

never identified
 for line WR
 BWC ultra-left

This paper is written with the aim of further clarifying the manifestations of the ultra-left line in the areas of ideology, politics and organization, and demonstrating the destructiveness of this line to the P.C. and the anti-revisionist Communist movement of which we are a part. It is one contribution to the full process of sun-up and repudiation to be directed by the central committee pending the outcome of this struggle. We cannot underestimate the importance of the present two-line struggle to the P.C.'s potential for growth and development. Nor can we underestimate its seriousness, gravity, and inevitable consequences. We must put politics and principle first, and concentrate on the through repudiation of the line of ultra-leftism promoted by the wrecking, sectarian minority in the leadership.

Leadership

Before beginning to discuss some of the main ultra-left errors it is important to examine the following points; a) what are the main characteristics of ultra-leftism and right opportunism, b) the unity between these two bourgeois lines and where they lead, and c) how do we determine which danger is principal in a particular organization at any one time. It is true that the P.C. has made both right and left errors in its history and this particular period. But we must grasp firm hold of the principal contradiction, and pay strict attention to secondary contradictions in light of what's principal.

a) On the question of what is left and right opportunism, Mao-tse-Tung in his essay On Practice states the fundamental characteristics of these two deviations. (Chen p. 79 On Practice Selected Readings)

"It often happens, however that thinking lags behind reality; this is because man's cognition is limited by numerous social conditions. We are opposed to die-hards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking fails to advance with changing objective circumstances and has manifested itself historically as right opportunism. These people fail to see that the struggle of opposites has already pushed the objective process forward while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This is characteristic of the thinking of all die-hards. Their thinking is divorced from social practice, and they cannot march ahead to guide the chariot of society; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag it back or turn it in the opposite direction.

We are also opposed to "left" phrase-mongering. The thinking of "leftists" outstrips a given stage of development of the objective process; some regard their fantasies as truth while others strain to realize in the present an ideal which can only be realized in the future (our emphasis). They alienate themselves from the current practice of the majority of the people and from the realities of the day, and show themselves adventurist in their actions".

The error of right opportunism is conservative in nature, starting from an overestimation of the strength of the enemy it results in tailing behind the mass movement of the working class and the people. It belittles the role of theory and consciousness, overestimates the role of objective conditions in determining the outcome of a given course of events. The right danger flows to the economic struggle and sabotages the political struggle. In its most advanced form we see it as modern revisionism with its negation of class struggle, peaceful transition, and peaceful coexistence etc., the main danger facing the international

communist movement.

The error of left-opportunism which some hold is virtually non-existent in our movement is indeed a dangerous deviation. Ultra-leftism starts from a subjectivist world outlook which fails to take into consideration the objective conditions determining the development of the revolutionary movement. In starting from an underestimation of the strength of the enemy, and its distortion of what can be realised at a given stage of development, it is prone to anarchism and adventurism, charging ahead of the masses of people only to be rejected by them. Typically its slogans seem more revolutionary - (for example The Black Panther Party 68-69 "The Revolution has come- Time to Pick up the Gun")- but in putting forward long range tasks, armed revolution, as immediate tasks, the ultra-leftist isolates himself from the class and if not defeated will lead the masses to disaster. In society its leadership is divorced from the masses and in the party it is divorced from the cadres.

b) Generally all "left" errors are "left" in form and right in essence. Both the right opportunist and the ultra-left deviation serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and sabotage and subvert theoretically and practically the interests of the revolution. These opportunist lines (in their most extreme and dangerous form, modern revisionism and Trotskyism) disarm the proletariat by putting forward opportunist programs and policies, demoralize the cadres, and demonstrate their utter contempt for the masses as the makers of history. The present-day character of our movement, being largely petty bourgeois provides fertile soil for right and left opportunism to take root. The "left" danger is often more difficult to spot, because of its policy of taking advantage of the sincere revolutionary strivings of the people with ultra-left phraseology, diverting them into actions which in the final analysis aid the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Given the unity of these two deviations and their danger to the revolutionary movement, whose interests are served by negating ultra-leftism as a secondary danger in the communist movement under the sign-board that the right danger is always the principal danger and to even raise the left is to be a right opportunist? *→ Main danger ←*
Stalin's article

