regional power struggle, but as an important step to World War Three. The imperialist powers are involved on both sides of this war. They are sending in massive arms and exploiting the situation for their own parasitic interests to gain uncontested control of the oil in the Middle East. The war also involves a rivalry between Iran and Iraq as to which national bourgeoisie will be the regional strongman. It is a reactionary, unjust war, against the interests of both the Iranian and Iraqi workers and peasants. The workers and peasants of both these countries must work for the defeat of their own government, and use the crisis of the war to work to overthrow their own ruling class.

War, as we have shown, is thus an inevitable outgrowth of the system of imperialism. All dreams of peace, disarmament, and preventing war while maintaining this system are only dangerous illusions. These illusions disarm the proletariat and divert it from the only solution to ending the slaughter of imperialist war, that is, proletarian revolution and socialism.

When the war comes, it will most likely at first be supported by the proletariat, who will get swept away with patriotic and chauvinist hysteria. Yet as the war drags on and as the bloodshed continues, the proletariat will more and more question in whose interest the carnage is. The real possibilities of revolutionary crisis will emerge. There will be a real possibility for the proletariat to rise up and transform the imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow its "own" bourgeoisie.

This is precisely what happened during World

War One in Russia. In 1917, 63 years ago, the Russian workers and peasants, led by the Bolshevik Party, transformed that imperialist war into a civil war and overthrew their bourgeoisie. They proceeded to build a peaceful and prosperous socialist society ruled by Soviets, the council of workers and peasants that took state power in the October Revolution. In the 1930's, when the entire capitalist world was devastated by the Great Depression, the Soviet economy continued to expand and provide jobs, food, housing, and security for the masses. Although capitalism has since been restored, the Russian workers will one day rise up again and re-establish socialism. This can be seen in the wave of sentiment and the mass underground distribution of photos of Comrade Stalin that is presently sweeping Russia. Many Russian workers desire a return to the socialism of Lenin and Stalin, and an overthrow of the crisis-ridden imperialism of Khrushchev and Brezhnev. The seeds of such a new revolution can also be seen in other revisionist countries. The recent strike wave in Poland not only revealed a reactionary, pro-West and pro-Vatican tendency in the workers' movement, but also a tendency that targeted its enemy as the "red bourgeoisie."

To transform the coming imperialist war into a civil war, we must thus follow the path of the October Revolution. Yet what chiefly hinders the proletariat from following this course today is the unpreparedness of the working class, the dominance of opportunism among the so-called communists, and the absence of a vanguard proletarian party modeled after the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

This lack of preparedness was not always the case. In World War One, when the majority of the Second International supported the imperialist war, Lenin led the building of an internationalist trend opposed to imperialist war and preparing for proletarian revolution. In 1915, an international socialist conference in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, was held against the war. Lenin led the left wing of that conference, which issued the famous Zimmerwald Left manifesto to the international proletariat. These Lefts became the embryo for the Communist International. These events, along with the October Revolution itself, had great impact on the U.S. working class. Contrary to the usual anti-working class myths, large numbers of U.S. workers opposed the imperialist war. Revolutionary working class leaders like Big Bill Haywood, Eugene Debs, and Charles Ruthenberg, despite constant arrests and government raids, led huge rallies of workers against the war and in support of the Bolshevik Revolution. The Seattle general strike in 1919 consciously opposed and prevented shipment of arms and supplies by the U.S. to support the counter-revolutionary forces trying to crush the young Soviet Republic. This is the rich, revolutionary tradition of our working class, a tradition we must popularize and promote.

Yet the exact opposite happened during the Vietnam War. Despite massive opposition by the working class and Black and other oppressed peoples, protest was stifled by the trade union bureaucrats and the national-reformist so-called "Black leaders." The hopelessly petty-bourgeois peace movement also assisted in keeping the working class politically impotent. This was an example of the treachery of social-pacifism.

It is on the question of war that the vile treachery

of the false "communists" stands out most clearly. Most are really social-chauvinists, who openly support one or another imperialist bloc. These include the supporters of the theory of "three worlds" who support NATO and China's military escapades. Also social-chauvinists are the various supporters of Russian imperialism, who applaud each expansion of the Russian empire from Angola to Grenada to Afghanistan.

More dangerous than these open warmongers are the centrists who cover their social-chauvinism with Leninist-sounding phrases. A leader of the centrist trend is the Party of Labour of Albania. The PLA promotes social-pacifism by claiming war is not inevitable under imperialism. They falsely use the good name of Comrade Stalin to spread this myth. Yet Stalin clearly stated in *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, "To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism." Despite the PLA's pacifist slogans, its support of Iran in its war with Iraq shows its real warmongering stance. The PLA hails the reactionary Islamic movement, and calls for defense of the Iranian "revolution." The truth is that the Iranian revolution has been sold out and reversed. The supposedly "revolutionary" regime of Khomeini has tried to smash the workers' and peasants' councils, the Soviets of Iran, to crush the oppressed nationalities, and re-enslave women with feudal laws. Defense of this counter-revolution is actually defense of the Iranian bourgeoisie and landowners against the Iranian workers and peasants.

Not coincidentally, pro-gang of four Maoists like the US Revolutionary Communist Party also support Iran. The RCP supports a complete return to the line of Mao, which was so often similar to that of the PLA. But Maoism is just as treacherous and just as revisionist as Hoxhaism. Again, this is especially clear on the question of war. In 1957 and 1960, both Mao's CPC and the PLA signed statements with the Khrushchevite revisionists calling for "peace." In 1963, the CPC's "General Line," which supposedly demarcated from Khrushchev and supposedly was the basis for an international program, mentions nothing about the need for the proletariat to transform the imperialist war to a civil war. These and other documents argued that a third world war could indefinitely be prevented even while imperialism still exists. The CPC's treachery became clearer after Mao initiated the alliance with the US and Nixon in the midst of the Vietnam War. In 1971, Mao's CPC also supported Pakistan in its bloody war with India, again taking the same side as US imperialism. This is what you pro-gang of four-ites want to go back to? Thank you, no!

But there is more to these Maoists than this. They merely play with rebellion by anarchistic, adventurist acts that only lead the working class to slaughter. By promoting New Left antics like egg and paint throwing, and suicidal melodramas like in Greensboro, they only bring down more repression on the working class and provoke confrontations at the most inopportune times. CWP has even raised the slogan of "Payback," which they openly say means revenge. RCP has carried out numerous similar adventures as CWP. By bowing to the spontaneous indignation of these frenzied, petty-bourgeois intellectuals who have failed to influence the working class, these opportunists help keep the working class paralyzed.

To be able to carry out our internationalist tasks in the coming war, to actually take the path of the October Revolution, we need a Bolshevik Party. The task of rebuilding the internationalist trend has already been begun by the International Bolshevik Conference that issued the "Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists." All truly revolutionary Communists and class-conscious workers must take a stand on the "Appeal" and must actively carry its internationalist message far and wide. Those groups who oppose the "Appeal" do so because they oppose Leninism, because they oppose real internationalism, and because they are servants of imperialism.

It is true that our forces are young and small. The Bolshevik League this weekend celebrates only its first anniversary. Yet though small, the international Bolshevik trend is growing daily in many parts of the world, in both imperialist countries and colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Similarly, when the vast majority of leaders of the Second International supported the imperialist war, the internationalists were also a small minority among those who called themselves Marxists. In his lecture "War and the Workers," Lenin answered the pessimists and demoralizers this way:

"We are told, 'Things seem to be asleep in a number of countries. In Germany all the socialists are unanimously in favour of the war; only Liebknecht is opposed to it.' To this I reply: This one Liebknecht represents the working class; in him alone, in his adherents, in the German proletariat, lies the hopes of all."

Comrades and friends, this, too, is the course we are pledged to follow.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

TRANSFORM THE COMING IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR!

LONG LIVE BOLSHEVISM!

CANADA

Bolshevik Union Speech in New York

Lessons of 1905 and 1917 The Inevitable War and the Inevitable Proletarian Revolution

We meet here on the occasion of the 63rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in the year of the 75th anniversary of the 1905 Russian revolution. For years the bourgeoisie has tried to hide the international significance of these revolutions in every sort of demagoguery, saying that they were the result of national peculiarities of Russia and the Russian temperament. The bourgeoisie, as part of its all-out assault on Bolshevism, has tried to obscure the real nature of how these revolutions came about. The revolutions did not come about merely because of the tremendous oppression of the people under the yoke of Tsarism.

At the end of the nineteenth century the imperialist countries began an intense struggle to redivide the Pacific region. Russia participated with other imperialists to suppress popular uprisings in China but this also brought Russia more into contradiction with Japanese imperialism. Japan struck the first blow but both had been preparing the war and it was an unjust war to repartition the region. The Mensheviks and Trotsky called for "defense of the fatherland" but the Bolsheviks denounced Russia's participation in this war and called for the defeat of the Tsars armies as a means to hasten the development of the revolution. The first proletarian revolution, the Paris Commune, happened in relationship to the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War. The defeat of Russia in the war with Japan hastened the outbreak of the revolution.

As capitalism passed into the imperialist epoch Russia emerged not only as gendarme of international reaction but therefore as the weakest link in the imperialist chain, and instead of strengthening the Tsarist regime, the war with Japan greatly intensified all the contradictions and propelled Russia into revolution. This revolution was defeated but it was nevertheless a victory for the proletariat

because it was a "dress rehearsal" for what was to come. The lessons of this revolution were not only of importance to the Russian proletariat, but were also of tremendous international significance for the proletariat of all countries.

This revolution was the first open struggle in the 20th century between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie and it signaled the rapidly approaching epoch of war and revolution. As Lenin said, it was the "prologue to the coming European revolution." The struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks was also the prologue of the struggle between internationalism and social-chauvinism in the Second International. The unprincipled attempts of Kautsky and Trotsky to reconcile the split was a prologue to the emergence of the centrist social-pacifist trend in the international. The 1905 revolution proved the absolute necessity of splitting with opportunism and this experience steeled the Bolshevik Party. It prepared Bolshevism for the great historical tests of 1914 to 1917. It prepared Bolshevism for the role of vanguard and leader of the world proletarian revolution. The Bolshevik party was the only one which did not turn traitor at the beginning of the first imperialist world war.

The 1905 revolution was not just the action of the proletariat but was in conjunction with the agrarian-peasant revolution and a national-liberating anti-imperialist struggle by the 57% of the population that belonged to oppressed nations. The conditions of Russia and the revolution against them had many similarities to the backward countries in the world as well as some important differences. "But one very basic feature remains in common," said the Communist International on the 25th anniversary of the 1905 revolution, "the task of the proletarian leadership of the wide peasant movement, essentially of the bourgeois-democratic character, aiming at turning a bourgeois revolution into a Socialist one. The slogan 'the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' preserves its political reality for a large number of countries to this very day. The revolution of 1905 and the Bolshevik tactics in this revolution are a model which Communist Parties of the above-mentioned countries must follow."¹ The differences between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks on this question in 1905 were a prologue of the differences that have always marked Bolshevism from revisionism. The modern revisionists whether of the Khrushchevite, Maoite, or Hoxhite variety have always rejected this path for the revolution in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. Mao tse-tung developed his "new democracy" in struggle against the "dogmatic" models of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions. The Communist International had to say that, "unfortunately, the experience of the proletarian leadership of the bourgeois-democratic revolution gained by the Bolsheviks in 1905 has neither been studied nor mastered sufficiently. The Chinese Communist Party, which won a number of important victories which are of colossal value to the world proletariat, also made a number of mistakes because it did not understand clearly how the proletarian leadership of an agrarian-peasant, anti-imperialist revolution must carry out its task."² History has obviously proven that the Chinese Communist Party never sufficiently studied or mastered the experience of the Bolsheviks. The Communist International said: "One must suppose that its own rich

experience, added to the experience of 1905, will keep the Chinese Communist Party from repeating in the future either right or 'left' mistakes, particularly since the Comintern systematically struggled and struggles to set the Chinese Communist Party on a correct line."³

Mao and his followers, however, struggled against the Comintern's attempts to have the Chinese Communist Party follow a correct line. Despite the tragedy that has befallen the Chinese proletariat and peasantry, there are many today who continue to reject the correct Bolshevik line of the 1905 revolution, of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, and continue to advocate the class betrayal of "new democracy." The revolution of 1905 and the Bolshevik tactics in that revolution remain a model for communists in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries and continue to serve as a line of demarcation between Bolshevism and Menshevism or Maoshevism.

The experience of the 1905 revolution are not relevant only to the backward countries. The basic, moving and leading force of the revolution was the proletariat and the decisive methods of struggle were proletarian. The proletariat of even the most advanced countries have much to learn from this revolution. The 1905 revolution saw the emergence for the first time of the tremendous role of mass political strikes, where the struggle of the workers broke the bonds of the purely economic strikes that confine themselves to the immediate, concrete, economic demands of the working class. The political strikes signified a passing of the workers' movement to a higher level where there was the beginning of the struggle for the demands of the proletariat as a class against the bourgeoisie as a class. But the political strikes were only the beginning of a truly class struggle that the experience of 1905 proved must be merely a transition to an armed uprising. No matter how successful political strikes may be or how long their duration, they are by themselves only a means of applying "pressure" on the bourgeois government. Limited concessions are the only possible result; the question is, will the proletariat go on to the armed uprising or will the bourgeoisie gain a "respite" and thus the future means to throw the proletariat back from the positions won. It was only the Bolsheviks that understood this and who prepared and carried out armed uprising of the workers as well as work in the military to turn the guns around. The proletariat was defeated in 1905, but the experience gained ensured the victories of 1917. It was then and remains today a dividing line between Bolshevism and Menshevism, the necessity of proletarian revolution going forward to armed uprisings of the workers.

It was from the mass political strikes and the tendency to convert them into armed uprising that gave rise to the means by which the working class can exercise revolutionary power, either alone or with the peasantry as the conditions require. "The Soviets originated, for the most part, as strike committees, and in the course of the struggle developed into organs of rebellion and embryonic organs of revolutionary power. This significance of the Soviets, as organs of the dictatorship of a revolutionary nation, was defended by the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks with all their power."⁴ All the modern-day Mensheviks, whether they openly preach the

peaceful transition to socialism or claim some revolutionary mask, all ignore the question of Soviets as the organ of revolutionary power of the proletariat and the very basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Mao's "new democracy" line was formulated to attack the soviets in China and to replace them with a four-class alliance. It is not for nothing that Mao called Russian imperialism "Soviet social-imperialism." The Comintern's systematic struggle "to set the Chinese Communist Party on a correct line" was no doubt seen by Mao as the highest form of "Soviet social-imperialism"! Modern-day Maoshevism never mentions the question of Soviet revolution and neither do the Hoxheviks of the PLA camp. Lenin said many times: "The Soviet system is the dictatorship of the proletariat," and as Stalin said: "The fundamental thing in Leninism is the dictatorship of the proletariat."⁵ What does it mean to call yourself a Leninist but ignore the fundamental thing? What does it mean to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat in general but to avoid the question of the Soviet system in particular? Those who do this are revisionists and subservient to their national bourgeoisie no matter what they call themselves or what they think of themselves.

This is a particularly important question in relation to the coming imperialist war. It was by means of the Soviets that the workers, soldiers and peasants in Russia turned the civil war into the revolutionary power of the toiling class. What does it mean in the final analysis to even speak of turning the imperialist war into a civil war if we cannot speak to the proletariat on how to turn that civil war into victory, of how the proletariat can exercise a revolutionary dictatorship that can put an end to capitalism and imperialist war? It is tiring to hear the Maosheviks preach *ad nauseam* how they can prevent war with "revolution" but they do not know what kind of revolution or which class will exercise a dictatorship or how it will be exercised. Mao never told them how to do this in an advanced country, he considered it irrelevant, as irrelevant as he always considered his followers in the advanced countries. And if they cannot "prevent" war with "new democracy," certainly war will give rise to "new democracy"!