c) In vol. 8 in an article on Right and Left Deviation, Comrade Stalin makes clear that in analysing which deviation is primary in a particular situation we must analyse the concrete political situation. It is useless to raise what is 'generally' the main danger and pay no attention to the particularity of a situation, and see how the general is manifested. We must determine the principal danger in the BwC in this period from a concrete analysis of our errors. After determining what is principal we know where to aim the main blow. If we attempt to see right and left as always equal we will unconsciously conciliate with the opportunist line-today the line of ultra-leftism- and fail to decisively destroy what's wrong with the old in order to build the new. There are those who delight in spreading confusion and panic who will charge that if you even attempt to fight the left you will swing way to the right. However by making a determined effort to thoroughly sum-up and repudiate and by making concrete not abstract analysis, we will minimize the tendency to vacillate and develop a more consistent proletarian line.

In this next section of this paper, I will attempt to lay out some of the main manifestations of the ultra-left line of the BwC in this period in ideology, politics and organization. It is important to see

the depth of the destructiveness of this line and why the "rosy picture" of this two-line struggle is painted by the ultra-lefts. Their tactics of attack on the one hand, conciliation on the other are a smokescreen designed to spread confusion and postpone throughgoing resolution. We must be vigilant in seeking truth from facts and continue to deepen our understanding of our mistakes under the domination of the ultra-left line.

I. Main Mistakes in Ideology

The correctness of a political line depends fundamentally on whether it starts from Marxism-Leninism applied to the objective conditions existing in society and the objective needs of the masses of the people. Opportunism of the right and in our case the ultra-left is characterized by the separation of the subjective and the objective, the divorcing of theory from practice.

line The ideological stance of the ultra-lefts is manifested in subjectivism, one-sided, superficial analysis. They lack consistent, stable principles and are prone to vacillation. Employing the method of the doctrinaire, abstract phrases torn from books in an effort to overawe others with their "theoretical level" and very little concrete investigation is done before the ultra-lefts are charging ahead with aspects of a situation. Both the superficial investigation and the abstract theorizing form a unity representing the method by which line is developed. *or their own observations empiricism*

Further in order to prevent ideological struggle for truth, the ultra-lefts create an atmosphere of tension, suspicion and suppression of criticism and self-criticism thus preventing a serious sum-up of our practice. Instead the sum-up of the ultra-lefts, subjective abstract and vague, is substituted for a sharp objective statement. For example, "The MCC is in Better Shape now than ever before in its history!" This conscious refusal of the ultra-lefts to engage in criticism-struggle-rectification of work and then swaggering and boasting in the face of glaring errors is not only the result of 'theoretical weakness' (although this is certainly true) but opportunism in theory.

→ Dev. of line
In the area of political education the line of ultra-leftism has disarmed cadre ideologically and promoted the careerism of a handful of petty bourgeois intellectuals who 'develop the line' while the rest of the leadership and cadre defend it. With what? one might ask, since it isn't based on sound Marxist-Leninist analysis. Instead of a good political education program based on the works of the great teachers applied to our concrete tasks and work, the ultra-lefts have substituted their own subjective theories and quickie courses. The entire MCC repudiated the 1,2,3, Marxism-study guide _____, at the April meeting and united on the need to study the fundamentals. Now we have the Communist, our center of political education and work-'using the Communist' everywhere. The articles are often weak check our analysis of 'atergate' full of phrasemongering and political errors. If this is all we studied we would certainly be unable to uncover opportunism.

org. manifestation *methods of work*
Thus the main manifestations of ultra-leftism in the ideological field are; 1. the refusal to engage in criticism self-criticism, 2. disarming cadre and promoting not Marxism-Leninism but quick study and their own theories; 3. phrasemongering and demagoguery, 4. subjectivise. We must put these practices to an end and stress serious study of Marxism-Leninism in conjunction with the revolutionary tasks before us.