And what of the "socialism" that these opportunists claim to live under or claim to aspire to? As Lenin said: "Soviet power is the road to socialism that was discovered by the masses of working people, and that is why it is the true road, that is why it is invincible."⁶ "New democracy" is the power of the national bourgeoisie hidden by Mao's demagoguery that is an attempt to divert the masses of working people from the road to socialism that they discovered and on which they are invincible if not side-tracked by revisionism. The task of Bolshevism since 1905 has been to keep the workers on this road, the task of the bourgeoisie through their Menshevik agents has been to divert the proletariat from its road. It is a fact that international imperialism through the agency of modern revisionism has managed to divert the international proletariat off this road. But should our struggle be to divert the international proletariat back onto its own road or should we submit to the Mensheviks who struggle so the proletariat never finds that road to socialism again? This is the fundamental question today, as it has been since 1903 — Bolshevism or Menshevism? The revolution

of 1905, the struggle to turn the imperialist war into a civil war and the consequent revolutions of 1917 established Bolshevism as an international phenomenon, where Lenin said "that Bolshevism has indicated the right road of escape from the horrors of war and imperialism, that Bolshevism can serve as a model of tactics for all."⁷

This is particularly important in the face of the impending imperialist war. The Russian-Japanese war was part of the process of preparing the imperialist world war and the 1905 revolution was part of the preparation to turn that war into a civil war. Despite the revolutionary experience of 1905 and the revolutionary upsurge of 1912-1914 and despite the role of the Bolshevik party, the Russian proletariat like all the others was swept up in the nationalism and chauvinism that occurred at the outbreak of the war which was aided everywhere by the utter and base betrayal of the leaders of the second international and their social-chauvinist support of their own imperialist bourgeoisie. The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International stated in its theses on war: "The Bolsheviks, having a well set up illegal organization, were the only Party able to carry on revolutionary work during the war. Yet even they could no more prevent the masses from responding to the bourgeois call for "national defense" than they could prevent the outbreak of war, notwithstanding the fact that the proletarian struggle in Russia was at high tide at that period. In fact, only a few weeks before the outbreak of war, barricades were erected in the streets of St. Petersburg."⁸

It is for this reason that the Sixth Congress laid particular stress on the following words of Lenin: "It is essential again and again, and as concretely as possible, to explain to the masses what the situation was at the time of the last war, and why that situation was inevitable."

"It is particularly necessary to explain to the masses the significance of the fact that the question of 'national defense' is becoming an inevitable question, which the enormous majority of the toilers will inevitably decide in favour of their own bourgeoisie."

"In view of the recent experiences of war, we must explain that on the morrow of the declaration of war, such an enormous number of theoretical and social questions will arise, that the overwhelming majority of the men called up for service will find it utterly impossible to examine them with a clear head and with any degree of impartiality."

"We must tell the masses the real facts about the profound secrecy in which the governments make their plans for war and how impotent the ordinary labor organizations, even those that call themselves revolutionary, are in the face of impending war."⁹

There remained, however, a core of revolutionary proletarians in Russia led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks who not only opposed their own bourgeoisie and struggled for its defeat, but also struggled to transform the war into a civil war. The Bolsheviks led this struggle not only in Russia but also internationally. International opposition to the open social-chauvinism developed in the carcass of the Second International but most of it was covert social-chauvinism hidden under pacifism, multinationalism and conciliation with chauvinism. Part of this Kautskyite "center" organized, 65 years ago, a conference in Zimmerwald, Switzerland that agreed on the imperialist

character of the war but refused to agree with revolutionary tactics to transform the war into a civil war. Lenin and the Bolsheviks led a split in Zimmerwald that formed the Zimmerwald Left with various internationalists. These numbers were small but it was they who represented the growing aspirations of the international proletariat to put an end to the carnage of the imperialist war. The revolutionary tactics put into practice by the Bolsheviks led to disintegration of the imperialist armies, particularly the Russian army, and the result was the outbreak of revolution in Russia in February 1917.

The revolution, however, was not limited to Russia. The imperialist world war also led to revolutions in other countries like Germany, Hungary and Finland and revolutionary crises developed in many countries. Even in Canada entire trade unions supported the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and called for Bolshevik revolution in Canada. There was armed resistance to the war, disintegration of the army, general strikes and the formation of workers' Soviets!¹⁰ Had the revolution spread further in Europe there could have been revolution in North America because it would have intensified the situation in Canada as well as the situation in the US, where there was also growing unrest among the workers and the returning soldiers.

It was what was started with the 1905 revolution and the struggle against opportunism that laid the basis in theory and practice for the rupture with social-chauvinism and social-pacifism and the emergence of a real revolutionary position in the war. The result was the October revolution and the creation of the Communist International. For more than thirty years the international proletariat marched on this road — the road of international Bolshevism. As international Bolshevism came about in relationship to the struggle against imperialist war, its temporary defeat came about by the abandonment of the Leninist-Stalinist principles on the question of war. Comrade Stalin was assassinated in the midst of struggle against the emergence of modern revisionism which sought to revise Leninism and denied the inevitability of imperialist war and advocated capitulation to the nuclear blackmail of the imperialist camp.¹¹

This modern Kautskyism grew up inside the international communist movement and was nurtured by international imperialism and participated in the plot to assassinate Stalin and the rest of the top Bolshevik leadership in the international communist movement to restore capitalism and crush the international revolution. The cornerstone of modern revisionism is the open revision of the principle of the inevitability of war as long as imperialism exists, a revision made by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Khrushchev openly repudiated Leninism and attacked Stalin, who in 1952 made it clear that "to eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism."¹² The *History of the CPSU(B)* says:

"Lenin showed that under imperialism the unevenness of development and the contradictions of capitalism have grown particularly acute, that the struggle for markets and fields for the export of capital, the struggle for colonies, for sources of raw material, makes periodical imperialist wars for the redivision of the world inevitable.

"Lenin showed that it is just this unevenness of

development of capitalism that gives rise to imperialist wars, which undermine the strength of imperialism and make it impossible to break the front of imperialism at its weakest point."¹³

The modern revisionists denied that imperialism was in fact imperialism. They said it could be tamed and made passive, that the law of uneven development was no longer relevant, and they denied to the proletariat the strategy to use imperialist wars as the opportunity that undermines the strength of imperialism and makes it possible to break the front of imperialism at its weakest point. These revisionists did not want the front of imperialism to be broken because they are part of this front. It was necessary to repudiate the inevitability of imperialist wars in order to undermine Lenin's theory of imperialism and rob it of its revolutionary essence while maintaining the pretence of continuing to support it. This was necessary in order to advocate the theories of "peaceful transition to socialism" and "peaceful" collaboration with imperialism. Imperialism had become "peaceful," the revisionists had removed its teeth and forced it to hide in fear, so now it was time for the communists, for the proletariat to become peaceful and abandon the class struggle. There was no longer anything to worry about, humanity was saved from the horrors of the imperialist system by the peaceful collaboration of the revisionists with the imperialists. The Christian dream of "Peace on Earth and Goodwill to Men" had truly come to pass. The last 25 years and particularly the coming imperialist war will show what a cruel and base betrayal of the international proletariat was made by the modern revisionists at that infamous Congress. Even those forces such as the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania that claimed to oppose modern revisionism denied the inevitability of war and denied Lenin's theory of imperialism and repudiated its revolutionary essence. They supported the 20th Congress of the CPSU and its revisionist positions on these questions. They supported the codification of these revisionist positions in the international communist and workers' movements through the 1957 and 1960 Moscow declarations. The 1957 declaration says there is only "the danger of a new war" and that "there is a real possibility of averting wars." It is advocated to make an alliance with most of the bourgeoisie and that "these mighty forces could prevent war" and that "the Communist parties regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task. They will do all in their power to prevent war."¹⁴ Lenin took quite a different view on these questions: "A mass sentiment for peace often expresses the beginning of a protest, an indignation and a consciousness of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to take advantage of this sentiment. They will take the most ardent part in every movement and in every demonstration made on this basis, but they will not deceive the people by assuming that in the absence of a revolutionary movement it is possible to have peace without annexations, without the oppression of nations, without robbery, without planting the seed of new wars among the present governments and the ruling classes. Such deception would only play into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries and their counter-revolutionary plans. Whoever wishes a durable and democratic peace must be for civil war against the governments and

the bourgeoisie."¹⁵

The modern revisionists not only promoted pacifist illusions about imperialist war when they declared that "the defense of peace is the most important world-wide task of the day," they did this precisely to negate the wars of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. They proclaimed that "the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist party—seek to achieve the Socialist revolution by peaceful means." They told the workers that they must "win state power without civil war" and instead of smashing the state the workers can "secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people."¹⁶ This was not only the complete abandonment of the revolutionary content of Communism but it was also in fact directly contrary to the proclaimed goal of "peace." It is, as Lenin said, only possible to have a durable and democratic peace through civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie. By diverting the international proletariat from this road, by restoring the supremacy of capital in the socialist camp, the modern revisionists did what they claimed to be against—ensured the inevitability of war not only between the old imperialists but also within the new Russian imperialists. The contradiction between the old imperialists and the Soviet Union ceased to be a contradiction between capitalism and socialism, where socialism does not pursue an aggressive policy to redivide the world for plunder and exploitation, to a contradiction between two imperialist blocs that are actively preparing to redivide the world through war. This only increased the likelihood of another imperialist war. The Russian imperialists, no doubt, understand this but they do not have to worry about the proletariat turning the war into a civil war if it continues to follow this revisionist road.

The mainstream of modern revisionism more and more adopted the same revisionist and social-chauvinist theses of the old Second International. As happened in the old Second, there arose a vacillating and Centrist, Kautskyite opposition in the form of the CPC and the PLA that had some disagreements with the Russian revisionists. But they conciliated with revisionism and social-chauvinism, refused to split with it. It was the Russians that threw them out. They went on to form their own "two-and-a-half" international that lasted until the Chinese threw the Albanians out to abandon a centrist posture in favour of an open social-chauvinist stand of allying with U.S. imperialism. Even then the PLA continued to follow the same policy as they did with the Russians, to conciliate with social-chauvinism, to refuse to split with it until China cut off its economic and military aid to Albania. The Chinese committed the unforgivable sin for opportunist alliances—allowing ideological differences to mean something and to apply them to state-to-state relations. As long as it is just rhetoric to deceive the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples, it is fine. But cutting off the export of capital to Albania—that is going too far!

During the whole "heroic" struggle against modern revisionism the CPC and the PLA never broke with the social-pacifist theses of the XXth Congress of the CPSU. Never did the CPC and the PLA defend the Leninist-Stalinist line on imperialist war; they

always denied the inevitability of war as they always denied the conversion of those wars into civil wars. In the programmatic declaration of the new "two-and-a-half" international, the CPC declared its full adherence to the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations and in its proposal for a general line for the international communist movement the CPC continued the same social-pacifist Kautskyite line. Incredibly, the CPC stated:

"In order to overcome the present ideological confusion in the international working-class movement on the question of war and peace, we consider that Lenin's thesis, which has been discarded by the modern revisionists, must be restored in the interest of combatting the imperialist policies of aggression and war and defending world peace.

"The people of the world universally demand the prevention of a new world war. And it is possible to prevent a new world war.

"The question then is, what is the way to secure world peace? According to the Leninist viewpoint, world peace can be won only by the struggles of the people in all countries and not by begging the imperialists for it. World peace can only be effectively defended by relying on the development of the forces of the socialist camp, on the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all countries, on the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and on the struggles of all peace-loving people and countries.

"Such is the Leninist policy. Any policy to the contrary definitely will not lead to world peace but will only encourage the ambitions of the imperialists and increase the danger of world war."¹⁷

"Any policy," like the real Leninist policy! The CPSU responded to this position of the CPC by stating: "the C.P.C. . . . acknowledges the correctness of the conclusion of the Statement (1960) concerning the possibility of preventing a new world war."¹⁸

The PLA strongly upheld this proposal of the CPC and in its statement supporting it the PLA said: "The danger of war exists so long as imperialism holds its own. Great changes have been brought about in the world today as regards the ratio of forces of war and of peace and the real possibility has been created to forestall a new world war and other aggressive wars which imperialism may undertake by the joint efforts of all the peace-loving forces. . . . War is neither the cause nor an essential condition for the triumph of the revolution; no Marxist has ever been or can be in favour of exporting the revolution, in favour of winning socialism through wars between states."¹⁹ This is the depths to which the PLA has sunk in its "heroic" struggle against modern revisionism, to deny to the international proletariat the very road by which three previous revolutions had happened, not to mention what happened as a result of World War II. These great "defenders" of Lenin and Stalin against the Russian revisionists turn around and in a disguised manner attack them for not being Marxists. Lenin and Stalin were "in favour of winning socialism through wars between states," that is to transform these wars into civil wars. Their actions speak louder than any of these words. The position of the CPC, PLA and all the modern revisionists certainly has nothing to do with Lenin and Stalin but it certainly has something to do with Social-Democracy. The central organ of international social-democracy, *Vorwaerts*, said the following in commenting on the

Sixth Congress of the Comintern and what it was doing on the question of war: "Again we get a rehash of the old vulgar-Marxian theory: the growth of productive forces under capitalism leads to the struggle for markets; the struggle for markets leads to war — this prospect is inevitable and without any possibility of evasion. . . . As sure as the sun will rise tomorrow, so sure will war break out — soon and even very soon. . . . If war breaks out then further consequences will inevitably follow: Imperialist war will give rise to civil war, to world revolution, or rather, as this is only the second act, long live war! And so they believe in miracles. . . . History commences all over again from the year 1914. A new 1914, this is the illusion that is held out to the Communist Parties of the world in order that their eyes may be closed to the cheerless perspective and the hopelessness of the position that confronts them; and they cheerfully return to the thesis: War is the beginning of all beginnings."²⁰ The PLA and all the neo-social-democrats all agree with the old social-democrats that "no Marxist (of their type!) has ever been or can be . . . in favour of winning socialism through wars between states." And what of all these "vulgar Marxians"?

The "vulgar Marxian," Karl Marx, said in 1854: "But we must not forget that there is a sixth power in Europe which at a definite moment will establish its domination over the other five so-called 'Great Powers' and make every one of them tremble. This power is revolution. After a long period of calm and restraint is now again called to the field of battle by crises and the phantom of famine. At the required signal — the sixth greatest European power will come forth in shining armour, sword in hand. . . . That signal will be the threatening European war. . . ."²¹

Another well-known "vulgar Marxian," Friedrich Engels, said in 1887:

" . . . For Prussian-Germany no other war is possible except a world war, and this world war will be of a power and magnitude hitherto unparalleled. From eight to nine million soldiers will be hurled against each other, and Europe will be laid desolate to a degree that no swarm of locusts has ever desolated a land. It will be the desolation caused by the Thirty Years War compressed into three or four years and over the whole continent of Europe, will rage — famine, starvation, and the brutalisation of the troops as well as the general population, acute poverty caused by the hopeless chaos in the artificial mechanism of trade, industry and credit — all this will end in universal bankruptcy; in the collapse of the old States and their routine political wisdom, a collapse so complete that crowns will roll in the gutter in dozens and no one will think it worth while to pick them up. No one can foresee how all this will end, and who will emerge the victor. But there is one result about which there is absolutely no doubt whatever: General exhaustion and the creation of the conditions for the final victory of the working class.

"This is the prospect, when the system of mutual competition in armaments carried to the extreme, finally brings its inevitable fruits. It is to this, O Kings and statesmen, your wisdom has brought old Europe! and if your only alternative is to commence the last war dance, we shall not weep (uns kann es recht sein). What if the war does push us into the background for a time; what if it does rob us of a few

of the positions we have already captured? If you unleash the forces which later on you will be unable to control then, no matter what turn events may take, at the end of the tragedy your power will be reduced to ruin and the victory of the proletariat will either have been achieved or at all events (doch) will be inevitable."²²

This shows what those "vulgar Marxians" thought about the connection between war and revolution. If for the PLA, no Marxist can say such things, we reject their "Marxism," the "Marxism" of the betrayers of the Second International. Against this "Marxism" we uphold the real ideas of Marx and Engels as Lenin did against the ever so "Marxists" like Kautsky and Plekhanov. And if these predictions of Marx and Engels have already partly come about, we also know, as Lenin taught us, that we live in an era when mankind will suffer these horrible wars until imperialism is destroyed. As Lenin, that "vulgar Marxian," said: "We do not wish to ignore the deplorable possibility of humanity experiencing — at the worst — a second imperialist war, notwithstanding the mass ferment and the numerous outbreaks of mass discontent and notwithstanding our efforts, revolution fails to spring out of the present war."²³ Revolution did spring out of the first imperialist world war, but it was defeated everywhere but in Russia. This was a great victory, but it in no way prevented the inevitability of new imperialist wars. This was clearly established at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. It was this the social-democrats so abhorred and attacked so bitterly. Why? To disarm the proletariat in the face of the imperialist war preparations, to promote pacifism in the proletariat so it is caught unarmed and unprepared. In speaking about the Sixth Congress Stalin said: "The most important thing in all this is that Social-Democracy is the main channel of imperialist pacifism within the working class — consequently, it is capitalism's main support in preparing for new wars and intervention."²⁴ What is modern revisionism doing but the same thing? Can there be any doubt that the modern revisionists are the main channel of imperialist pacifism in the working class and capitalism's main support in preparing new wars and interventions? The centrists of the CPC and the PLA are only like Kautsky — no real opposition to the opportunist essence of Social-Democracy.

Was there a "new era" after World War II, with the growth of the Socialist camp, the international communist movement and forces for peace? Khrushchev thought so, Mao thought so, Hoxha thought so, but that "vulgar Marxian," Joseph Stalin denounced these new revisionists: "It is said that Lenin's theses that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and against another world war. That is not true. . . . To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism."²⁵ This revisionist line condemned by Stalin in 1952 was adopted in 1956 at the XXth Congress of the CPSU. It was adopted by all the ruling parties in 1957 in the Moscow Declaration by all the Communist and workers' parties in 1960. It was upheld by the CPC in its polemic with the Russian revisionists as it also was by the PLA from its 3rd Congress on. It is today upheld by the PLA in its contradictions with the CPC. If Deng Hsiao-ping today says that war is inevitable, it is not because he

has become a "vulgar Marxian" like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It is not realizing that war is inevitable that makes one a "vulgar Marxian," it is transforming it into a civil war against the government and the bourgeoisie that makes one a "vulgar Marxian." Deng is just an "honest" social-chauvinist who is saying: why wait until the war breaks out to ally with imperialism, like the old social-democrats did before 1914, why not pick sides now and start profiting from it now? Such is the reasoning of a social-chauvinist who is in power. Before 1914, all those who claimed to be socialist signed the Basle Manifesto, most of them abandoned this for support of the bourgeoisie, it was the Bolsheviks that continued on this revolutionary tradition all the way to 1953, it was the social-democrats that consistently attacked the Bolsheviks for upholding this revolutionary tradition and it was the modern revisionists, including the CPC and the PLA, that went over to the side of social-democracy, to the side of the bourgeoisie. The only condition that changed is the class point of view of these traitors who prefer the vulgar revisionism to revolutionary Marxism. This is why today Hoxha is not ashamed of his revisionism and in his memoirs as a conciliator of the Khrushchevites: "The 1957 Moscow Declaration, in general was a good document. . . . It constituted a correct program of joint struggle for the coming battles against imperialism and revisionism." Hoxha tells us about "modern revisionism, which was defeated at the Moscow Meeting in 1957!"²⁶

These modern revisionists tried to deroute the proletariat from the path of civil war not only by trying to revise Marxism-Leninism, but also by directly threatening the proletariat by saying that using the weakening of imperialism caused by war to overthrow it would inevitably lead to the destruction of the human race. The 1957 Declaration states: "Were a war to break out before agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons, it would inevitably become a nuclear war unprecedented in destructive force."²⁷ This is still the argument of the PLA today, when it states: "The Marxist-Leninist communists are against that road of the triumph of the revolution which goes through imperialist war, because such a war and more so in the present-day conditions of thermo-nuclear war, would be fraught with devastating consequences for the peoples, for the present and future of mankind."²⁸ This is a total repudiation of the theory of Leninism because of the fear of the destructive power of certain weapons. The "vulgar Marxian" *History of the CPSU(B)* states:

"The inestimable importance of Lenin's theory of Socialist revolution lies not only in the fact that it has enriched Marxism with a new theory and has advanced Marxism, but also in the fact that it opens up a revolutionary perspective for the proletarians of separate countries, that it unfetters their initiative in the onslaught on their own, national bourgeoisie, that it teaches them to take advantage of a war situation to organize this onslaught, and that it strengthens their faith in the victory of the proletarian revolution.

"Such was the theoretical and tactical stand of the Bolsheviks on the questions of war, peace and revolution.

"It was on the basis of this stand that the Bolsheviks carried on their practical work in Russia."²⁹

The PLA wants to close this revolutionary per-

spective, it wants to suppress it. This can only fetter the initiative of the proletarians of separate countries in the onslaught on their own, national bourgeoisie. It does not want the proletariat "to take advantage of a war situation to organize this onslaught." It wants the proletarians to lose their faith in the victory of the proletarian revolution and only have faith in the ability of the imperialists to incinerate the world in a nuclear ball of fire. It wants the international proletariat to abandon "the theoretical and tactical stand of the Bolsheviks on the questions of war, peace and revolution." It especially does not want this stand to be the basis of the practical work carried on by communists today!

The theses of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern exposed this kind of pacifism: ". . . 'Radical' or 'revolutionary' pacifism, advocated by certain 'Left' Socialists who admit the danger of war, but strive to combat this danger frequently by meaningless phrases against war. These pacifists lay excessive stress upon the destructiveness of modern weapons of war in order, either to prove that protracted wars are impossible, or else to demonstrate that it is impossible to transform imperialist war into civil war."³⁰

Today the PLA is trying to prove that protracted wars are impossible because there will only be a nuclear holocaust and that it is impossible to transform this kind of war into a civil war because the civil population will be destroyed. The PLA substitutes the pacifist hysteria of the petty-bourgeoisie in the face of the horrors of imperialist wars for the revolutionary theories of Leninism. The PLA thinks that the existence of nuclear weapons has transformed the nature of imperialism. The nature of war is no longer determined by classes, it is by weapons technology. The military no longer serves imperialism, it is no longer capable of being the tool of the imperialists to redivide the world but can only destroy the world the imperialists want to redivide.

There is, of course, a danger of mistakes and miscalculations by the imperialists which can lead to considerably more destruction than might be desirable to the imperialists, but there is no need to fall victim to the pacifist hysteria that any war leads to the destruction of the world or that limited nuclear war inevitably will lead to nuclear holocaust. This view is predicated on a denial of the nature of imperialism and, therefore, imperialist war. Lenin said of imperialism: "It has developed the productive forces to such an extent that humanity must either pass over to Socialism, or for years, nay, decades, witness armed conflicts of the 'great' nations for an artificial maintenance of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges, and all sorts of national oppression."³¹ In the view of modern-day pacifists, "armed conflicts of the 'great' nations" can only lead to the destruction of the world. So how then can capitalism be maintained? Has imperialism changed its nature because of the invention of a new weapon? It is the economic laws of capitalism and the intensification of contradictions in the imperialist era that force wars between the imperialists. None of these things have changed since the introduction of nuclear weapons.

Nor have we entered a Kautskyite era of "ultra-imperialism" where the imperialists maintain the peace by agreement and where the danger of war derives only from the "bad policy" of certain "bad leaders." The objective development of capitalism

makes maintenance of the "status quo" impossible. The law of uneven development and maximum profit forces the imperialists to redivide the world. There is no way to "stay the hand of the imperialists" because they cannot change the nature of capitalism nor refrain from "armed conflicts of the 'great' nations for an artificial maintenance of capitalism." As Stalin said after the emergence of nuclear weapons, "the inevitability of wars between capitalists remains in force."³² All the feverish activity of the imperialists today to prepare the war proves that Kautsky's dream is as fallacious today as it was when he expounded it in the very month that World War I started.

But this fact has unfortunately led to a situation of despondency and despair in the proletariat, which sees the imperialists preparing for war but which has been inundated with years of pacifist propaganda about the destructiveness of modern weapons, propaganda which holds that any "armed conflicts of the 'great' nations" will lead to nuclear holocaust. This leads the proletariat to pacifist actions that will not prevent war or to despondency rather than to preparations to transform the war into a civil war.

The proponents of the theories that conventional war is impossible without nuclear weapons, or a limited use of nuclear weapons, do the greatest disservice to the proletariat. This view denies that the imperialists are capable of waging a war "for an artificial maintenance of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges, and all sorts of national oppression." The view that nothing can "prevent" a limited nuclear war from becoming a nuclear holocaust is a view that imperialists are incapable of waging an imperialist war for imperialist objectives. It is the quest for "colonies, monopolies, privileges" that prevents the imperialists from incinerating the "colonies, monopolies, privileges" with nuclear weapons. It is the basic law of modern capitalism that determines the behaviour of capitalism. It is not the actions of an individual with his finger on a button that determines the development of capitalism. Stalin described this law in the following way: "the securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and lastly, through wars and militarization of the national economy, which are utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits."³³

If imperialist wars are inevitable, it is also inevitable that they be waged on the basis of this law. How is it possible that "wars and militarization of the national economy" be "utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits" if the means of making those profits are totally destroyed? There cannot be "the securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country" if the majority of the population is destroyed with nuclear bombs. These profits cannot be secured "through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries" if these peoples are totally destroyed by nuclear weapons. Indeed imperialist war will mean the destruction of millions, but in such a way that can be "utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits." Imperialists engage

in war and militarization precisely to obtain the highest profits.

In this "new era" of nuclear weapons, Stalin explained that "it is precisely the necessity of securing the maximum profits that drives monopoly capitalism to such risky undertakings as the enslavement and systematic plunder of colonies and other backward countries, the conversion of a number of independent countries into dependent countries, the organization of new wars—which to the magnates of modern capitalism is the 'business' best adapted to the extraction of maximum profit—and, lastly, attempts to win world economic supremacy."³⁴ This reality frightened the modern revisionists and it continues to frighten the PLA. The PLA's fear of imperialism's wars led to its utter betrayal of revolutionary Communism. In its polemic with the CPSU, the PLA made its continued rejection of Leninism clear: "We are well aware of the nature of present wars, of their catastrophic consequences, and that is why we are dead set for peace, for avoiding war, and we deem it our primary duty to strive to stay the hand of the imperialists before they succeed in launching a nuclear war."³⁵ The PLA today still calls for the struggle "to stay the hand of the imperialists and to prevent them from unleashing a new world war."³⁶ The frightened pacifists of the PLA called for a reformist pacifist struggle to stop the imperialists from being imperialist, to stop the operation of the law of maximum profit with promises to detour the proletariat from the road of civil war. "The peace slogan is in my judgment incorrect," Lenin said. "This is a philistine's a preacher's, slogan. *The proletarian slogan must be civil war.*"³⁷

In the face of the coming imperialist war we are not afraid to take up this old "vulgar Marxian" slogan of the proletariat and we must educate the international proletariat to reject the truly vulgar social-pacifism of the PLA and all the modern revisionists. It is not the PLA and its ragtag collection of opportunist followers that will "stay the hand of the imperialists," it will be the civil war of the proletariat and its allies that will destroy the imperialists. Our point of view is the one expressed in the second paragraph of the Programme of the Communist International: "With elemental force, imperialism exposes and accentuates all the contradictions of capitalist society; it carries class oppression to the utmost limits, intensifies the struggle between capitalist governments, inevitably gives rise to worldwide imperialist wars that shake the whole prevailing system of relationships to their foundations and inexorably leads to the world proletarian revolution."³⁸

Today, however, there are not only those forces like the PLA which so blatantly deny the application of Leninism to our era and so openly take a pacifist position. There are also forces that criticise the PLA for pacifism and make a big show of their revolutionism and internationalism but a closer analysis reveals what a rotted moribund bunch of petty-bourgeois democrats they all are, including those that yell the loudest against petty-bourgeois democracy. "OCML Eugene Varlin," a French group that takes the name of one of the heroes of the Commune in vain, assures us that in theory wars are inevitable, but in responding to the "Appeal to all Revolutionary Communists" tells us that: "In this context, affirming that 'war is inevitable' can only encourage

passivity in the working class."³⁹ We "intellectuals" know that theoretically war is inevitable, but let's not tell the workers, because scientific knowledge about the world they live in will promote passivity in the proletariat! If "Eugene Varlin" is looking for a petty-bourgeois democrat, he need only look in the mirror. That great promoter of "passivity" in the proletariat, Lenin, spent a great deal of time promoting this "passivity" before the first imperialist world war, and history knows only too well the incredible "passivity" of the Russian proletariat! The *History of the CPSU(B)* explains how Lenin did this:

"Long before the actual outbreak of the war the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, had foreseen that it was inevitable. At international Socialist congresses Lenin had put forward proposals the purpose of which was to determine a revolutionary line of conduct for the Socialists in the event of war.

"Lenin had pointed out that war is an inevitable concomitant of capitalism. Plunder of foreign territory, seizure and spoliation of colonies and the capture of new markets had many times already served as causes of wars of conquest waged by capitalist states. For capitalist countries war is just as natural and legitimate a condition of things as the exploitation of the working class.

"Wars became inevitable particularly when, at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, capitalism definitely entered the highest and last stage of its development — imperialism."⁴⁰

And what lesson did Lenin draw from these years of promoting "passivity" in not only the Russian but the international proletariat? As quoted earlier but cannot be repeated too often: "It is essential again and again, and as concretely as possible, to explain to the masses what the situation was at the time of the last war, and why that situation was inevitable."⁴¹ What "Eugene Varlin" is afraid of is that all this talk about the inevitability of war might disrupt his own passivity. The French proletariat need not worry about war, his one or two "factory cells" will bring them the glories of the "immediate socialist revolution." "Eugene Varlin" accuses the Bolsheviks to make the "promise to be communist . . . tomorrow," but he not only promises not to be communist tomorrow, he promises to be opportunist today. It must be admitted that what "Eugene Varlin" says one way or another does not have a tendency to promote anything in the proletariat, but the fear of the inevitable consequences of imperialism by this petty-bourgeois is typical of a whole strata of the decaying Maoist movement, from the oh so "revolutionary" semi-Trotskyites like "Eugene Varlin" to the "critical" supporters of Salvador Allende, the "RCP" of Chile.

Mao Tse-tung, himself, said very little on the subject, but the Maosheviks cling to one of Mao's platitudes on the subject like a pilgrim to a phony holy grail. Mao said: "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent war."⁴² This seemingly profound nonsense is a totally classless formulation. What kind of world war? There have been two with entirely different characters, one unjust imperialist war and the other a just anti-fascist and liberating war. What kind of revolution? National anti-imperialist, social emancipatory or proletarian revolution?