II. Main Mistakes in Political Work

The ultra-leftism in the area of politics can be seen in the following examples; a) Development of line, b) our line on the Central Task and mass work, c) our stance in the Communist Movement Hegemony and Sectarianism. These are by no means the only examples of ultra-leftism in this sphere and on these points I will focus on the main aspects. Further detailed critiques of line will have to be developed by the NCC.

✓ A. Development of Line — *reflects line on where correct ideas come from*

With regards to the development of line the ultra-lefts have pushed the position that the line of the organization be developed exclusively by the Secretariat, in essence themselves. Because of this first error, small wonder that the BWC line has been characterized by vacillation and flip-flopping, which has been marked since the struggle against the RU when ultra-leftism began to rear its ugly head. The newspaper has jumped from 8 to 12 to 24 and now 32 pages with no real qualitative improvement. Positions are 'put out to the masses' hot off the press, without through reflection, study and criticism. In placing quantity over quality, the ultra-lefts reveal their ignorance of the criteria by which an organization is judged by the masses: its class consciousness, its consistency in principle and practice, its ties with the class, and its discipline and dedication. Given the record on consistent positions developed by the BWC, they should be debated and studied by the central committee, if we are seeking truth rather than acclaim from the petit-bourgeoisie. On both the Black Liberation Pamphlet and the CL-RU Pamphlet, momentous struggle had to be waged for the central committee to be allowed to see it before publication.

The ultra-lefts have promoted the practice of reliance on the petty bourgeoisie for the development of line

in the hopes that this will earn them respect. And then when our errors are revealed, the ultra-lefts resort to track covering and diverting correct criticisms onto "the" bungling, incompetence of the coffee-drinking rightists."

✓ B. BWC Line on the Central Task and the Three Strategic Tasks

The current line of the BWC on Party-Building was first promoted as far back as last Nov. in Detroit and was largely copied from the Communist League. Yet they emerge from the National Continuations Committee as Trotskyites and we emerge clean and free from all but minor errors. Little independent study and investigation was done prior to the adoption of this line and the consistent criticism has been raised that we have seen Party-Building in total isolation from building the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the united front. In fact ultra-leftism can be seen in the following aspects of this line:

1. line on the central task promoted our isolation from the working class and mass struggles.
2. This line held that we had to win the "advanced" which has meant in practice petty bourgeois intellectuals because the working class was too backward.
3. "All ideological struggle" and struggle to the death stance, divorced from concrete political work.
4. Failure to concentrate on uniting scientific socialism with the advanced of the proletariat.

Along with the above examples of which there are many more, there is the constant phrasemongering and demagoguery about our correct line.

With regards to the workers movement, the national liberation movements, the EWC has carried out little work. The struggles of women for democratic rights have been totally negated in spite of our position on the woman question. Our line on trade union work has had a left appraisal and stance on the day to day economic struggles and immediate issues facing the masses of people. These errors stemming from our line on the central task, and seeing it not integrally connected with mass work.

C. Sectarianism and Hegemony in the Communist Movement

Our policy with regard to the anti-revisionist Communist movement in this country has been fawning and tailing on the one hand and extreme sectarianism on the other. Initially with both the RU and the CL, we tailed opportunist aspects of their lines. And then once the errors were discovered- and in the case of CL this was not due to our "advanced theoreticians" on the Secretariat- we have resorted to demagogic and unprincipled attacks. Instead of starting from the interests of the proletariat in attempting to build unity through political action and principled struggle- the EWC secretariat has started from the class interests of the petty bourgeoisie in our movement in 'competing for first place'. We began to open fire on RU, then CL, then the Guardian, then CL, and its anybody's guess who will be next. Again not with the aim of 'curing the sickness to save the patient' but for hegemony, control and power. Power over what is a relatively inexperienced communist movement.