Mao eliminates the class point of view and provides a meaningless prescription for any kind of war. Mao confuses the two World Wars together because in his mind he saw little difference in what is to be done about them. Mao in a rare comment talking about the first imperialist world war said, "World War I is an instance in which both sides fought for imperialist interests; therefore the Communists of the whole world firmly opposed that war. The way to oppose a war of this kind is to do everything to prevent it before it breaks out and, once it breaks out, to oppose war with war, to oppose unjust war with just war, whenever possible."⁴³ Indeed the way to oppose imperialist war is to preach social pacifism before it breaks out, and, after it breaks out, to oppose it with a "just war." Is that the "just war" of the Russian social-chauvinists against German imperialism or is that the "just war" of the German social-chauvinists against the Tsarist autocracy or is that the Kautskyite "just war" where the proletariat of each country has an "internationalist" right to shoot workers of the other countries? Mao is like Kautsky, whom Lenin exposed in this way: "Kautsky is remarkably vacillating as to the character and meaning of the present war; this leader dodges the exact and formal declarations of the Basle and Chemnitz Congresses as carefully as a thief dodges the place of his last theft."⁴⁴ Mao dodges these exact and formal declarations just as he also dodges those of Lenin, Stalin and the Communist International. Obviously, he does not agree with them. First Mao denies the inevitability of these kinds of wars, and secondly he refuses to discuss the subject of civil war. He is like Kautsky who maintained that the war was "not a 'purely' imperialist one." And that "this is a national war as well!"⁴⁵ Mao's typical vagueness allows the Maoists to maintain a high degree of flexibility to be able to appear revolutionary one day but to ally with the bourgeoisie and imperialism the next. Mao learned a lesson from the old Social-Democrats that it is not wise to commit oneself to explicitly internationalist stands before the war because Bolsheviks can make this so embarrassing during a war.

With their options left open in the coming imperialist war the Maoists try to put on a revolutionary mask today. They tell us that revolution can prevent war. These Maoists try to stand to the left of the PLA on the question of war. They try to ignore the years of conciliation by Mao and the CPC with the Russian revisionists on these questions. Like all of the modern revisionists, however, they deny the inevitability of imperialist war, but try to appear revolutionary by saying revolution can prevent it. This line is theoretically revisionist and absolutely absurd in the present historical circumstances. How can revolution prevent imperialist war? Certainly a revolution in one country, even one of the great powers, even in one of the Maoist "superpowers" is not, in itself, going to abolish imperialism. Even when the Soviet Union was socialist, even when there was a large socialist camp, comprising one third of the human race along with a large international movement, it was impossible to prevent war. Stalin was clear about this. It was the thesis of Khrushchev and the other modern revisionists that it was possible on this basis to prevent war. If a similar situation was to "suddenly" creep upon us, this would still not prevent imperialist war. Although it might withdraw a

country or countries from the imperialist camp, it would not prevent other imperialist wars or wars of intervention against the revolution. If it is not the theses of Khrushchev in revolutionary clothes, it can only be the thesis of Trotsky. A revolution in one country will not abolish imperialism, but if this revolution were simultaneous in all the imperialist countries, or if the revolution breaking out in one or several countries were to spread more or less immediately and simultaneously to the other imperialist countries, then imperialism would be abolished and wars no longer inevitable. But what is this if not Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution"? And what is it but the old Menshevik theory into which Trotsky tried to breathe new life, that the revolution will begin and be expanded in the most advanced countries first and this will therefore "prevent" the imperialists from redividing the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries? This is so absurd that Mao did not even uphold this view, but it is a fact that many of his followers in the advanced countries do and that it is part of the growing convergence of Maoism and Trotskyism.

This theory of revolution preventing war fundamentally denies Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution. Lenin saw the inevitable imperialist wars and all their horrible consequences as propelling the masses towards civil war to end the war. For Lenin this made the revolution possible in one country, but for the Maoists, imperialist wars are not an important part of the development of revolutionary crises in our era. Revolution for them is likely to arise in advance of war, to "prevent" war. Stalin, in attacking Trotsky's rotten theory, explained Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution and those wavering towards Maoism would be wise to consider it carefully:

"In his study of imperialism, especially in the period of the war, Lenin arrived at the law of the uneven, spasmodic, economic and political development of the capitalist countries. According to this law, the development of enterprises, trusts, branches of industry and individual countries proceeds not evenly—not according to an established sequence, not in such a way that one trust, one branch of industry or one country is always in advance of the others, while other trusts or countries keep consistently one behind the other—but spasmodically, with interruptions in the development of some countries and leaps ahead in the development of others. Under these circumstances the "quite legitimate" striving of the countries that have slowed down to hold their old positions, and the equally "legitimate" striving of the countries that have leapt ahead to seize new positions, lead to a situation in which armed clashes among the imperialist countries become an inescapable necessity. Such was the case, for example, with Germany, which half a century ago was a backward country in comparison with France and Britain. The same must be said of Japan as compared with Russia. It is well known, however, that by the beginning of the twentieth century Germany and Japan had leapt so far ahead that Germany had succeeded in overtaking France and had begun to press Britain hard on the world market, while Japan was pressing Russia. As is well known, it was from these contradictions that the recent imperialist war arose.

"This law proceeds from the following:

"1) 'Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the vast majority of the population of the world by a handful of "advanced" countries' (see Preface to the French edition of Lenin's *Imperialism*, Vol. XIX, p. 74);

"2) 'This "booty" is shared between two or three powerful world robbers armed to the teeth (America, Britain, Japan), who involve the whole world in their war over the sharing of their booty' (ibid.);

"3) The growth of contradictions within the world system of financial oppression and the inevitability of armed clashes lead to the world front of imperialism becoming easily vulnerable to revolution, and to a breach in this front in individual countries becoming probable;

"4) This breach is most likely to occur at those points, and in those countries, where the chain of the imperialist front is weakest, that is to say, where imperialism is least consolidated, and where it is easiest for a revolution to expand;

"5) In view of this, the victory of socialism in one country, even if that country is less developed in the capitalist sense, while capitalism remains in other countries, even if those countries are more highly developed in the capitalist sense—is quite possible and probable.

"Such, briefly, are the foundations of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution."⁴⁶

The theory of preventing war with revolution can only deny the unevenness of this development of take the theoretically absurd position that while capitalism develops unevenly, the revolution does not and, in fact, can destroy imperialism as a system without the development of imperialist contradictions to the point of war. This theory denies that the "inevitability of armed clashes leads to the world front of imperialism becoming easily vulnerable to revolution, and to a breach in this front in individual countries becoming probable." In the "era of Mao Tse-tung Thought" everything is turned on its head and now the inevitability of the Maoists rising up in revolution will destroy the entire front of imperialism before the contradictions in the imperialist front make it vulnerable to "the inevitability of armed clashes." This theory can only lead to such nonsense as "immediate socialist revolution" or the kind of absurd anarchist and terrorist activities carried on by the likes of the "RCP" U.S. and the "CWC" U.S. The anarchist Hervé at least put forward the call to immediately respond to the war with a general strike and an immediate uprising. Our modern-day Maoists want to respond to the "danger" of war with such nonsense. The theory of preventing war with revolution is the "theory of simultaneous victory of socialism in the principal countries of Europe (now Europe, North America, Japan, Russia and even China—BU) which, as a rule, excludes Lenin's theory of revolution about the victory of socialism in one country."⁴⁷ Or is it a theory that denies the necessity of abolishing imperialism as the means to abolish the inevitability of war? In either case it is social-pacifist theory, or shall we say a "revolutionary" pacifist theory that denies the inevitability of war and denies the necessity of civil war and how imperialist war can be eliminated only through a whole epoch of wars and revolutions that leads to the final abolition of imperialism. It denies the real possibilities, in fact, probability of socialism in one country for the Trotskyite

fantasies of socialism suddenly replacing imperialism as a world system and preventing the world from suffering any more imperialist wars and interventions. This is nothing but the idealist dreamings of petty-bourgeois "revolutionaries" who cannot stomach the real business of revolution and who cannot face the real and inevitable consequences of imperialism.

This theory is even more absurd and the desperation of these petty-bourgeois democrats more apparent when we consider the actual state of the international workers' movement. Revolution did not "prevent" war when all of those who called themselves socialist, at least in word, upheld an internationalist position with the existence of truly mass workers' parties, nor did the existence of the first socialist country and a strong Communist International, nor would have a large socialist camp, as Stalin made clear. Even most of the Maoists admit there is no socialist camp today, no real socialist countries, no international and no truly mass workers' parties. What forces are going to prevent this war in the imperialist countries? Is it going to be the workers in the revisionist and social-democratic parties? Is it going to be the workers in the U.S., in the AFL-CIO? Is it going to be the workers in Russia that are not allowed even trade union organization? Or do the masses make revolution without organization and without consciousness? On what basis do we have to assume the revolution is imminent in any of the imperialist countries, let alone in all of them? Yes, the objective factors for a revolutionary crisis are ripening throughout the world and in some countries in a particularly acute manner, but where is the organized conscious open class struggle for political power occurring? Certainly the activity of more than two "factory cells" in France is needed to turn an objective revolutionary crisis into a proletarian revolution, not to mention a successful one! Certainly the hysterical and comical circuses put on by the "RCP" U.S. are not enough to turn the U.S. into a proletarian dictatorship. Given the actual state of the Maoist forces in the world, it is laughable to talk about preventing war with revolution; they cannot even prevent themselves from getting murdered by the Ku Klux Klan. But as we demonstrated above, even in Russia, which was the weakest link in the imperialist chain, where the proletariat went through the experience of 1905, where there was a strong Bolshevik party, where there was a great upswing in the revolutionary struggle in 1912-1914, the Bolsheviks "could no more prevent the masses responding to the bourgeois call for 'national defense' than they could prevent the outbreak of the war."⁴⁸

Given that experience, what can be said about the United States, where the proletariat is so infected with chauvinism and not only "national defense" but national aggression. What can be said about Russia, France, Germany, Japan, Canada, etc.? Certainly the revolution is imminent only in the fantasies of certain petty-bourgeois who have lost all connection with reality, who serve no other purpose than to confuse the theoretically impoverished and the practically impotent. This does not mean that a revolutionary crisis is not possible before the war; there was one in Portugal (arising out of their defeat in a colonial war!), but subjectively the proletariat was not prepared or organized to seize power and the Maoists were all supporting the bourgeois-

sie, some playing an even more counter-revolutionary role than the revisionist party, by openly allying with fascism against the "main danger." Of course, even if there were a successful revolution in such a circumstance it in no way would prevent war. Although it could well influence the time and place of the war, and also the character, in the sense that imperialism could engage in a war of intervention against a revolution.

It is, however, important to understand the "comparative ease," as Stalin put it, "with which the proletarian revolution in Russia succeeded in breaking the chains of imperialism and thus overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie."⁴⁹ In addition to the favourable internal circumstances, which were conditioned by the Russian defeat in the war, Stalin first lists three external factors.

"Firstly, the circumstance that the October Revolution began in a period of desperate struggle between the two principal imperialist groups, the Anglo-French and the Austro-German; at a time when, engaged in mortal struggle between themselves, these two groups had neither the time nor the means to devote serious attention to the struggle against the October Revolution. This circumstance was of tremendous importance for the October Revolution; for it enabled it to take advantage of the fierce conflicts within the imperialist world to strengthen and organize its own forces.

Secondly, the circumstance that the October Revolution began during the imperialist war, at a time when the labouring masses, exhausted by the war and thirsting for peace, were by the very logic of facts led up to the proletarian revolution as the only way out of the war. *This circumstance was of extreme importance for the October Revolution*; for it put into its hands the mighty weapon of peace, made it easier for it to link the Soviet revolution with the ending of the hated war, and thus created mass sympathy for it both in the West, among the workers, and in the East, among the oppressed peoples.

Thirdly, the existence of a powerful working-class movement in Europe and the fact that a revolutionary crisis was maturing in the West and in the East, *brought on by the protracted imperialist war*. This circumstance was of inestimable importance for the revolution in Russia; for it ensured the revolution faithful allies outside Russia in its struggle against world imperialism.⁵⁰

It is because of the lack of these conditions, and certain others, that Lenin said "it will be more difficult for Western Europe to start a revolution than it was for us."⁵¹ Even though the Soviet Union and the Communist International already existed as a very important factor in assisting that revolution. Lenin, Stalin and the Comintern always saw the outbreak of revolution as a very difficult matter that developed most easily in relationship to war. The whole theory of Leninism based on the law of uneven development means that revolution is most likely to come about in this way, that the possibilities in other ways are unlikely and even if it does, the chance of victory is less. To Lenin and Stalin the whole idea of preventing war through revolution is an absurdity that is never discussed. It is, however, the calumny of Social-Democrats and the modern revisionists that Bolsheviks advocate imperialist war and support its outbreak. These opportunists want to kill the messenger that brings the bad news. These wars are

inevitable, and the subjective wishes of the petty-bourgeoisie to "prevent" them will not change this reality. The Comintern in answering this silly calumny said that Communists "strive to prevent imperialist war by proletarian revolution."⁵² The key thing here is to "strive," not that war will be prevented. The Comintern made it clear that "only through the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the most important countries can imperialist wars be prevented."⁵³ The reason we strive to prevent war is to postpone it. "It is clear that a postponement of the imperialist war measures by mass actions of the proletariat will create conditions that will considerably facilitate the transformation of this war into civil war and the overthrow of the imperialists."⁵⁴

The social-pacifist theories of the PLA of "staying the hand of the imperialists," of the Maoist theories of "preventing war with revolution" are nothing but social-pacifist theories to deceive the proletariat and hide the eyes of the petty-bourgeoisie from the horrors of imperialism. The result is pacifism and anarchist putchism. As the Comintern said: "War is inseparable from capitalism. From this it follows that the 'abolition' of war is possible only through the abolition of capitalism, i.e., through the overthrow of the bourgeois class of exploiters, through the proletarian dictatorship, the building of Socialism, and the elimination of classes. All other theories and proposals, however "realistic" they may claim to be, are nothing but a deception calculated to perpetuate exploitation and war."⁵⁵

To give Mao some credit, he was not as idiotic and infantile as his followers in the advanced countries. He rarely talked about and was little concerned by the revolution in the advanced countries because he was not concerned with abolishing imperialism and replacing it with socialism in the classical sense. Mao took a purely nationalist point of view on these questions. In his last known "thought" on these matters, in 1970, he said: "The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."⁵⁶ What "revolution" is Mao talking about? He gives as examples of his theses, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Mao proclaimed: "I warmly support the fighting spirit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk"; supposedly this "fighting spirit" was going to prevent war. Today we can certainly see the "profundity" of Mao's "thought" because this did not even prevent a war between China and Vietnam. And another war by Vietnam to overthrow the incredible regime to which Sihanouk's "fighting spirit" gave birth. These wars between China and Vietnam, and between Vietnam and Cambodia, have been unjust wars in the service of imperialism and part of the preparation for the next imperialist war. They are part of the process of the redivision of the world. Sihanouk is now selling his "fighting spirit" to U.S. imperialism, trying to take Cambodia from the sphere of influence of Russian imperialism. Vietnam has become the gendarme of Russian imperialism in the region and China is applying for the job of gendarme of U.S. imperialism. For Mao the way revolution "prevents" war is the activity of the national bourgeoisie to "stay the hand of the imperialists," or as Mao put it: "the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors." Ten years later it is obvious what has become of Mao's "main

trend of revolution" if we simply recall the way he described it: "The revolutionary armed struggles of the people of the Southeast Asian countries, the struggles of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, the struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against U.S.-Israeli aggressors, the national liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of North America, Europe and Oceania are all developing vigorously. The Chinese people firmly support the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries and of other countries of the world in their struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys." Maybe it was possible for young and gullible people to believe such fairy tales ten years ago, but what can be said for those who cling to them today? In any case, Mao makes no mention of the proletariat or the struggle for socialism; it is the national struggle against the U.S. that is going to prevent war! The oppressed peoples of the world can refuse to be redivided by the imperialists, and this will put an end to imperialism! Of course, Mao does not even have the oppressed peoples in mind, but the national bourgeoisies who are struggling against one imperialist bloc with the aid of the other.

Mao, in concluding his "thought" about how to defeat the U.S., not imperialism in general, says: "A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hand the destiny of their country. This is the law of history. People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!" What is this but the theory of "three worlds," the "people" including the "patriotic" bourgeoisie of the "third world" and the "second world" unite to defeat the U.S. "superpower"? This is the continuation of Mao's theory of "intermediate zones" and a prelude to the theory of "three worlds." This is only a further Maoist development of the modern revisionist theses in 1957 about "the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand," and "the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality."⁵⁷ The goal was to unite these forces "for joint action on the broadest possible scale with all forces favouring peace and opposed to war."⁵⁸ In the face of war, the modern revisionists in 1957 called for defense of the fatherland and took a social-chauvinist position for the sake of "unity" against the U.S. The defense of "national independence" against the "American monopolies" by all other countries was put forward as principle, the CPC continued to maintain this position in 1963, as Mao did in 1970. But Mao's move from pacifism to "revolutionary" pacifism was short-lived and probably more related to internal problems than anything else because shortly thereafter the "fascist" Nixon came to Peking to hatch an alliance with Mao to sell out the struggle in southeast Asia and to shift the "main enemy" to Russia (for propaganda purposes it was both "superpowers") and now Mao was "preventing" war by allying with every lackey of U.S. imperialism, as the pages of *Peking Review* so graphically illustrated over the years. This was formalized in the theory of "three worlds" and the concealed social-chauvinism has given way to open social-chauvinism.

So it has fallen to the Maoists discarded by China to try to maintain some sort of revolutionary mask to Mao Tse-tung Thought. The remnants of the pro-"Gang of Four" Maoists are trying to build an international trend to keep alive the centrist and pseudo-revolutionary politics of Mao. The leaders of this trend, the "RCP" U.S. and Chile, or more exactly Avakian and Palacios, have jointly appealed for the consolidation of this trend. They declare their "recognition of the growing danger of a third world war."⁵⁹ They declare that "an inter-imperialist world war could break out soon and there is a very great likelihood that it will break out in the next ten years unless it is prevented by revolution . . . if the revolution is not able to prevent a war it will be in a position to turn a inter-imperialist war into a war against the imperialists and their collaborators." Avakian and Palacios avoid the precise formulations of Leninism as carefully as Mao did. It is not inevitable, they can prevent it, but if they can't, turn it into a liberation struggle against the "imperialists and their collaborators." Which imperialists, which collaborators? We get no answers, this would only lessen their own options to sell out like Mao did. Social-pacifist nonsense today and open options when war is declared. And what of civil war? Not a word but maybe some phoney declarations later to confuse the gullible.

Unfortunately, there exist today a number of forces that conciliate with Maoshevism who waver between Bolshevism and Menshevism, who particularly in relation to the question of imperialist war will on occasion take a correct position in principle but who resist as much as possible from actually making a split with centrism. An example of this is the statement made by five organizations from Cyprus, Turkey, Austria, West Germany and West Berlin against the International Youth Camp held in Germany last summer. They "boldly" attacked KPD(ML) for pacifism, but they avoided mentioning the principle backers of the camp that supports the participants in the camp, the PLA! These five organizations declare:

"Against imperialist war — pacifism?

"An urgent task of the toilers and revolutionary youth of the world today is to fight the war preparations of the imperialist powers. However, unless propaganda is made of the most effective weapon against imperialist war, *propaganda of the destruction of imperialism through revolutions*, *propaganda of peoples' war*, of national liberation wars, is possible only through revolutionary wars. *The platform makes propaganda of "peace and friendship of the peoples" only. But no propaganda of the necessity of revolutionary wars.* This is sufficient evidence that the camp organisers are submerged in the mire of pacifism."⁶⁰

Not a word about the inevitability of war, not a word about transforming imperialist war into civil war. Instead we hear only about "peoples' war" and "national liberation wars." Why is it that these bold denouncers of German revanchism say nothing about civil war? If Germany is invaded, will they apply the tactic of "peoples' war" and "national liberation wars"? On this occasion they failed to distinguish themselves from the social-chauvinism that lurks beneath the positions of KPD(ML) and the PLA. Yes, it is true that some of these organizations can be found to say the correct thing in theory upon occa-

sion, but what about *this* mass propaganda? Was it necessary to compromise on principle to maintain unity of critical Maoists and Maoists? Was this more important than Leninist-Stalinist principles? Clearly in this case it was.

Today we are confronted with a whole array of social-pacifists and their conciliators that are trying to save the moribund and decaying carcass of Mao or the PLA with some revolutionary phrases, but they avoid at all costs the precise formulations of the entire history of revolutionary Communism. Stalin once denounced the traitor Zinoviev before the international communist movement for writing articles on war where "there is not a single word, literally not a single word, about war *having become inevitable*."⁶¹ Stalin castigated Zinoviev for only seeing war as "possible" instead of inevitable. But today we have the sad spectacle of forces who call themselves communist denying the inevitability of war and asserting that it is only "possible" and quite "preventable." And of course the question of civil war is hidden from view even by the most "well intentioned."

It is, in fact, this array of petty-bourgeois forces that is promoting the greatest passivity in the proletariat. The proletariat cannot be deterred from social-chauvinism by absurd Maoist and Hoxhaist promises of "preventing war." In the face of the imminent and inevitable war the revolutionary proletariat can only be won from a feeling of passivity and hopelessness by a trend that tells the proletariat the horrible truth about imperialism, but also tells it the vital truth that this war can be used to destroy imperialism and that it is once again possible to walk down the road of socialism. It is by telling the proletariat the truth that it will be prepared for its historic mission. It is in this way that the revolutionary proletariat can once again walk in the revolutionary traditions of the Commune, of 1905, and of 1917. It is the road of Bolshevism that will show the proletariat once again that socialism is possible, that imperialism can be defeated, that a world can be created where the horrors of imperialist wars and interventions will no longer be the nightmares of our children.

The international Bolshevik conference against the imperialist war once established on an international level that the international proletariat once again has a voice to take up those long lost but so vital Leninist-Stalinist, Bolshevik principles that will show the international proletariat and oppressed peoples a way out of the carnage of imperialist wars. Once again Bolshevism exists and is being propagated on an international level. For the first time in over 25 years the revolutionary content of Communism is being upheld. Once again the real content of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 1905 revolution is being upheld both in the imperialist countries and the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

Instead of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the Marxist thesis of revolution against the bourgeoisie is once again being upheld. We give no support to the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries. We work for the defeat of all bourgeoisies, particularly our "own," we prepare a civil war against the bourgeoisie. We do not confine this position to the imperialist countries. We give no support to the national bourgeoisie in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.⁶² The leadership of the revolution

must be in the hands of the proletariat who will, in alliance with the peasantry, establish the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

And once again the Soviet path to revolution, the road discovered by the revolutionary proletariat itself, the revolutionary power of the proletariat and toiling masses against the bourgeoisie, is openly propagated. It is Soviet revolution, Bolshevik revolution that is the salvation of the international proletariat and of all the oppressed peoples.

LONG LIVE BOLSHEVISM!

Note: For those who attended this rally, this speech was not presented in its entirety, because of time considerations and to allow ample time for discussion.

Notes

1. "The International Significance of the Revolution of 1905: On the 25th Anniversary of the Revolution of 1905," *The Communist International*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 3-4, February 15, 1931, pp. 114-15. 2. *Ibid.* 3. *Ibid.* 4. *Ibid.*, p. 117. 5. Quoted in "75th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution of 1905: The Meaning of Soviets for the Working Class Today," *Proletarian Revolution*, no. 25, Nov., 1980, p. 42. 6. *Ibid.* 7. *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, FLP, p. 88. 8. "The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of Communists," Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International — 1928, Section 14b, reprinted in *International Correspondence*, no. 2, p. 151. 9. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-1. 10. See "The Conscription Crisis of 1917-18," *Proletarian Revolution*, no. 25, Nov., 1980, p. 33. 11. See "Nuclear War?," *ibid.*, p. 1. 12. *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, FLP, Chapter 6, p. 37. 13. *The History of the CPSU(B)*, Chapter 6, Section 3b, p. 168. 14. "Declaration of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries," Nov., 1957, Section 1. 15. "Socialism and War," *Collected Works* (1930), Vol. 18, p. 235, emphasis added. 16. "Declaration . . .," 1957, Section 4. 17. "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," 1963, FLP, Section 14, pp. 30-1. 18. "The letter of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. to the C.C. of the C.P.C.," Feb. 21, 1963, *ibid.*, p. 11. 19. "A Document of Great International Significance," Tirana, 1963, p. 13. This is a pamphlet reproducing an article from *Zeri i popullit*, July 24, 1963. 20. Quoted in *International Press Correspondence*, Vol. 8, No. 49, August 13, 1928, p. 866. 21. Quoted in *ibid.*, also "the European War," *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 557. 22. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 866-7. 23. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 867. 24. "Results of the July Plenum of the C.C., CPSU(B)," *Works*, vol. 11, p. 210. 25. *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, FLP, Chapter 6, pp. 36-7. 26. *The Khrushchevites*, Tirana, 1980, pp. 337-8 and 386. 27. "Declaration . . .," 1957, Section 1. 28. "The Marxist-Leninist Stand of the PLA on the Problems of War and Peace," *Albania Today*, no. 2, 1979. 29. *The History of the CPSU(B)*, Chapter 6, Section 3b, p. 170. 30. Theses, Section 12c, reprinted in *International Correspondence*, no. 2, p. 149. 31. "Socialism and War," *Collected Works* (1930), Vol. 18, p. 221. 32. *Economic Problems . . .*, chapter 6. 33. *Ibid.*, Chapter 7. 34. *Ibid.*, emphasis added. 35. "Concerning the Theses for the Xth Congress of the Italian Communist Party," Nov. 1962, *Oppose Modern Revisionism and Uphold Marxism-Leninism and the Unity of the International Communist Movement*, Tirana, 1964, pp. 85-8. 36. *Albania Today*, no. 2, 1979. 37. "Letter to A.G. Shlyapnikov, Oct. 17, 1914," *Collected Works* (1939), Vol. 18, p. 75. 38. *Program of the Communist International*, Workers' Library, p. 5. 39. See this issue for an article by OCML Eugene Varlin. 40. *History of the CPSU(B)*, Chapter 6, Section 1, p. 160, emphasis added. 41. *Op. cit.*, *International Correspondence*, no. 2, p. 150. 42. The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (documents), FLP, p. 83. 43. "On Protracted

War," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 150. This quote is cited in *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, FLP, 1969, p. 60. 44. "The Collapse of the Second International," 1915, *Collected Works* (1930), Vol. 18, p. 298, Section VI. 45. *Ibid.* 46. "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists," *Problems of Leninism*, FLP, pp. 128-9, Section 2, emphasis added. 47. *Ibid.*, p. 132. 48. *Op. cit.*, *International Correspondence*, no. 2, p. 151. 49. "The October Revolution . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 117. 50. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18, emphasis added. 51. Cited by Stalin, *ibid.*, p. 102. 52. Theses of the Sixth Congress, *op. cit.*, paragraph 11, p. 148. 53. *Ibid.*, paragraph 6, p. 145. 54. *Ibid.* 55. *Ibid.*, paragraph 7, p. 146. 56. "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!," Statement of May 20, 1970, FLP, 1971. 57. Declaration 1957, *op. cit.*, Section 1. 58. *Ibid.*, Section IV. 59. "Joint communique from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA," *Forum International*, no. 2, p. 11. 60. "On the '4th International Youth Camp': Neither Revolutionary Nor Anti-Imperialist," *International Correspondence*, no. 2, pp. 172-3. 61. "Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the CPSU(B), July 29-August 9, 1927, The International Situation and the Defense of the USSR, Speech delivered on August 1, Section IV, The Threat of War and the Defense of the USSR," *Works*, Vol. 10, p. 49. 62. This does not mean that certain tactical alliances, under certain conditions and for certain lengths of time cannot occur, as they have historically. But in general the national bourgeoisie in these countries has gone even farther down the road of opposition to the revolution and support of imperialism that was demonstrated at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. This question is dealt with at length in contemporary Bolshevik literature, but it is mentioned here so as to avoid any confusion with opportunist positions. The question of tactical alliances with the national bourgeoisie in these countries is today principally a theoretical and historical question and not a practical one. It is important to study, however, because in certain circumstances it could once again become a practical question.

CORRESPONDENCE

Reply to the Appeal to all
Revolutionary Communists of
L'Union de Lutte Communiste
(Upper Volta),
Linea Bolchevique (Puerto Rico),
La Voie Ouvrière (Ivory Coast),
Bolshevik Union (Canada),
En Avant! (Togo) and the
Bolshevik League (United States).

*A Communist Circle
of Columbia*

We enthusiastically support the timely Appeal, that the comrades of the above-mentioned countries have issued to communists of the whole world. A conference of genuinely Marxist-Leninist communists against imperialist war would take place at a critical period—the present historical moment is such a critical period. It is a time in which all the world imperialist powers are preparing to redivide the world as the only escape from the crisis of their declining system. It is also the historical period in which the world proletariat, after having been an organized force in the vanguard of human liberation, finds itself without the ideological and organizational sense of direction from which it had benefited until capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union at the beginning of 1953 after the death of Comrade Stalin.

The ideological confusion and the lack of proletarian organization around the world are due not only to the victory of imperialism in the Soviet Union through the revisionism of Khrushchev and his small group of politicians, but also through the revisionism of Mao Zedong and Enver Hoxha, which remained hidden for so long until the Bolshevik Union of Canada succeeded in uncovering its treacherous essence.

This moment of history, characterized by the portents of a new imperialist war, has made more evident the unpardonable treachery of those that considered themselves leaders of the “anti-revisionist communist movement” and in that way has made more evident the necessity for a new regrouping of the genuine communist forces around the world, in order to revive Bolshevism and thereby return to the proletariat its revolutionary strength.

The appeal to the comrades for the conference, which will delineate the corresponding tasks needed to transform the imperialist war into a civil war, is a call which truly gives direction to the proletariat of

all countries. in light of the fact that the bourgeoisies of the whole world will take part in the shedding of so much blood. All these bourgeoisies will ally with one or another of the imperialist blocs, which are always seeking lackies and allies in all parts of the world.

The Colombian bourgeoisie, loyal lackies of United States imperialism, will try to defend this situation from the rise of a powerful popular democratic movement, as they have been doing for such a long time in the most violent ways. The whole variety of opportunist forces inside the popular and workers' movements, on the other hand, try to convince the proletariat and oppressed masses that their liberation is based on allying with the Colombian bourgeoisie itself, or with the bourgeoisie of other imperialist powers such as Russia or the Western European countries.

The liberation of the Colombian people, as well as the proletariat and oppressed masses of the entire world, consists first of all in breaking with all types of opportunism, which keep them within this imperialist system of exploitation of all forms, and uniting with their class brothers and sisters around the world.

In this way they will, once and for all, eliminate this system based on human misery.

This objective would be accomplished by organizing the proletarian vanguard of all countries in a new communist international firmly rooted in Marxist-Leninist principles, which international opportunism makes such an effort to bury eternally. The call to the conference against the war represents for us a definite step towards this objective which is so decisive in human liberation. It pushes us to decisively fulfill all the tasks which are necessary to accomplish this objective, in conjunction with the comrades of Puerto Rico, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Canada, Togo, the United States, and all those who respond to this very important Appeal.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!
A Marxist-Leninist Circle
of Colombia

Correspondence from a Communist of the Dominican Republic

In Latin America, imperialist and social-chauvinist forces co-exist which in one way or another attempt to divert the just struggle of the masses, take advantage of the labour force and initiate imperialist wars. Such wars are imperialist by their nature and purpose. They arise from the bloody imperialist aim to redivide the world, to maintain the colonies and semi-colonies and to guarantee that the status quo—state of affairs—of the dependent countries does not undergo any alterations in its form or content.