This kind of sectarianism has earned the EWC the reputation of being ultra-left on the question of struggle. Our unbridled competitiveness accompanied by not one but many wild subjective outbursts in public forums has earned us the reputation of being unprincipled and opportunist. In fact the negative example we have set on this question is in no small way partly responsible for the rise of sectarianism, and the narrow circle mentality generally in our movement.

III Main Mistakes in the Area of Organization

The ultra-left line has been manifested clearly in the area of organization, in spite of the demagogic phrasemongering- organization is key!- the ultra-lefts cannot cover their tracks on this question.

The fundamental manifestation has been in the ultra-lefts counterposing of line and organization much in the same way they have counterposed the Communist movement to the working class. Comrade Mao-Tse Tung in the "Resolution on Some Questions on the History of Our Party" - points out that a correct organizational line must maintain close connections between the party and the masses and the leadership and the base, and that an erroneous political line invariably gives rise to an equally erroneous organizational line. It is impossible as the comrades in the organization department know only too well to isolate political line from affecting organizational work. Contrary to the illusion fostered by the opportunists the problems of amateurishness, methods of work etc, can be in our case have been contributed to, perpetuated, and greatly exaggerated by the wild, impractical schemes and maneuvers of the ultra-lefts. Unable to realize their fantasies, the ultra-lefts resort to branding and berating cadre for their failure to develop 'good methods of work', desperately trying to divert comrades' attention from the principal contradiction - the ultra-left line in ideology, politics and organization.

relationships
between org +
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line

There are any number of manifestations in this area that attest to the bankruptcy of the ultra-left line and its chief perpetrator; but I will focus briefly on the following to illustrate this point;

- A. Criticism and Self-Criticism.
- E. Democratic Centralism
- C. Financial Policy
- D. Recruitment

A. To Begin this section, I would like to quote briefly from "Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China" by Bettelheim.

"Under the conditions then prevailing in China, the substitution of personal attacks, humiliation sessions, and violence for ideological class struggle was characteristic of a bourgeois line. Whereas the criticism of false ideas helps the masses gain increasing understanding of what is correct and what false - of what corresponds to the interests of the revolution and to their own - personal attacks cannot possibly achieve this essential end."

The widespread practice of ruthless struggle, merciless blows accompanied by unbridled male-chauvinism has been the dominant form of waging struggle and making criticisms within the secretariat over the past year.

In the secretariat this practice has had the effect of negating sum-up and repudiation, and hence laying the basis for repeated opportunist errors.

In the central committee, the practice of intimidation has prohibited the full discussion of all views and encouraged the practice of lectures, speech-making and long-winded arguments to suppress and stifle criticism and struggle. Various methods have been employed, designed to make comrades appear ridiculous and the ultra-leftists theoretically developed. In fact it is the ultra-leftists who are ridiculous in their efforts to subvert principled ideological struggle.

Interaction between the ultra-left faction and cadre in Detroit has been characterized by the use of intimidation, personal attacks, and even physical attacks in the case of Comrade Ed who /D.W.. twice attempted to jump on and actually struck. All the swagger and machoism in the world will not erase this peice of cowardice. These methods have (up until cadre in Detroit drew the line) been employed at will and have not only negated the rectification of errors but have fostered an atmosphere of tension, mistrust, definitely not conducive to 'lively debate'. For the full documentation of these practices in Detroit, comrades should study the papers presented by cadre on the two-line struggle.

E. On the Question of Democratic Centralism

Ultra-leftism has been demonstrated in the consistent display of contempt for the NCC the highest body of the organization, the cadre and the masses. The secretariat has been raised to the level of "unchallenged authority" seeking to justify itself as the defacto highest body of the organization. Bureaucratic centralism has replaced democratic discussion and struggle, in order that the ultra-lefts can without restraint develop line, seek hegemony. Opportunist practices serve opportunist ends. In fact those who today are clammering about their "legal authority" are not known for upholding democratic centralism

the line of the organization. Once in the Shelton McCrainey Defense Committee on the central task before the BWC adopted it at the NCC meeting in Feb. and once in California reading the Chandlers position on the national question before we adopted it as line.