Today, the antiquated policy of the United States continues to be the sadly celebrated doctrine of the "Big Stick." Surely, the imperialists want to guarantee their rule over other peoples; they do not care what means are used to obtain that rule. But the matter is not as simple as might appear at first sight. Imperialist rule in a country includes control over its economy, inappropriate exploitation of the non-renewable natural resources, destruction of the popular and mass culture and the infiltration of a corrupt culture, political repression and countless calamities.

All these deprivations, calamities and repression will only be felt by the proletariat and the other popular sectors. We must remember that the imperialists try to maintain the status quo at all cost, meaning that the privileged classes, such as the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie, will not be harmed. The bourgeoisie benefits from imperialism and vice versa, and both as a whole benefit from the total exploitation of the proletariat and oppressed sectors of the world.

Unquestionably we should not only uphold the fight against American imperialism and the bourgeoisie. As we said previously, imperialist as well as social-chauvinist forces co-exist which play a role in the implementation of imperialist wars in Latin America. We take as an example the open participa-

tion of the Soviet imperialists in the political life of the Dominican Republic, to be more specific. The Dominican Communist Party (DCP), propaganda organ of the USSR, united in 1978 with reactionary sectors of this nation, such as the Reformist Party (RP), headed by the assassin Jaquin Balaguer, with a group of the oligarchy and the national bourgeoisie, and thereby with the group headed by the social-chauvinist Juan Bosh Gavino. This union was with the unhealthy purpose of interrupting the electoral process of the nation, which favored the Dominican Revolutionary Party. The essence of the plan was to create the conditions to transform the republic into a colony of the Cuba type under the rule of the Soviet Union. The actions of the DCP intensified much more upon seeing their hopes of converting the nation into a Russian colony frustrated. Therefore, they engaged in creating campaigns to discredit the present government and to sponsor strikes and street violence.

These are only brief infiltrations of both imperialism in Latin America, but we have to recognize that there are various imperialist countries which are involved in the majority of Latin American countries and in the same way collaborate with each other in order to promote their aims.

Today we must confront these aims of imperialist war with the platform outlined by the Bolshevik line, which advocates for the transformation of such imperialist wars into civil wars, which will offer the proletariat, peasantry and other oppressed sectors the opportunity to take part in their own affairs and to create nations governed by the hegemony of the proletariat, peasantry and the other oppressed sectors.

It is of vital importance that all the revolutionary proletarians of Latin America and the world take as their own the Appeal of the Bolshevik groups to convert the imperialist wars into civil wars for the cause of the proletariat and other oppressed sectors. The distribution of Bolshevik propaganda is also of great importance, as well as the participation of all the revolutionary communists in the coming conference, with the purpose of writing a manifesto in order to fully confront the imperialists.

A Communist of the
Dominican Republic

WEST GERMANY
WEST BERLIN - AUSTRIA

To: L'Union de Lutte Communiste
(Upper Volta)
Linea Bolchevique (Puerto Rico)
La Voie Ouvrière (Ivory Coast)
Bolshevik Union (Canada)
En Avant! (Togo)
Bolshevik League (United States)

MPLÖ Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria
Gegen die Strömung,
Westberliner Kommunist

Comrades,

We have received your invitation for the meeting . . . and would like to reply to you about it.

As you know, there exist between the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria (MLPÖ), Gegen die Strömung (GDS) and Westberliner Kommunist (WBK) on the one hand, and the various organizations (such as the Bolshevik Union of Canada) which initiated this conference on the other hand, fundamental ideological and political contradictions. We will go into them now.

We would like to stress that we did not intend from the beginning to refuse to participate in the conference out of considerations of principle. On the contrary, it seemed significant to us since, to our three organizations, a discussion on the standpoint of the "Appeal," on the political and ideological basis of this initiative and on all other questions to be clarified with participation, could not be more timely. Without such a preparation, it seems senseless to us to send representatives of our organizations to such a conference.

Fundamentally, we too are interested in a discussion on the questions which are essential for the world communist movement. Thus we would have expected the signatories of the "Appeal" to ensure all of the organizations invited to the conference the right to the possibility of bilateral or multilateral discussions with all of the initiators of the conference. This, however, is unfortunately not the case. It says in your letter that inquiries about bilateral meetings would be "taken into consideration," provided that such meetings are necessarily held by

one of the invited organizations. We hold that it is not an appropriate method of ideological discussion that, within the framework of such an international conference, the organizers responsible for such possibilities for discussion and contact are not fully ensuring them from the beginning — or, at least, leaving no unambiguous promises about them. In any case, this is how we have understood this passage of the letter.

We are particularly interested in an ideological discussion with those organizations with which we have had no possibility for contact before now. We would like to call upon those organizations which we have so far not been able to reach because of the absence of a suitable address to give us their addresses, so that arrangements can be made for the exchange of documents, for discussions, etc.

Concerning the "Appeal" and the initiative of the six organizations, at this point we can make only a preliminary and limited assessment.

The "Appeal" contains a range of correct positions on the struggle against the imperialist war, which have our support as well. Thus we agree with the statement that it is the task of the proletariat, in the case of an imperialist war, to struggle to transform this war into a civil war against its "own" bourgeoisie. This is a fundamental thesis of Lenin which is today "forgotten" by various opportunists.

Likewise it is correct that the precept formulated by Lenin concerning the inevitability of the imperialist war in the epoch of imperialism holds its full validity, now as before.

It is, however, an incalculable shortcoming of the "Appeal" that these positions are not developed in ideological demarcation from the prevailing opportunist view. Thus we hold it absolutely necessary to struggle against the war hysteria fomented by the opportunists. This war hysteria of course presents the very serious problem of soporific illusions of pacifism. This dangerous opportunist propaganda, which fatalistically explains any struggle against imperialist war as hopeless and superfluous, is not opposed with one word in the "Appeal."

Besides these mistakes immediately connected with the struggle against the imperialist war, we see profound and essential problems in the political and ideological foundation and in the objectives of this initiative.

In the "Appeal" it is definitely stressed repeatedly that it is now time for communists internationally to join the signatories of the appeal to take up the struggle against the imperialist war. Underlying this request, in our opinion, is the false conception — categorically rejected by us — that the unity of the world communist movement is to be attained in the first place around the struggle against the imperialist war and the positions taken thereon in the "Appeal." The political and ideological unity necessary for the union of the world communist movement, however, includes the whole spectrum of the basic questions of the world proletarian revolution, around which the ideological struggle is kindled internationally today. We deny that, in this ideological discussion, agreement on some questions of the struggle against the imperialist war should be placed in the foreground and all other ideological questions should be effectively treated as being secondary problems. We look at this as a real danger of the "Appeal."

In particular, it can be shown that such a compre-

hension is propagated by the Bolshevik Union of Canada. However, we do not assume from the start that all of the other signing organizations share this comprehension of the BU. We would like to call upon the other organizations to examine the following position of the Bolshevik Union!

In a comment of the BU on the significance of the "Appeal" and the conference already held in the summer of 1980, it says:

"At first, this rupture happened in certain countries, but it is now being consolidated on an international scale. Organizations from six countries came together 65 years after Zimmerwald to hold a Bolshevik conference against imperialist war, a conference where on the international level Bolshevik strategy and tactics against imperialist war were re-established as a first step in once again building an International."

And further on it says:

"Those who ignore this appeal only confess to their own social-chauvinism, centrism and narrow nationalist mentality." (*Proletarian Revolution*, no. 24, p. 2)

The Bolshevik Union unambiguously considers the initiative of the six organizations on the question of the struggle against the imperialist war as the first step for the political and ideological union of the world communist movement and for the reconstruction of the Communist International. We, on the contrary, are of the opinion that the question of the "Bolshevik strategy and tactics against the imperialist war" in no way must be the decisive and more or less single criterion to carry on the struggle for the unity of the world communist movement today.

The Bolshevik Union unambiguously makes positions held in the "Appeal" on the question of the imperialist war the dividing line determining whom to treat as Marxist-Leninist and whom to treat as opportunist, or social-chauvinist and nationalist. The article of the BU holds that this plainly ultimative call to other communist organizations to "join" with the appeal and the initiative of the six organizations is the first step in the establishment of the unity of the world communist movement, and thus puts into the background all remaining fundamental ideological contradictions.

In no way can we agree with this. For it is indispensable that a broad, open ideological discussion and exchange unfold, including all Marxist-Leninist forces, if the struggle for the forging of a truly principled unity is to be successful, a unity based on a stable foundation in its contents. The procedure propagated by the BU stands opposed to this indispensable requirement, since, despite assurances to the contrary, such ideological exchanges around all of the basic questions of the world proletarian revolution are declared to be superfluous. For this reason it is considered a superfluous and burdensome duty, because, according to the comments of the BU — and unfortunately the "Appeal" as well — even despite all of the ideological contradictions, all should allegedly "join" the initiative of the six organizations in the struggle for the establishment of the unity of the world communist movement.

We hold that it is a venture condemned to failure from the beginning, if today a group of organizations presents itself as the core or leading force of the

world communist movement and yet seeks to omit the stage of ideological discussion and exchange around the fundamentals of the unity of the world communist movement.

Our criticism of the political and ideological line of the Bolshevik Union is in no way exhausted in the rejection of this radically wrong concept of the struggle to establish the unity of the world communist movement. Beyond this there remains a whole range of fundamental differences. Here we wish only to outline the most important.

We hold, for example, that fundamental agreement on the very essential question of *what position to take on the work of Mao Tse-tung* must prevail before it is justified to speak of political and ideological unity. However, the conceptions of the work of Mao Tse-tung advocated by the BU contradict any explanation oriented to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The identification which the BU makes between the line of the Trotskyite opposition in the CPSU(B) and the line of Mao Tse-tung on the tasks of the Chinese revolution is leveled not only at the essential Marxist-Leninist work of Mao Tse-tung on the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in China, but also immediately against Stalin's conception of central questions of the Chinese revolution. The polemic of the BU against factually opportunist views of Mao Tse-tung, such as his erroneous position on the national bourgeoisie in the mid-fifties, held up against this background, is only an apparent justification for the unscrupulous slander of the significant revolutionary uprising after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution.

Irreconcilable differences also exist in regard to the *position on the PLA and its development*. As you know, the BU has not advocated the assessment of the work of Mao Tse-tung or the CP of China from the beginning which it holds today. On the contrary, accompanied by the abrupt repudiation of earlier positions taken up by the PLA, such as the ones in the course of the year 1978, it began to initiate the unprincipled condemnation of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Revolution. Shortly before its new assessment of the PLA, the BU based itself most closely on the political and ideological line of the PLA throughout its whole development and even literally raised "complete agreement" with the line of the PLA and "recognition of the leadership of the PLA" to the "line of demarcation between right and wrong." (see *Recueil* no. 5, p. 214, first published in *Bulletin* no. 3, October 10, 1977)

It seems to us that this is worth mentioning here above all because in practice it was overnight, after the participation of an Albanian delegation at a rally of the CPC(ML) in March, 1979, that the BU passed over from unqualified displays of solidarity and devout declarations of loyalty to the complete condemnation of the PLA as revisionist and centrist from the beginning.

Without regard to the fact that these turnabouts were accompanied by *no serious self-criticism*, without regard for the fact that the circumstances of this abruptly changed assessment throw a significant light on its ideological basis and their motives, we wish to emphasize that we can in no way take part in such a characterization of the PLA. The facts, which no Marxist-Leninist can deny, facts which could not be annulled even by today's systematic development

of a revisionist line of the PLA, are that the ideological struggle of the PLA against Khrushchevite revisionism (just as against the "theory of three worlds") dealt serious blows against opportunism and offered numerous Marxist-Leninist arguments against it. An essential critical process of this exchange with modern revisionism, and the analysis of its principal errors and weaknesses, go directly against the assessment found by the BU of "revisionist and centrist from the beginning."

This "argument" concerning Mao Tse-tung or the PLA, stamped with false and unsubstantiated conclusions and expressed with unserious methods, is only the reverse side of the position which the BU takes towards the great tasks, *the teachings of our leaders Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin* which must be defended against all opportunist attacks. Thus, with slogans such as "Long live Stalinism," the BU seeks to propagate in particular a consistent defense of Stalin. (See the declaration of the BU on the 100th birthday of Stalin, December 1979.) Such apparent representations of honour towards Stalin, however, in truth support the division of Stalin's works from the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin propagated by the revisionists from the beginning. The construction of a "Stalinism" is aimed directly against the outstanding defense of Marxism-Leninism and the great continuation of Lenin's work by Stalin, who always characterized himself as a pupil of Lenin. Such phrases have nothing to do with a real defense of Stalin's work. (We have already pointed out that the complete denial of the work of Mao Tse-tung on the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in China inevitably is also directed against the teachings of Stalin on the Chinese revolution.)

In this connection, we further hold that it is a method used less for contents than for a sensational "exposure" when the BU believes it is defending Stalin against real and supposed attacks on the part of the PLA and the CP of China by characterizing these two parties as "accomplices in the murder of Stalin." (Ibid.)

A particularly crass present-day example of what the BU does with its standpoint and method is its *position on the struggle of the people of Afghanistan*. The BU characterizes all Afghani struggles of resistance as reactionary and tied to imperialism. The reactionary character of a part of the forces directed against Russian social-imperialism is equated with the just struggle of an oppressed people against imperialist intervention. The basic communist idea, that the just struggle of a people must always be steadfastly supported, is completely missing in the BU; instead, the struggle of the people of Afghanistan is represented as an interimperialist conflict. (see *Proletarian Revolution*, no. 20, pp. 6-7) Such a position clearly represents a mockery of the struggle of the people of Afghanistan.

For our organizations it is completely out of the question to overlook such "trifles." For this reason we reject the attempts made by the BU to achieve unity on such opportunist foundations.

(We have already put forward our differences with the line of the BU elsewhere in detail in our *Internationalen Informationen*, no. 3. This commentary can be obtained from our address.)

In conclusion, we would again like to call upon the organizations which signed the Appeal to examine and reply to our criticism, in order to discuss the

questions dealt with in this letter and all other positions and problems.

With communist greetings,

Gegen die Strömung (GDS)
Marxistisch-Leninistisch Partei
Österreichs (MLPÖ)
Westberliner Kommunist (WBK)

P.S. We would like the Bolshevik Union or the other organizations which we can reach to please forward this letter to the organizations of Togo, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast and to assist with translation if possible.

Certain necessary comments on this letter

In the first two issues of *International Correspondence*, there were reproduced positions of these three organizations. This participation in *International Correspondence* was based on certain discussions where they gave the appearance of agreeing to participate and to answer criticism, despite their differences with certain aspects of the "Proposal." It had been proposed to them that it was in the interests of international debate to have this debate take place in the German language as well, and that *International Correspondence* was prepared to publish in German, if these organizations would assist in translation. This proposal was never responded to, nor was a clear and unambiguous position taken in relationship to their participation in *International Correspondence*. Instead these organizations began to publish in "June, 1980" (although received much later) a publication called "Internationale Informationen." The first issue was published as "no. 3" and was made up entirely of an attack on the Bolshevik Union of Canada and *International Correspondence*.