The Sec. has one-sidedly pushed the policy of building the center to the neglect of the development of District Committees, and strong secondary leadership on the District level. For strong Communists capable of finding their way politically, the ultra-lefts would like to substitute blind obedience, parrotry of the line they can defend but not contribute to in development, and consolidation without understanding. Whose class interests do such policies serve? The method by which line is consolidated is not with the aim of developing a consistent proletarian line but beating Bob Avakian to the punch. The NCC must seize the leadership in the BWC, restore Democratic Centralism and put an end to the above practices.

C. Financial Policy

On the question of finances the ultra-left line has been demonstrated principally in the practice of divorcing politics from economics, straining to realize in the present unworkable programs and policies divorced from the needs and material reality of the organization. Inside the organization dept. where + have been assigned we were in the process of developing a long range financial program that would place emphasis on the districts in raising funds in a systematic way, the question of building district treasuries as well as support for the center. However the plans were not moving quickly enough and the Nov. fund-raising scheme was concocted. The charge for money is connected to the charge for a bigger newspaper and the further development of an already big central administrative apparatus. Our plans for raising funds must be brought in line with reality. And instead of our debts forever exceeding our assets begin to develop a cash reserve and a more correct method of allocation of the organizations funds.

D. Recruitment

The ultra-left line on recruitment has raised one-sidedly the question of "mastery" of the science in the the recruitment of cadre from the working class and led particularly in California to the quick recruitment of many intellectuals into the organization many of whom were in or close to the RU. This is not the fault of these new comrades who should be correctly integrated into the life of the organization, but the ultra-left faction seeking expansion and status in the movement has recruited intellectuals and raised them quickly into positions of leadership to aid the secretariat in the development of line. This type of recruitment is a most dangerous policy because it can undermine the class character of the organization, do a disservice to the new recruit who may or may not have a grasp of the line and open the door to the bourgeoisie. It is important to recruit from the working class as well as progressive forces, intellectuals etc. But intellectuals must be transformed in the context of a proletarian organization, not a petty bourgeois organization dominated by ultra-left opportunists.

In Detroit favoritism has been practiced toward certain comrades while others live barely from day to day. The veteran cadre can get by, while new recruits must have all the conveniences to keep them happy and distract their attention from seeing the real situation of the organization. These practices are unjust and unfair, to all

comrades. The ultra-left position on the development of line and theoretical work leads to an over-reliance on the petty bourgeoisie the failure to develop working class theoreticians, the negation of the proletariat as the leading and only thoroughly revolutionary class, and the perpetuation of the worst features of our movement. It is a dangerous thing to undermine the proletarian leadership and substitute for it the leadership of opportunist glory seekers intent on wrecking the EWC.

In Conclusion

The line struggle in the EWC has been accompanied by unprincipled maneuvering, factionalism, intimidation and threats, physical attacks launched by the careerist ultra-left faction in the leadership. The struggle against ultra leftism, against subjectivism, against sectarianism toward the masses, the movement and the cadre, against our isolation from the working class, against dishonesty and the refusal of the ultra-left to repudiate its errors or accept any criticism, against blatant opportunism in matters of organization, is a struggle that has to be waged through to the end. The practice of these forces has taken a qualitative leap for the worse since the opening up of the two line struggle.

The behavior of these forces has been characterized by unbridled tyranny, mad behavior, and threats in order to get their way and maintain their legal authority. We however shall never be forced into blind obedience to opportunism because of expulsions and suspensions by a faction of the leadership. As for the resolution of the current two-line struggle in the EWC, there are two lines and two roads ahead for the EWC as an organization. Comrades, we must decide on which course we will follow.