These organizations maintained at that time that their participation in I.C. was misrepresented because they were only participating "non-officially" and not "officially." In fact, it is they who misrepresented their participation. There is no distinction between "non-official" and "official" participation presented in the "Proposal" or in any discussions between participating organizations. They raise the totally false conception that to participate "officially" organizations must agree with the analysis of the CPC and the PLA made by the Bolshevik Union of Canada. This is totally false and was explained to these organizations long before "June 1980." These organizations knew very well that one of the purposes of I.C. was in fact to debate differences on these and other questions. What I.C. demanded is that organizations commit themselves to answering criticism and defending their views in public in front of all revolutionary Communists and the international proletariat. It is this condition that these organizations decided to reject after verbally agreeing to it. As a consequence, let there be no ambiguity: these organizations are not participating in I.C.

until they openly commit themselves in practice to the open and wide debate that they claim to support "in principle." This so-called "non-official" participation amounts to nothing but the use of I.C. as a means to have their positions published in other languages without the responsibility of defending them. Furthermore, it is meant to control what debate occurs in the German language so as to attempt to maintain their "unity" and avoid responsibility for the totally irresponsible and often deliberately false accusations they make against others. These three organizations have requested that I.C. publish "no. 3" of "International Informationen," which would amount to more than 60 pages; however, they offer no commitment to defend it. So the position of I.C. is that it is willing to publish this text in the interests of debate, but only if they publish in German a response to it by organizations participating in I.C. I.C. is still waiting for a response.

I.C. published this letter of these organizations because it is a letter that is responding to the "Appeal . . ." and because it summarizes some of the main points of their attack on the Bolshevik Union of Canada. This letter also says a great deal about the real stand and method of these organizations. Although the Bolshevik Union as well as other organizations will respond to the criticisms raised here and previously by these organizations, it is necessary here to point out several things that reveal the very unprincipled way these organizations are proceeding in international matters today.

These organizations are great examples of those that "in principle" agree with this or that but in practice take the opposite position. They claim that "discussion on the standpoint of the 'Appeal,' on the political and ideological basis of this initiative and on all other questions to be clarified with participation, could not be more timely." Yet they avoid actually discussing it in this letter and in their press, and they avoid meeting to discuss it on a totally bureaucratic pretext based on a misrepresentation of a position about bi-lateral meetings in a letter. If these organizations agreed "in principle" to the proposed conference, they refuse in practice to carry on the discussions necessary to prepare it. And if they are so concerned about bi-lateral meetings, why do they seek to avoid them in practice? It seems that they want to participate in meetings selectively and without the public responsibility that attends a conference. These organizations themselves refuse to carry on international relations on a bi-lateral basis and function internationally as one organization. They seem to prefer the world of secret diplomacy to open international discussion and debate.

As to the "Appeal . . .", despite having it for several months "at this point we can make only a preliminary and limited assessment." They say that "the Appeal contains a range of correct positions on the struggle against the imperialist war, which have our support as well. Thus we agree with the statement that it is the task of the proletariat, in the case of an imperialist war, to struggle to transform this war into a civil war against its 'own' bourgeoisie. This is a fundamental thesis of Lenin which is today 'forgotten' by various opportunists." Despite other differences with these organizations, we could only applaud such a statement of internationalism, but we must do it with only one hand. Last summer the pro-PLA forces held their summer camp in Germany

and these three organizations along with organizations from Turkey and Cyprus issued a statement exposing this camp. This statement, reproduced in *I.C.* no. 2, criticises the pacifism of the organizers of the camp and "forgets" to mention that the PLA holds the same pacifist positions. In opposing this pacifism, these organisations "forget" this "fundamental thesis of Lenin" and avoid discussing civil war; instead, they only talk about "people's war" and "national liberation wars." This is totally unacceptable in general, but particularly in mass propaganda in Germany! To "forget" civil war in such circumstances is unconscionable, particularly for German organizations, particularly for those organizations that claim to uphold this "fundamental thesis of Lenin," at least "in principle"! These organizations want to talk about "incalculable shortcomings of the Appeal"; they should rather talk about the incalculable shortcomings of their own propaganda to the German proletariat.

They also say in their letter, "likewise it is correct that the precept formulated by Lenin concerning the inevitability of imperialist war in the epoch of imperialism holds its full validity, now as before." But last summer they seem to have "forgotten" this precept of Lenin's, too, as they have "forgotten" it often in previous positions. In the joint statement of the organizations from Austria and Turkey published in *I.C.* no. 1, it is asserted that there is only a "danger" of war and that this war is "preventable." We can only hope that since the "Appeal . . ." has jogged their memories they will not be so "forgetful" in their future propaganda to the proletariat in Germany and Austria.

But why these organizations are so "forgetful" of these principles, of which the "Appeal . . ." reminded them, is revealed later in the letter when they say: "We . . . are of the opinion, that the question of the 'Bolshevik strategy and tactics against the imperialist war' in no way must be the decisive and more or less single criterion to carry on the struggle for the unity of the world communist movement today." It was not necessary to add emphasis for it to be understood that these organizations are opposed to the drawing of lines of demarcation as the Leninist means of achieving unity, and particularly they oppose doing this on the basis of the principles the "Appeal . . ." reminded them of. No one has put forward the position that this is a "more or less single criterion," but it is obvious that these organizations do not want it to be a criterion at all. How else can the statement of last summer be explained? The *History of the CPSU(B)* states: "The war was therefore a touchstone, a test for all parties and trends calling themselves Socialist. Would these parties and trends remain true to the cause of Socialism, to the cause of internationalism, or would they choose to betray the working class, to furl their banners and lay them at the feet of their national bourgeoisie? — that is how the question stood at the time." This was the touchstone on which the Second International split and on which the Communist International was built, this is the touchstone that lays at the basis of the demarcation between social-democracy and Communism, yet these organizations reject using this touchstone today, they refuse to draw this line of demarcation today and carry out the necessary steps in practice today. What is this but the old vacillations of the German "Lefts" who were reluctant to

make a split with the corpse of the Second International?

What is the touchstone of these organizations? Despite their plea to discuss everything and exclude no one, they advance their own "decisive and more or less single criterion" and that is "fundamental agreement on the very essential question of what position to take on the work of Mao Tse-tung, must prevail before it is justified to speak of political and ideological unity." This certainly must be why they "forget" about Leninism last summer when they were trying to build some kind of unity with critical and not-so-critical supporters of Mao Tse-tung. It is no secret that Mao opposed both the inevitability of imperialist war and transforming imperialist war into civil war, so these questions can be sacrificed for the sake of some kind of unity on "what position to take on the work of Mao Tse-tung." For all these organizations talk about wanting to have an open international discussion on many questions and even try to pretend that it is they who uphold this against the "Appeal . . .", it is they who in practice manage to avoid it at all costs, preferring instead bilateral meetings to discuss "the very essential question of what position to take on the work of Mao Tse-tung."

It is pure demagogy to say that the "Appeal . . ." or *I.C.* are seeking "to omit the stage of ideological discussion"; it is these organizations that have so far refused to engage in this stage in *I.C.* What is meant here is in fact a stage of "freedom of criticism" where anything, everything and finally nothing is discussed because the consequences of ideological demarcations are not put into practice, and instead the movement should continue the stage of secret diplomacy to find a suitable compromise on principles and to proclaim it as "unity" when it suits the factional interests of those involved. The statement of those groups around the "gang of four" is proof of this. These three organizations seek to cover up their own interest in this diplomatic intrigue by avoiding a discussion of the essentials of the "Appeal . . ." and the question of war and instead engage in a hysterical attack on the Bolshevik Union. They hope in this way, particularly among their own followers, to divert attention from their own vacillating and opportunist positions. They stoop to outright lies to try to cover themselves in a cloak of respectability. They state that "it was overnight, after the participation of an Albanian delegation at a rally of the CPC(ML) in March, 1979, that the BU passed over from unqualified displays of solidarity and devout declarations of loyalty to the complete condemnation of the PLA as revisionist and centrist from the beginning." This is a lie designed to deceive those who cannot read English, French or Spanish, or who have been denied access to no. 13 of *Lines of Demarcation*, the theoretical organ of the Bolshevik Union. Along with the demarcation against the PLA, there is reprinted from *Proletarian Revolution* eight editorials and articles criticising the centrist positions of the PLA all published before the PLA came to the rally referred to above. In any case, the PLA had "recognized" "CPC(ML)" since early 1977 when a delegation of "CPC(ML)" visited Albania at the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA. Nor has the Bolshevik Union ever taken the position that the PLA has been "revisionist and centrist from the beginning." These organizations know all these things, and it is they who resort to conscious lying to

engage in "a method used less for contents than for a sensational 'exposure.'" Every characterization of the line of the Bolshevik Union is filled with deliberate distortions. This is a rather transparent attempt to cover up the conciliation with opportunism and revisionism in which these organizations engage today, and if they wish to talk about the past they should talk about how they have done this for years and are continuing to do it today. Why do they not explain in detail how the Austrian organization was split in 1971-1972 and the Lefts were purged for opposing the alliance China and Mao were making with U.S. imperialism and the role the PLA played in maintaining the organization's loyalty to the CPC and Mao?

These organizations' continuing refusal to actually engage in the debate and to extend it into the German language, and their refusal to draw lines of demarcation on Leninist principles on the question of war, will "throw a significant light" on the "ideological basis" of these organizations and "their motives" in engaging in this kind of unprincipled activity. At least Rosa Luxembourg proved she could fly higher than chickens. We await the path of flight of those who decide to leave or fall out of the nest of the last 25 years of conciliation with revisionism. As to who is "doomed to failure," the contents of this issue speak for themselves.

FRANCE

Letter from L'Aube Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Dawn)

Comrades,

We have just read your various publications (which are hard for us to find in a bookstore) and especially your internationalist appeal for the elaboration of a manifesto against the 3rd imperialist war. (. . .)

This having been said, we can only salute your international initiative, the more so since that of "In Struggle" has gone completely bankrupt. In Struggle did not really want to pose the question of imperialist war, just as "Combat Communiste," our fellows, try to manoeuvre to gain time.

For communists, for those who are really aware of the danger of imminent war and the as yet relative weakness of the communist movement, time is precious. It is now two years since we have been alerting (with our limited means) the ML movement about the necessity to create an international to face the dangers of war.

In '79 we wrote concerning "In Struggle": "For us, the attitude of the ML movement vis-à-vis the question of imperialist war, is the central question. Thus, it is obvious for us that any conference or international meeting which does not put on the agenda, in first place, this question, would be judged by us as being an opportunist conference" and we ended with: "A manifesto like the Basle Manifesto of Lenin, that is what we should prepare."

You are proposing to elaborate this manifesto with six political groups already, which is a start. In view of what we put forward, we can only join with your initiative, since it is concomitant with ours. What is essential, is the content of this manifesto.

We think that at the present time, you are able to send us either an outline or a plan of your project for a manifesto and to keep us informed.

In this way, we will be able to progress more rapidly and see what corresponds to our political line on war, what is missing, what needs development.

Militant greetings,
January 17, 1981

Reponse

In this letter, *L'Aube Révolutionnaire* (Revolutionary Dawn) brings its support to the "Appeal . . ." and to the initiative of the six organizations to organize an international conference against imperialist war. *L'Aube Révolutionnaire* salutes our initiative "all the more since that of In Struggle has gone completely bankrupt." This declaration astonished us all the same since *International Forum* had just published an extract from a letter from *L'Aube Révolutionnaire* presenting a totally different position from that expressed here. How does A.R. explain that hardly several months ago it proposed to In Struggle that *International Forum* transform itself "into an organization of combat of the various workers' communist detachments of the world against the capitalist order and international war"?? What has changed since then? Yet this position contained in I.F. No. 2 is really in accordance with your first position presented in reply to a letter from E.L. and published in your no. 7 of October 1979.

Furthermore, A.R.'s position presented in the documents and letters of its journal no. 7 are in contradiction with the content of the "Appeal . . ." It constantly states that "the creation of an international" would aim to "face the dangers of war" or else to "rule on the conflict (war between China-Vietnam-Cambodia, E.C. of the C.I.) and settle it" (no. 7 of the journal of A.R.; our translation — ed.) or again to PREVENT imperialist war" (Ibid.) If we emphasize this, it is to demonstrate the gap between the position of A.R. on the imperialist war and that of the "Appeal . . ." whose content it now says it supports. The "Appeal . . ." says: "War is an inevitable result of class society and the continued existence of the imperialist system and war can only be put to an end by the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism and class exploitation. No pacifist illusions will prevent war" and the creation of an international also will not be able to "prevent war." That is why the "Appeal . . ." insists on the necessity for putting on the agenda the only Leninist revolutionary slogan against imperialist war: "Only the revolutionary action of the international proletariat to turn the war into a civil war, a revolution against the bourgeoisie of all the imperialist countries and a national revolutionary struggle in oppressed nations against imperialism will put an end to the imperialist system and put a final end to the carnage of war." It would only be pacifist illusions to pretend that the organization of the proletariat at the international level could by itself put an end to wars or "prevent" or "settle" inter-imperialist conflicts and imperialist wars, and certainly not if this international is created from or integrated with opportunist pacifists of the stamp of In Struggle. So it would be of very great interest to know if, when A.R. stated its support for the "Appeal . . .," this also included this Leninist thesis on imperialist war, if so, it would be more than suitable to provide the explanations that underlie this change of position.

Thus, A.R. in its letter states that "the attitude of the ML movement regarding the question of imperialist war, is the central question." That is very well. But it would be better still if A.R., while affirming the crucial importance of discussing this question, did not bypass the essential matter. In

effect. In its last letter to In Struggle, A.R. elaborates more in detail its idea of debate and of the process to be followed to end up with the writing of a manifesto against the war. According to it, we should "deal with all the questions relative to imperialist war," for example the problem of the struggle for peace, liberation struggles, the unions regarding the problem of war and finally, how chauvinism manifests itself . . . These four examples, no doubt some of the most important in the eyes of A.R., does not however mention the problem of how to prepare the proletariat to transform the imperialist war into revolutionary civil war! The closest that A.R. can come to this essential question of Leninism in the imperialist war is when it mentions "the practical tasks of communists in the unions to struggle against war PREPARATIONS." Why this? Probably because A.R. believes that there are only "imminent dangers" of war and that in any case it is sufficient to struggle against the preparations and we will be able to "prevent" war. There can be no other explanations. Yet A.R. seems to understand better than In Struggle how wars and revolution are linked. It said in its journal "the great revolutions broke out in close connection with war. The Paris Commune emerged during the Franco-Prussian war, the Russian revolution of 1905 broke out after the Russo-Japanese war, those of February and October, (. . .) so much so that one could say that war engenders revolution. (Op. cit.) But this comprehension of history seems to disappear when it is a question of applying it to the imperialist war now in preparation and which will inevitably break out. Today A.R. ignores this truth of history and wants to hurry to create an international that "will prevent" the unpreventable and finally to "prevent" that which has historically given rise to revolution!!

A.R. can with reason complain about its friends like "Combat Communiste" who try to "manoeuvre to gain time" but as for *International Correspondence*, it will do everything in its power to prevent manoeuvres regarding the "Appeal . . ." from replacing real internationalist support. We await more precise explanations concerning A.R.'s support for the "Appeal . . ." A.R. should also give more details as to whether these positions, to which we have here referred, should be in the manifesto against imperialist war.

**International Correspondence
Subscription
Service**

All the publications in this section are available by writing to:

International Correspondence
C.P. 892, Succ. Tour de la Bourse
Montréal, Québec, Canada H4Z 1K2

Make cheques or money orders payable to Lines of Demarcation.



En Avant! is a journal of Communist propaganda published by the group En Avant! of Togo.

NO 1 — August 1980

- Address to the International conference on war.
- Joint speech on the revolution in Africa of: L'Union de Lutte Communiste (Upper-Volta), La Voie Ouvrière (Ivory Coast) En Avant! (Togo).
- Appeal to all Revolutionary Communists

NO 2 -January 1981

- Editorial: The Yellow International of the PLA "gives birth to a mouse": the PCT.
- Marxism, the theory of the liberation movement of the proletariat.
- On the historical experiences of the International Workers' movement under the brilliant leadership of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

per issue (postage included):
\$1.50, 6 francs, 2.5 D.M.

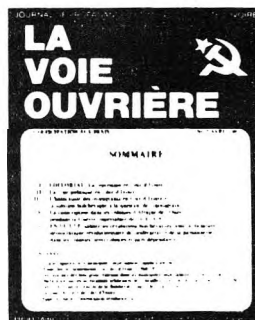
Subscriptions
6 issues

(printed matter) \$8.00, 32 francs, 12 D.M.
(1st class) \$16.00, 64 francs, 24 D.M.

12 issues

(printed matter) \$15.00, 60 francs, 23 D.M.
(1st class) \$30.00, 120 francs, 46 D.M.

Available in French only. Please subscribe through Lines of Demarcation address



La Voie Ouvrière is a journal of Communist propaganda published by La Voie Ouvrière of Ivory Coast.

NO 0 November 1979

- A brief report of the scientific doctrine of the proletariat — Marxism-Leninism and a brief review of the historical experiences of the I.C.M.
- The situation in the Ivory Coast.
- Why "La Voie Ouvrière"? Where to begin?

NO 1 — May 1980

- Unmask the Parti "Démocratique" of Ivory Coast (agitation).

NO 2 — July 1980

- A brief analysis of the situation among the international socialist and workers' movement.
- Our present tasks.

NO 3 — August 1980

- The PTA and the idea of the "defense of the fatherland" in the coming imperialist war.
- Vatican imperialism rescues the national bourgeoisie in the Ivory Coast.

NO 4 — November 1980

- The "Marxist-Leninist" Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!: Bourgeois enemy of the proletarian revolution in the international and Canadian workers' movement (part 1).

NO 5 — April 1981

- The repression in the Ivory Coast.
- The political crisis in the Ivory Coast.
- The holocaust of immigrants in the Ivory Coast.

Per issue (postage included)
\$2.00, 8 francs, 3 DM

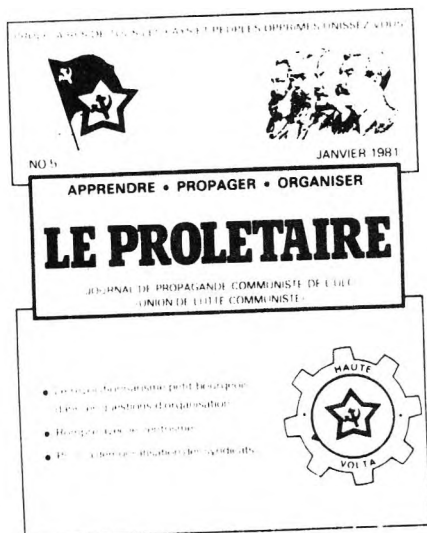
Subscriptions

6 issues (printed matter)
\$11.00, 44 francs, 17 DM

(first class) \$22.00, 88 francs, 34 DM

12 issues (printed matter): \$22.00, 88 francs, 34 DM
(first class): \$44.00, 176 francs, 67 DM

Available in French only. Please subscribe through Lines of Demarcation address



Le Prolétaire is a journal of Communist propaganda published by the group L'Union de Lutte Communiste of Upper Volta.

NO 5 — January 1981

- The petty-bourgeois revolutionarism on the questions of organization.
- Break with Centrism.
- On Workers' Democracy.

NO 4 -May 1980

- L.U.C. and its present tasks.
- Proletarian internationalism.
- Long live the memory and immortal work of J.V. Stalin.
- About "Vive le Marxisme-Léninisme" and "La Voie Ouvrière".

per issue (postage included):

\$2.00, 8 francs, 3 D.M.

6 issues (printed matter):

\$11.00, 44 francs, 17 D.M.

12 issues (printed matter)

\$21.00, 84 francs, 32 D.M.

Available in French only. Please subscribe through Lines of Demarcation address



Linea Bolchevique is a theoretical organ published by the Puerto Rican group Linea Bolchevique.

Nos. 1-2

Towards the Construction of a Leninist Party of Puerto Rico in the Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism and Centrism

No. 3 Puerto Rico: A Capitalist Colony and the Tasks of Marxist-Leninists

No. 4 Contra la guerra imperialista y para la revolucion socialista

Also: Leninismo, obreros avanzados y la cuestion del partido bolchevique

per issue (postage included):

\$1.00, 4 francs, 1.5 DM

Subscriptions

6 issues

(printed matter) \$5.50, 22 francs, 8.5 DM

(1st class) \$11.00, 44 francs, 17 DM

12 issues

(printed matter) \$10.00, 40 francs, 15 DM

(1st class) \$20.00, 80 francs, 30 DM

Boxholder, P.O. Box 4529
Old San Juan Station,
Puerto Rico 00902

WORKERS' TRIBUNE

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE April-May 1981

Atlanta: Terror in the Black Nation

In an attempt to prove, with more than 100 deaths, that the Black Nationalist Movement (BNM) is a terrorist organization, the police have been... (text continues with details of the Atlanta bombings and the role of the BNM and the Black Panther Party).

Chauvinism and the Coming Imperialist War!

In the U.S. today, a hegemony is being imposed... (text discusses the political and social conditions in the United States, including the role of the military and the impact of imperialism).



MAY DAY — INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY
 War and Revolution in El Salvador The Polish Workers' Movement and "Red" Imperialism

Workers' Tribune is a bi-monthly magazine published by the Bolshevik League of the U.S.

NO 2 — April-May 1981

- May Day: The Collapse of the American Workers' Movement
- Cuba: The Second Revisionist Congress
- Chauvinism and the Coming Imperialist War
- Atlanta: Terror in the Black Nation.

Available in English and Spanish

per issue (postage included):
 \$1.00, 4 francs, 1.5 DM

Subscriptions
 6 issues

(printed matter) \$5.50, 22 francs, 8.5 DM
 (1st class) \$11.00, 44 francs, 17 DM

12 issues

(printed matter) \$10.00, 40 francs, 15 DM
 (1st class) \$20.00, 80 francs, 30 DM

Report of the Founding Conference of the Bolshevik League of the U.S. (English only).

per issue (postage included)
 \$3.00, 12 francs, 5 DM

Reprints:

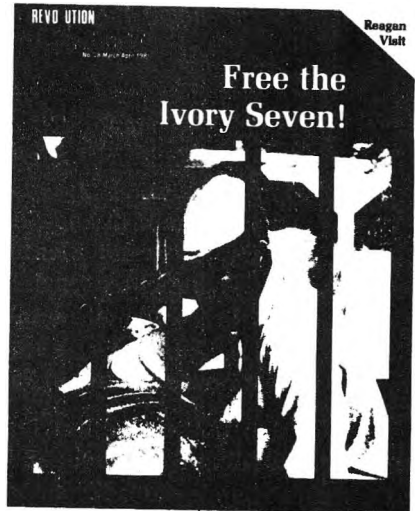
1928 and 1930 Comintern Resolutions on the Negro National Question (English only).

per issue (postage included)
 \$1.50, 6 francs, 2.5 DM

Concerning the question of Bolshevism

J.V. Stalin's Some questions concerning the History of Bolshevism and Mas-tering Bolshevism.

per issue (postage included)
 \$1.50, 6 francs, 2.5 DM



Russian Pillage of Afghanistan

Proletarian Revolution is a monthly magazine published by the Canadian group the Bolshevik Union.

NO. 28 March-April 1981

- Free the Ivory Seven!
- Russian Pillage of Afghanistan
- Reagan Visit to Canada
- Iran/Irak: The Attack on the Left
- The Constitutional Crisis
- Workers' Life:
 — Right to a Family!
 — Right to Work!

NO. 27 January/February 1981

- Immigrants Under Attack
- PQ Response to Trudeau Coup d'Etat
- Albania: Chrome-plated "Independence"
- Poland: Catholic Church Supports Polish Bourgeoisie Against Workers

This magazine is published in English and French.

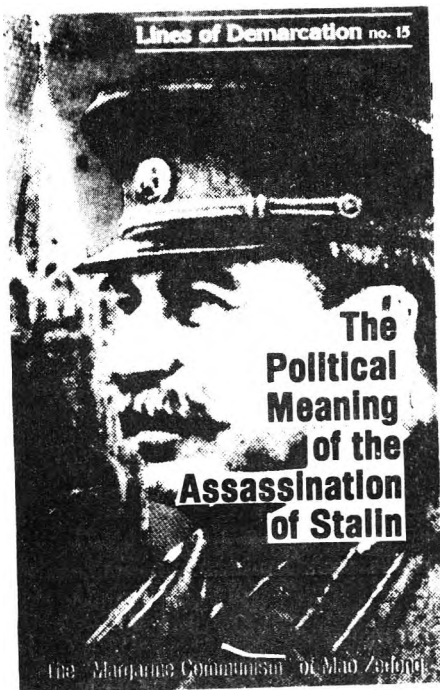
per issue (postage included)
 \$1.00, 5 francs, 1.5 DM

Subscriptions
 6 issues

(printed matter) \$5.50, 24 francs, 8.5 DM
 (1st class) \$11.00, 48 francs, 17 DM

12 issues

(printed matter) \$10.00, 46 francs, 15 DM
 (1st class) \$22.00, 92 francs, 30 DM



Lines of Demarcation is the theoretical journal of the Bolshevik Union.

- Nationhood or Genocide. A collection of writings on the Native national question in Canada.

\$3.50, 15 francs, 5.5 DM

NOS. 11-12

Imperialism: The Highest Stage of the Oppression of Women

\$3.50, 14 francs, 2.5 DM

NO. 13: The Party of Labour of Albania Come to Canada Under a Stolen Flag.

\$1.75, 7 francs, 1.5 DM

NO. 14: This Historical Convergence of Maoism and Trotskyism.

\$2.50, 10 francs, 2 DM

NO. 15: The Political Meaning of the Assassination of Stalin.

\$3.00, 12 francs, 2 DM

6 issues

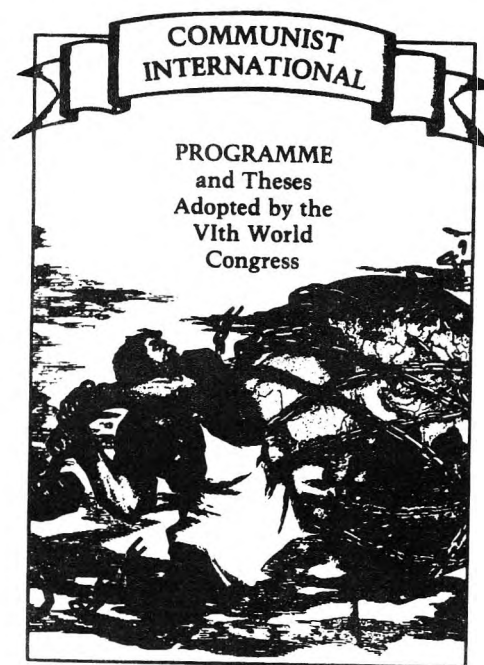
(printed matter) \$16.00, 80 francs, 24.5 DM

(1st class) \$32.00, 160 francs, 49 DM

12 issues

(printed matter) \$30.00, 150 francs, 45.5 DM

(1st class) \$64.00, 300 francs, 97.5 DM



INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Reprinted by International Correspondence

"The cardinal significance of the programme of the Comintern is that it scientifically formulates the basic tasks of the communist movement, indicates the principal means of accomplishing these tasks, and thus creates for the Comintern sections that clarity of aims and methods without which it is impossible to move forward with confidence."

J.V. Stalin

- Programme of the Communist International
- Constitution and Rules of the Communist International
- Communism and the International Situation
- The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists
- Theses on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semicolonies
- Articles by Stalin on the Sixth Congress and the Programme

per copy (postage included)
\$5.00, 20 francs, 7.5 DM

Available in English, French and Spanish

**DISTRIBUTE!
TRANSLATE!**

**Appeal
to All
Revolutionary
Communists**

French

English

Russian

Flemish

Spanish

German

Creole

Italian

Bambara

To obtain copies of the Appeal to distribute or to translate into other languages, write to:

International Correspondence
C.P. 892, Succ. Tour de la Bourse
Montréal, Québec, Canada
H4Z 1K2

International Correspondence needs

- Translators
- Distributors
- Correspondants

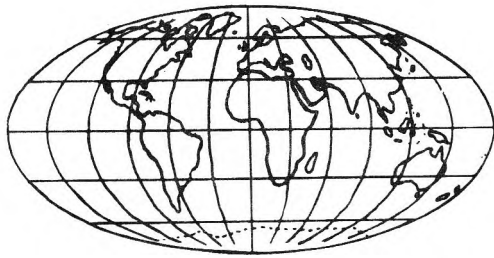
• The task of publishing *International Correspondence* in three languages requires a great deal of translation work. If there are any internationalists who can assist in this task it will mean that *International Correspondence* can be published more often and containing more material. Also we would like to publish in more languages which requires extensive translation work. We are particularly interested in assistance to publish in Italian, Portuguese and German.

• We also need distributors who will work to expand the distribution of *International Correspondence* particularly in countries where there are no participating organizations. Even information about possible bookstores will be very useful.

• *International Correspondence* is not just a forum for debate among established organizations. We also invite letters groups from information, study groups and individuals. We encourage the formation of correspondent committees that will participate in the debate, provide information on what is happening in various countries, help in distribution and if possible assist in translation.

Write to:

International Correspondence
P.O. Box 892
Succ. Tour de la Bourse
Montreal, P.Q., Canada H4Z 1K2



International Correspondence

No. 1

Spring-Summer 1980

- The Situation in Ivory Coast
- Sandinista Revolution, NO!
Bolshevik Revolution, YES!
- War and Proletarian Revolution
and other texts from France, Austria,
West Germany, Turkey, Cyprus, and the
United States

No. 2

Autumn 1980

- Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists
- Speeches from the International Bolshevik
Conference Against Imperialist War from
Upper Volta, Togo, Ivory Coast, Puerto Rico,
the United States and Canada
- Extracts from the Theses on War Adopted
by the Sixth World Congress of the
Communist International
- Others from Turkey, Cyprus, Austria and
West Germany

per issue (postage included)
\$3.50, 15 francs, 5.5 DM
4 issues (printed matter)
\$13.00, 56 francs, 20 DM

International Correspondence
C.P. 892
Tour de la Bourse
Montréal, Québec, Canada
H4Z 1K2

CORRESPONDENCE

Bolshevik League of the US

P.O. Box 1189
Bronx GPO
Bronx N.Y. 10451, U.S.A.

Combat Prolétarien

Claudene Petit
B.P. 75622
Paris cedex 13
France

Gegen Die Strömung

Buchladen Georgi Dimitroff
Koblenzerstr. 4
Frankfurt am Main
West Germany

KCMLC

c/o Boxholder
P.O. Box 19172
Kansas City, Mo. 64141, U.S.A.

KCRWC

c/o Boxholder
P.O. Box 1565
Kansas City, Mo. 64141, U.S.A.

Linea Bolchevique

c/o Boxholder
P.O. Box 4929
Old San Juan Station
Puerto Rico 00902

MLPÖ

Erich Laznicka
All: 1150 Wien
Goldschlagstrasse 64
Austria

Bolshevik Union of Canada

C.P. 892 Succ. Tour de la Bourse
Montréal, Québec
Canada H4Z 1K2

Westberliner Kommunist

E.H. Karge
Monumentenstr. 37
1 West Berlin 62, West Germany

To get in touch with the groups whose addresses we cannot publish at the present time, we suggest that you send your correspondence in a sealed envelope addressed to the organization and place it inside another envelope addressed to the Bolshevik Union. We will see that it gets to the organization in question.

